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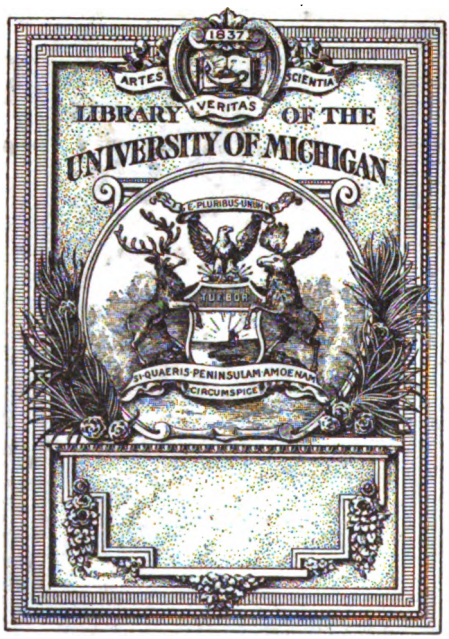
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N.M.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY.

ANGELS.

"WHAT was written aforetime was written for our instruction." There was something written aforetime about angels — instruction in it, then — proper is it that we seek to possess ourselves of this instruction; that we look carefully into what aforetime God has written about angels. The Christian does not act wisely who allows the nonsense and skepticism of spiritualists to drive him away from, and rob him of, the bread God has put for his child into what he has written about angels; bread here, God-given, which the believer should prize, seek for, eat.

The word which we translate "angel" from Hebrew and Greek, is the ordinary name in these languages for "messenger." Even the material forces of nature are called angels; for example, "He maketh winds his angels" [messengers].

The Origin of Angels.

They are creatures formed by the same hand that formed man — but so far as we may infer from the Bible, these beings in the multitude of their hosts had an origin not by natural descent from a first-created pair, as man, but were directly created by God, individually: "They neither marry, nor are given in marriage."

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When the angel world was created, the Bible does not tell us. Their creation is generally placed previous to that of man; and for proof of this we are cited to Job (xxxviii. 6, 7), where we are told that at the laying of the corner-stone of the earth, "The morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." And this further we know, at the driving of sinning man from Eden's garden, heavenly creatures were set as guards, proof that they then existed.

The Form of Angels.

All angels who have appeared to men have had the human form—they have, indeed, time after time, been mistaken for men. The three angels that met Abraham before the destruction of Sodom are called "three men"; and when two of the angels went to Sodom and went into Lot's house, the people said to Lot: "Where are the men which came in to thee this night?" The wife of Manoah speaks of the angel that appeared to her, as "a man of God." The angel at the sepulchre of Jesus is called "a young man." The angels appearing at the time of Christ's ascension are spoken of as "two young men."

We have no hint in any of the appearances of angels that they have wings. Cherubim and Seraphim are, indeed, spoken of as having wings. But what are Cherubim and Seraphim?

The old Jewish historian, Josephus, declares that in his day no man knew what the form of the cherubim was. The figures on the ark of cherubim had *two* wings (1 Kings viii. 7), and *two* faces (Exodus xxv. 20). In Ezekiel's vision the cherubim have *four* wings—a hand under each wing; *four* faces—that of a man, a lion, ox, eagle; their whole flesh—backs, wings, hands—was full of eyes; they had also wheels full of eyes, and the spirit of the living creatures were in the wheels. Now, although we are assured there are such beings as cherubim (Gen. iii. 24), are we not to regard the figures on the ark, and those in Ezekiel's vision, simply symbols of the exaltation, swiftness, power, intimacy with God of those creatures (or, perhaps, merely symbols of God's attributes), rather than setting forth their actually existing bodily form? And something of this kind seems to have been the old Jewish view—Josephus declaring no man knows the form of the cherubim.

The seraphim are only once mentioned in the Bible, and that in a vision. Says Isaiah (vi. 1): "And I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne; above it stood the seraphim — each one had six wings; then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar, and he

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laid it upon my mouth." Now, nobody thinks that this six-winged creature really took a pair of tongs, and really took in them a red hot coal and put it on Isaiah's lips, that his lips were burned, or that God wrought a miracle to preserve them from being burned. The whole was a vision—an unreality; and may we not suppose that the "wings" of the vision creatures are mere vision—unreality? Are of a piece with the "tongs" and "red hot coals"? Are of a piece with Ezekiel's vision creatures, having eyes in their whole flesh, wheels full of eyes, four heads of different kinds, that is, merely (these things) symbolic, not actual.

My claim is: The Bible never speaks of an angel with wings; in all their appearances to man they bear the human form. Those creatures seen in prophetic vision, for example, the seraphim of Isaiah, the cherubim of Ezekiel, the living creatures of John the Revelator, have, probably, no living counterparts, but are mere unreal, symbolic forms. The idea of angels having wings probably arose from conception of their fleetness as God's messengers, and their medium of locomotion being the air. But, doubtless, the poet's conception of the mere power of desire in the locomotion of the glorified body of the saint, seems more consonant with the force underlying and causing angel movement, than that of laboious movement by force of wings:

> Our spiritual body was the same in type,
> In face and form and fashion, as on earth;
> Yet not the same—transfigured: suited this
> For the quick motions of the new-born spirit,
> *Obedient* to our *faintest wish*, as was
> Sometime the disembodied soul.
> Would I move,
> Volition, without wings, or nimble tread
> Of footsteps, wafted my aërial form
> Swifter than sunbeam's glance from east to west.

Material of the Angel Body.

Some have thought that the bodies in which angels of old showed themselves to men, were simply assumed for the time being in order that they might become visible to men, and that angels normally are mere spirit without body. On the other hand, the Christian fathers of the Platonic school of philosophy, ascribed to all spirits, the supreme God alone excepted, a subtle body, so subtle as to be invisible to us, and imperceptible to any of our senses. They appear to have entertained about the same notion of the bodies of angels, as the Greeks had

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of the bodies of their gods—bodies, but bodies of much more attenuated material than the human body. Some of the Christian fathers believed that angels partook of heavenly nourishment, as the gods of the Greeks partook of nectar and ambrosia, and like them, that they could at choice become visible or invisible to men.

At the second Nicene Council, 787, it was established as a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that angels have a thin body of fire or air. Later than this, many of the schoolmen maintained an opposite opinion, viz., "that angels have no body of their own, but can assume one in order to become visible."

I am strongly of opinion that angels have normally bodies; that these are of material of which the spiritual bodies of the redeemed are, and are of the form normally in which they have appeared to men, the human; that our eyes normally cannot cognize these spiritual bodies; for this they need supernatural opening — endowment. For example, the angel in bodily shape (his hand is spoken of) stands before Balaam, yet Balaam does not see the body. What was necessary that the angel should become visible to Balaam, was not that he should assume a human-shaped body; that he had, and yet Balaam did not see him. It was necessary that Balaam's eyes should have new power given them, just as had his ass's eyes and tongue; and so we read: "Then the Lord *opened the eyes* of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand." We find a similar "opening" of eyes to see spiritual beings in another case. Elisha was surrounded by enemies; the young serving-man cried out with terror, Elisha prayed: "Lord, *open* his eyes that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."

Grades among Angels.

To human thought there is a vast chasm separating our world and its inhabitants from God. The ancients sought in some measure to fill up this chasm with creatures in elevation higher than man, and in fixed gradation rising up towards the Supreme. Plato mentions such intermediate beings, and their gradations. According to the Gnostics:

The Supreme God had dwelt from all eternity in a fulness of inaccessible light. This Supreme Being produced two other beings, of great exaltation; from these two beings, in a series of descents, other beings were produced; these successive beings were each inferior to those which preceded them. These creatures (æons) lived through countless ages with

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their first Father, God. This Gnostic system of emanations seems to have resembled that of concentric circles, and they gradually deteriorated as they approached nearer and nearer to the extremity of the light in which God dwelt. Beyond this light was matter—inert, powerless, though co-eternal with the Supreme God. At last one of these æons passed beyond the limits of the light, and, meeting matter, created the world after the model existing in the mind of God. This æon afterwards rebelled, and the world lost the knowledge of the Supreme God. Christ, one of the æons of light was sent into the world to restore it to the knowledge of the Supreme God.

But seek to fill up as we may the chasm between man and God, we must ever have finally remain the chasm (all unbridged) between the finite and infinite. So that, practically, we attain nothing towards filling up the chasm between the creature and the Supreme, by conceiving of the angels as more elevated in the scale of being than man, and that from the grades of angels nearest man there rise still other grades up towards God.

In the writings of the later Jews the angels are distinctly classed off into various grades.

The Bible indicates differences of rank among angels. Michael is called the "great prince," and also, "one of the chief princes," indicative that there are angels not princes, and also that there are princes among them of different grades (Daniel xii. 1; x. 13). So the New Testament word "archangel," indicates an angel of higher than ordinary rank (Jude ix; 1 Thess. iv. 16). We have the same thing indicated in the expression (Eph. vi. 12): "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world." We have here indicated exaltation, subordination, government regularly organized among angels.

Individuality of Angels.

A very common conception of angel, doubtless, is a being with a long white robe, wings, and a face made up of a cross between that of a woman's and a man's, and if we should get acquainted with one angel, we should know all angels, for all angels are alike. This is not my conception of the angel form, nor of angel uniformity of character. I believe in angel individuality.

Everywhere in the universe about us, while all is order, harmony, yet there is variety. Every leaf is not an ever-repeated, broad-rimmed hat; every flower a sun-bonnet; every spear of grass, blossom, sky, cloud, star, are not eternal, unvarying, monotonous drab;

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order, harmony everywhere in nature, but variety, diversity, multiplicity, individuality in the grand unity. So every human face is not the same face, every human mind, spirit, the same mind, spirit; humanity is not a monotonous, flat, insipid, eternal repetition — one specimen of humanity containing all there is in humanity; myriads of leaves, but no two leaves alike; myriads of blossoms, but no two blossoms alike; myriads of stars, but no two stars alike; myriads of human being, but no two human beings alike; myriads of angels, and are we to suppose (contrary to all analogy) all angels alike—every angel a mere repetition of his fellow? There is individuality among angels, as there is individuality among men; there are Peter angels, and John angels, and Paul angels, Martha angels and Mary angels.

Past Moral History of Angels.

The Bible gives us no minute account of the moral past of angels. The Bible nevertheless indicates clearly that angels have been exposed to moral trial; some of them fell, were cast out of heaven, are to-day suffering punishment; some angels to-day are holy, and are enjoying God's favor. It may be that those angels which stood the moral test and are holy to-day, stood by special grace (strength) ministered to them through offering of the Lamb slain — angel and man, perhaps, both debtors to grace from Calvary. What grandeur does this thought give to Calvary, what glory to Christ? What significance to that word: "In the dispensation of the fulness of times, he shall gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are in earth, even in him!" the entire universe of moral creatures holy, standing in holiness to-day, forever, simply in Christ!

What the sin of the angels fallen was, we are not told; many believe it to have been pride. Whatever form the angels' sin took, we know its essence was: The creature will insubmissive to, in some way raised in opposition to the divine will; just in this is the essence of all sin.

Two Kingdoms of Angels.

There are thus now two kingdoms of angels, a kingdom of holy angels, and a kingdom of sinful angels. Each of these kingdoms are organized (as we have just seen,) into principalities and powers and governments; one kingdom working in the interest and service of holiness, the other kingdom working in the interest and service of sin. The holy kingdom has for its head God, and is very numerous; the ancient of days sat on his throne (Daniel vii. 8, 9), "thousand

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thousands ministered unto him." "Myriads of angels" are spoken of in Hebrews (xii. 22). The kingdom of sinful angels we may also conceive of as numerous, one man had a "legion" of them in him; and this kingdom has for its leader, Satan, one of the tempted angels, who, once holy, cast off submission to God, and now, with his fellows, wages war against God and man (John viii. 44). If the head of the kingdom of holy angels, God, is a person, so also is Satan a person; the same arguments against the personality of Satan may be used (and with equal force) against the personality of God.

We determine the personality of Satan by the same criteria used in determining whether Cæsar and Napoleon were real, personal beings, or the personifications of abstract ideas, viz., by the tenor of history concerning them, and the ascriptions of personal attributes to them. All the forms of personal agency are made use of by the sacred writers in setting forth the character and conduct of Satan. They describe him as having power and dominion, messengers and followers. He tempts and resists, he is held accountable, is charged with guilt, is to be judged and receive final punishment. On the supposition that it was the object of the sacred writers to teach the proper personality of Satan, they could have found no more express terms than those which they have actually used. And on the supposition that they did not intend to teach such doctrine, their use of language, incapable of communicating any other idea, is wholly inexplicable. To suppose that all this semblance of a real, veritable, conscious moral agent is only a figure of speech, is to make the inspired penmen guilty of employing a figure of speech in such a way, that, by no ascertained laws of language, it could be known that it was a figure, without violence to all the rhetorical rules by which they on other occasions are known to have been guided. A personification protracted through such a book as the Bible, even should we suppose it to have been written by one person, never dropped in the most simple, plain, teaching portions, never explained when the most grave and important truths are to be inculcated, and when men the most ignorant and prone to superstition are to be the readers, a personification extending from Genesis to Revelation, this is altogether away from the ordinary method of writing, and inadmissible. All this, suppose one person had written the entire Bible. But to suppose that the several writers of the different books of the Bible, diverse in their style and intellectual habits, writing under widely different circumstances, through a period of nearly two thousand years, should each, from Moses to John, fall into the use of the same personification, and follow it, too, in a way so obscure and enigmatical, that not one in a hundred of their readers would escape the error which they did not mean to teach, or apprehend the truth which they wished to set forth; to suppose this, is to require men to believe that the inspired writers, who ought to have done the least violence to the common laws of language, have really done the most. Such uniformity of appellations and imagery, and such identity of character-

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istics, protracted through such a series of writings and authors, can be explained only on the supposition that these authors believed the Devil to be a real personality.

What necessity for the Saviour to say that the Devil "abode not in the truth," if he were simply the principle of evil?

The two kingdoms of angels, the good and the evil, are thus headed by two persons, God and Satan.

Grade of Being of Angels.

The general impression is that angels are of higher grade of being than men; to me this is doubtful.

Some passages at first glance seem to favor the idea that angels are higher in the scale of being than man. For example, "What is man? for thou hast made him a little lower than the angels." Scholars now translate thus: "What is man? for thou makest him to lack little of God." The word "angels" is not found in the original; and the Psalmist indicates in what lies man's near approach to God-head: "Thou hast put all things under his feet"; the attribute of "dominion" in man is that in Genesis which constitutes God's "image and likeness" in him: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let him have dominion over," etc., be our vicegerent, representative. Thus the eighth Psalm passage institutes no comparison whatever between man and angel. Again, we find in Psalms: "Bless the Lord ye his angels that excel in strength"; but in the Hebrew the idea of comparison does not at all exist; a German critic thus translates: "Praise the Lord, ye his angels, ye strong warriors, who perform his word." In Peter we find some men blamed for speaking evil of "dignities": "Whereas," continues Peter, "angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord." The "dignities," than whom the angels are said here to be "greater in power and might," some explain as inferior angels, some as human rulers. Let us accept "dignities" as referring to human rulers; yet the fact that some angels are endowed with more "power and might" than some men, does not declare that the angel nature is higher in the scale of being than the human nature; some of the lower animals have more power and might than man.

Nor are we to infer that angels, by reason of their nature, are endowed with great personal prowess, from the fact that in Bible history, they have been the visible or invisible agents in the accomplish-

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ment of mighty works. For example, the destruction in one night of 185,000 of Sennecherib's army, the closing of the lions' mouths for Daniel, the breaking of chains, paralyzing soldier guards, throwing open the great iron gate for imprisoned Peter. For such commissions they received from him who sent them, a special endowment of power, just as Moses to open a red sea, to bring a fountain out of a rock, as Gideon and his three hundred to put an unnumbered host of Midianites to flight.

There are some things in the Bible that indicate that the human nature is higher in the scale of being normally, than the angel nature.

(*a.*) Says Christ: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat?" That is, when this relation is normally, according to the true relation of the one party to the other, sustained. Now, we find it written of angels (as if the relation to man were normal), that they "are all ministering spirits sent forth to serve those who shall be heirs of salvation"; serve man.

(*b.*) Angels are so limited in knowledge that men have taught them. Peter speaks of the things that he and his brethren were preaching, as things the angels desired to look into; Peter and his brethren preaching, and the angels listening and being instructed. So Paul says one intent of his preaching was that "unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God;" the churchmen thus teach angels God's thoughts and wisdom.

(*c.*) Not for angels is it, but for man is it, that Christ puts up the prayer: "May they be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, may they also be one in us;" unity with God possible to man. We have no hint of such unity possible to angels.

(*d.*) Man is to sit as judge of angels: "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" We have no hint that angels are to occupy in case of any moral creatures the place of judges.

(*e.*) Man, not angel, is said to be created in God's "likeness and image." Man, not angel, is it, who is said to lack little of God. Says the Psalmist of man: "Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet." Man stands to this world God's vicegerent, in God's place; lacks little, in this relation, of God. We hear nothing such as this spoken of angels, no dominion given to angels.

(*f.*) Not an angel form and nature is it to day, before whom all the heavenly hosts bow and cast their crowns, but a man form and

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nature, "the man Christ Jesus." Human nature in that form stands to day on the apex of all creature life; is the most intimate with God, honored of God; "it is he which is ordained of God to be judge both of quick and dead," he is one with God. The most exalted created nature in the universe to-day is human nature.

It is the special object of the first part of Hebrews to set forth that this being in man's form and nature is exalted above all angels. "Sit thou on my right hand," says God to this man, "until I make thine enemies thy footstool"; while angels he employs as serving spirits to this man's brethren—perhaps they exist only for this service.

Now the ideal redemption, in its final result, wrought by this man exalted to-day "far above" all angels, is that those other men who should be made partakers of that redemption, should be exalted to the position of eminence in the universe held by himself. "I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be one in us, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee." Jesus is the ideal man, not only in the beauty of his earth-life, but in the now exaltation of his heaven-glory. Truly a wondrous thought! thought that may cause to thrill the heart of every believer, the exaltation of the "man Christ Jesus" to-day, to be shared in by me! So the redeemed are called the "body of Christ, and members in particular." May we not believe that the "body" will occupy the same grade in the creature universe as the Head, a grade exalted "far above" all angels, now serving spirits? "To him that overcometh," says this exalted man, "will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne." Wondrous, thrilling thought! Then in its full significance shall be true: "The glory which thou gavest me, have I given them"; assessors with Christ, they judge angels, the world.

As the old earthly Canaan, with its good things, was but a meager type of God's thought of good things in reserve for Israel, was not the old earthly paradise with man's rule over the dumb creatures, but type of an infinitely higher rule which it was possible for him to have attained had he abode in unity with God, a rule which the redeemed do now attain in Christ? Having through him again attained the perfection of their nature in its unity with God, their normal exalted grade, and their true place of dominion in the universe, as that dominion lay in all its glory and extent in the divine mind, when God said: "Let us make man in our image and in our likeness, and let him have dominion"; a rule and exaltation and dominion, not over dumb brutes, but over worlds of intelligences. Until we conceive of man thus, we never perhaps attain to the understanding of

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the divine thought in its full significance in that wonderful utterance: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion." Looking at man's dominion thus exalted into a fellowship with Christ in his kingship over all other worlds of intelligences, how full in significance is that utterance of the Psalmist, how it may fill us with awe: "Thou makest man lack little of God!"

Angel Ministry.

No one disputes the fact of angel ministry so far as this refers to early Old Testament times. When fleeing from Abram's house, "the angel of the Lord found Hagar by a fountain in the wilderness, and spake with her." When Abraham stretched out his hand to slay Isaac, an angel called: "Abraham, Abraham!" Abraham sending away his servant to get a wife for Isaac, said: "God shall send his angel before thee." Then remember the angels' visit to Abraham and Lot at the destruction of Sodom, and their service. Time would utterly fail me to follow the angel ministries to and communications with men and women in the Bible; we may make Jacob's ladder with the angels ascending and descending upon it, as type of the intimate intercourse in olden times maintained with men by angels. This truth of angel ministry to men is embodied by the Psalmist in the general promise! "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

We may expect angels to be more intimate with men under the gospel than under the law, their intercourse more constant, and the fulfillment of the promise of angel companionship and help to man more full. This is an idea different from the idea generally entertained of angel intercourse, but let us examine.

Jehovah came down upon Mount Sinai with ten thousands of his saints, and thousands of his angels; smoke rises as from a furnace, fire blazes forth, the trumpet sounds, the mountain shakes. Moses overpowered with dread, exclaims: "I exceedingly fear and quake!" God orders bounds to be set about the Mount, and commands: "Whosoever toucheth the Mount shall surely be put to death." And then call to mind the entrance once a year, alone, for all the people, and that "not without blood," of the high-priest into the most holy place. Such are types of the intercourse of man and the world unseen under the law, a dread of God, a fence up between man and God's family unseen. When Christ came, he came as Mediator to take away dread, the chasm filled up, the fences thrown down, the throne becomes a throne of grace; the word now is: "Come boldly unto the

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throne." And, as if the coming of Christ had brought the family of God on earth and that in heaven into such intimacy that they are now simply one, each mingling with each, the writer of Hebrews says: "Ye are not come unto the Mount that burned with fire, so dreadful to the people; but ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the First Born, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant." The blackness, darkness, tempest, separating fences, are now all gone, gulfs are filled up—all are brought near now in Jesus—the family of God in heaven and the family of God on earth, pervaded with one life, are bound together in loving intimacy, brought near together and made one under the gospel as never under the law. "I and my Father, and the Comforter, shall come unto him and make our abode with him; and as for the angels, are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?"

But, further, the old dispensation was a dispensation addressed greatly to the sight—the Temple, the sacrifices, the mercy-seat, the Shekinah—were all simply symbols speaking to the eye of invisible realities. These eye-pictures were intended to lead the mind of the human race in its babyhood to the apprehension of the grand existing invisible realities symbolized. The picture cultus of Judaism for children is passed away. God would have now his church in its maturer age and stronger powers, grasp firmly the invisible spiritual truths without the helping crutches of the pictures. So may we not suppose that the primitive bodily manifestations of angels to God's people in the early cultus, were on this same low condescending plain of teaching by the eye, without which visible manifestations it would have been difficult for God's people at that time in their culture to have grasped the truth in its fullness of comfort, of invisible angel helpers, ministering angels very near and intimate. And just as the picture cultus of the old Jew — in Temple, sacrifices, mercy-seat, Shekinah—is removed, but the realities symbolized in these abide—exist now gloriously as never under the old dispensation, so may we not suppose that although the bodily manifestations of angels have ceased, yet that the thing promised to God's child in these eye manifestations — spiritual helpers near — abides, exists to-day greatly exalted in all that may cheer, encourage, comfort God's child—intimacy greater, ministry more constant, full? Christ, the pacificator of heaven and earth come, are we to suppose that he who has made the two one, has estranged heaven from earth, put a gulf between

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heavenly angels and God's children on earth not before existing? cut off angel ministry from God's child? annulled the promise, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him and delivereth them"? No, no; Christ come, has removed fences, not built them; has narrowed gulfs, not widened them; has brought heaven and earth, angels and men, into a closer intimacy than ever before, simply one family now: "Ye are come to God, to Jesus, to the heavenly Jerusalem, to the spirits of just men made perfect, to an innumerable company of angels," heaven and earth, through the unifier, Christ, but one company now. If Jacob's ladder and its ascending and descending angels symbolized the heavenly intercourse with man in Jacob's day, much more may we use that same symbol of the intimacy and constancy of intercourse of heaven and earth to-day. And as the redeemed to-day see not with the natural eye the symbolic pictures of the old Jewish cultus, but with spiritual vision see the realities, the better things whispered of in the types; not the material temple at Jerusalem, but the spiritual temple of God, the redeemed church; not the old typical Shekinah brightness, but the real presence of God in its joyous blessedness in the heart; not the typical mercy-seat in the gold-covered lid of the ark, but the thrill of mercy experienced; not the powerless typical tabernacle and Temple sacrifices, but the once for all offered effectual sacrifice of the Lamb of God. So regarding the scattering manifestations of angels to men of old, Jacob's ladder and its ascending and descending angels, simply as types of better things, the redeemed to-day by the eye of faith, are to see a ministry of heavenly helpers larger, fuller, more constant, than ever existed in time of patriarch or prophet, are to feel that now as never under Jewish régime is that promised fulfilled to each child of the Great Father in all its significance: "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

And may we not take the Transfiguration scene on the Mount as type of the nearness and intimacy now of men on earth and "the spirits of just men made perfect," mingling together the disciples and Christ and Moses and Elias? May we not take also the frequent angel manifestations in the New Testament, as promises of the nearness and constant intimacy of these angel helpers and the redeemed for all time? just as real help and communications from angels henceforward in all future gospel time given the redeemed, but the ministering angel not visible to the natural eye? I have already indicated that a miracle had to be wrought on the natural eye that it might receive power to perceive these spiritual beings, *e. g.*, in the case of Balaam, Elisha's serving-man; it is said that they might see angels,

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God "*opened*" their eyes. The day of miracle is past. God does not work miracles now to lead us by visible manifestations to believe other great gospel truths; so we need not expect God to work now (as of old) a miracle on our eyes to help us by visible manifestations of angels to believe the revealed gospel truth of angel ministry; we are to accept this truth by faith, and rejoice in it as we do to other gospel truths.

The Ministries Performed by Angels.

Angels in their ministries do for the person helped just what earthly friends endowed with their love, power, wisdom, would do for him in the same circumstances. The Bible-recorded services of angels indicate the kind of services we may expect from them.

For example, Israel of old is moving on through the wilderness, a way of difficutlies, dangers, enemies; his Father does not permit him to go alone, he sends with him an angel as guide and helper. The believer to-day is on his journey through the wilderness, a way of difficulties, dangers, enemies; his Father does not permit him to go alone, he sends with him an angel as guide and helper. Is not this the lesson taught Israel of all time in the guiding, helping angel of Israel of the desert? Elijah in the desert fleeing from his enemies is discouraged, prays to die. God's angel visits him, sets meat and drink before him, refreshes him, and from the strength received from that angel ministry he travels on toward the Mount of God forty days and forty nights. Promise this, that the great eye rests on the one faithful to God, when all weary and beat out and discouraged; promise that he may expect ministry of angel hand in setting before him all that meat and drink and refreshment he needs for onward progress toward the Mount of God. God of old sent his angel to muzzle the mouths of the loins thirsting for Daniel's blood (vi. 22), sent his angel to deliver his three faithful young witnesses from the flames of the seven times heated furnace (iii. 28). Would lions in human form devour the believer to-day, is he in some hot furnace? God's angel shall put a muzzle on the lions, and shelter him from all harm amid the flames. Did angels minister to Joseph when the child's, Jesus', life was in danger, by forewarning and counsel? Did the tempted Christ have strength ministered to him by an angel? Did an angel sit on the sepulchre stone to comfort the women, and angels wait within the tomb to comfort the disciples, and yet other angels speak comfortingly to the disciples at the ascension? Did an angel cheer Paul's heart when about to be shipwrecked? In all these various ways, may we to-day expect angel ministries, ministry in forewarning and counsel, strength ministered in temptation,

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comfort in affliction, cheer when the heart trembles, angels our helpers everywhere along our journey. Yes, and after they have sung together for joy over our conversion, after they have (all unseen by us) guided us "through many dangers, toils, and snares," until the "silver cord is broken," they do not even then part company with us nor cease their loving ministry. "And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." Angel ministry, then, beyond death, for the believer. As we read the touching story of Lazarus dying among the pitying dogs at the rich man's gate, it seems as if here was one of God's creatures, one of his chosen, to whom he had "forgotten to be gracious," from whom his "mercy was clean gone forever." Looking with flesh-darkened eyes upon the scene, we see only the dying beggar and the strangely silent dogs; but had we such eyes as we shall have hereafter, we could see round about Lazarus, the radiant ones bowing over in tenderest love, the child of the Great Father almost home. A beggar of earth is dying, and only dogs stand round him; but a child of God is there, and angels are waiting with loving care to bear his soul to the mansions of the blest. When the last breath has shaken his frail body, the freed soul steps gladly forth into the everlasting light, and meets the shining messengers from his Father's house. Oh, what a happy greeting! To bear their souls to the mansions their Lord has prepared for them is the joyous, triumphant ministry of the angels to the heirs of salvation. This thought may comfort those who watch loved ones go out beyond the grasp of their clinging hands, beyond the sound of their tenderest words. These loved ones who fall asleep in Jesus, go not alone into the darkness; as earthly friends fade from their view, fair angel countenances smile in upon them; as earthly farewell falls upon the palsied ear, a heavenly welcome greets them; as earthly friend bends in agony over an empty robe of clay, radiant hands are guiding the spirit, "clothed upon with immortality," to receive the—"Enter in!" What darkness is there in death were such light is shining? What danger in passing the river when such helpers are near? What victory is there for the grave, when long ere it clasps the dust garment, the spirit, leaving vacant the garment, in angel company, clothed upon with its house which is from heaven, has hied amid songs of victory and glad greetings, away home to its Father's house, leaving to the embrace of the grave simply dust, disease, mortality, corruption?

Influence of Evil Angels.

The names given the leader of the evil angels are significant—"Devil"; accuser; "Satan"; lier in wait, adversary; "Evil One";

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"Roaring lion going about seeking whom he may devour." Such names indicate to us the nature of a real person standing to-day at the head of a kingdom—"principalities, powers, rulers"—who fights in league with his minions against God, his Anointed, his Redeemed. Significant here is Christ's word, "Watch!"

The methods of attack upon man of these evil spirits are various; they clothe themselves in any disguise in order to entrap their victim. One puts on a threatening aspect—as Bunyan's lions—if the man advances one step towards the Celestial City. A second is an angel of light, and speaks smooth words to throw his victim off his guard, to decoy, entrap. A third knows his victim's tastes, he hides himself altogether, as the trout fisher, and drops down before his victim his bate, the bate his evil nature loves so well; arranges for him the circumstances that give him the opportunity to sin. Another throws in evil thoughts, as with Eve, Christ, Annanias. He injects corrupting thoughts, thoughts tending to sin; false thoughts of the Christian life, its difficulty, gloominess, false thoughts of the person's character, that he is quite good, false thoughts of God's character, of Christ, of the Bible, of the requirements of the gospel on the individual, of the future world. And if in olden times (as I fully believe) devils came into men as into a habitation, abode in them, ruled over and used them as involuntary tools, I see not why devils may not do so now, if the man in weakness surrender his will to them. And this may account for some strange crimes for the perpetration of which the person can give no satisfactory reason, and says he was impelled to do it, he knows not why, and the instant it is committed (the Devil, it may be, leaving him) he is filled with grief. Man making a "compact with the Devil," may thus not be wholly fiction. The human spirit by voluntarily surrendering itself to the influences of evil spirits may court them, and ultimately lead to its possession by them; or it may assume such an attitude towards them by watchful resistance of their advances, as to repel, drive them away, gain over them a complete victory. "Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you."

Means of Securing Angel Ministry.

Not a single instance is found in the Bible of a good man seeking directly angel communications. Good men sought only unto God for help out of the spirit world—when God saw fit—without any solicitation on the part of man—he sent an angel helper. When the angel came to Hagar, Abraham, Lot, Elijah, Daniel, the three furnace youths, Peter, Paul, they were not with others sitting in a dark room,

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in a circle, holding each others hands amid silence and melody of music, asking the table to hit its leg on the floor three times if an angel were present! When Manoah offered the angel visiting him meat, said the angel: "Wouldest thou offer a burnt offering, offer it unto Jehovah." And just here we have indicated by angel word the means by which men of old secured angel ministry, viz., they offered themselves burnt offerings to Jehovah, walked with God. And just this is the means to-day by which the person may secure the most constant and richest angel ministry, viz., a close walk with God in faithful living; and then at any time and in any place, the angel may visit, communicate with, serve him in loving ministries—at his own house door, as Abraham; in the city gate, as Lot; in ship threatened with wreck, as Paul; in the field, as Manoah; amid lions, in furnace, in prison, at the loved One's tomb, as Daniel, the three faithful youths, Peter, Mary, and the other disciples. Our part, then, is not to seek angels, but simply to be earnest, active, consecrated in God's service, trusting for angel visits, communications, ministry, to the faithfulness of him who has said: "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

Practical Influence of Angel Ministry.

(*a.*) Although the way be dark, darkness settle down into thick night, the storm rage, threatening voices mutter amid the howling of the winds, giants wage war, the battle grow thicker and yet thicker, the clangor of weapons become more and more terrific; not a heart-string of God's child need quiver, nor a nerve shake—more are they that be for him than all they that be against him; the angel helper with Lot in danger, with Elijah, Daniel, the furnace youths, with Paul in the darkness of the sea night-storm; these all promises to God's child to-day of angel helpers near; faith in God's promise should do now for God's child what miracle of old did for him—open his eyes, so that he may see his angel helpers, the mountain full of horses and chariots of fire round about him.

(*b.*) Thought of holy angels near the person should have a quickening and restraining influence. Jesus declares that these holy beings rejoice over the repenting sinner; Paul indicates that mere indecorum in dress affects the angels that may be present in the Christian social gathering. Angels are thus evidently sensitive beings. How repellent to the holy angels must sin be in any soul to whom they may be ministering; how such act must set a gulf between the soul and the angels, drive them away, rob it of their full possible ministry!

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But let the human spirit strive earnestly against sin, keep itself unspotted from the world, walk in humility and self-denial closely with God, how the attendant angels rejoice over such soul, love it yet ever more and more, draw nearer to it, enter into closer sympathy with it, are able to communicate to it yet more largely of spiritual good, and help it on yet more effectually in its way to heaven.

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ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.

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THE SCHOOL AND THE CHURCH.

WHAT are their mutual relations? In particular, what is the relation of the Christian School to the Church of Christ? In a general sense every school may be called Christian which exists for a legitimate end, and is conducted on right principles. Every such institution is both allowed and favored by Christianity. The term Christian Schools is however used in a more restricted sense, to designate those institutions established specifically to furnish an extended course of liberal education, and in this country so generally maintained by religious denominations. The present discussion will use the term in this sense, having chief reference to the academy and college. It is true that a correct explanation of their relation to the Christian church, or to Christian churches, must give the principles which will go far toward explaining the relation of all legitimate schools to the church. From that wider discussion we shall, however, strictly refrain, that we may keep within the proper limits of a review article.

It is perhaps worth while to remark, first of all, that the church and the school are in fact two institutions. They are not two names for one and the same thing. Nor is the one a part, a constituent, or a function of the other. Each is an institution having its own origin, nature and end. Each is a whole, leaving intact the wholeness of the other. There could be a Christian church and no school. There

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could be a Christian school and no church. The two therefore are really two, related, but not identical. We can easily name some of the chief distinctions which separate between them. As to their origin, the church is instituted by immediate and positive divine enactment, but the school is not. Christ himself organized his church, prescribed its constitution, its ordinances, its officers, its ends, its methods, its all. In regard to the school, nothing like this can be found or claimed. Our system of education by schools is as truly of human origin as is our banking system. It is clothed with no such authority as invests the church. Again, how unlike are the conditions of entrance into the two institutions! How different the persons that may have place in the school, from those who alone have right in the church! To the latter they only may belong who give credible evidence of being "born of the Spirit," and of readiness to walk according to all the commandments of Christ; to the former the unconverted are as fitly admitted as the converted. The church is for those of every age, unless we except infancy; the school, as here considered, is practically confined to those between the ages of twelve and thirty. All kinds of occupations have their representatives in the church; but the school itself constitutes an occupation. Yet again, the ends for which the two primarily exist are widely different. These, in case of the church, are exclusively spiritual; in case of the school, educational. The church exists, first of all, to embody the relation of believers to God in Christ, and their relations to each other consequent on this divine relationship. Then this embodiment is to serve also both for the manifestation, and for the development of godliness. The church is "the body of Christ." It gives Christ place in the world, reveals him to the world, and so serves for his more abundant entrance into human life and society. The school lays hold, not primarily of the religious nature alone, but of the whole rational nature, and seeks to develop mind as mind in its completeness. In these and other respects we find the school and the church distinguishable one from the other, in no danger of being identified, confounded, or merged together. There is difference, and even contrast; but neither antagonism nor rivalry. Indeed, the very idea of a Christian school, as already defined, excludes the possibility of conflict, and includes the fact of harmony. The only question is as to the closeness of the connection, the nature and extent of the co-operation.

That the relation is most intimate, if not absolutely vital, is apparent from a mere glance at the history of church and school. Look in our own country at the institutions of higher learning. Look at Dartmouth and Yale and Princeton and Brown and Colby; at

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Hamilton and Rochester and Lewisburg and Kalamazoo and Richmond and Chicago; look at these and hundreds of others which, like them, are great centres of light and power all through this broad land, north, south, east and west. By whom were they founded? Who conceived their origination, consulted, prayed, and labored to start them? Whose money laid the first foundations for every one of them? Whose money has continued to flow into them, creating buildings, libraries, endowments, ever-growing facilities? Whose hearts turn and have turned most fondly, earnestly, prayerfully, to these institutions? There is not a denomination of respectable dimensions and influence in this country that has not its colleges and academies, as well as its theological schools. There is not a denomination that would think of abandoning these schools of its own origination and maintenance, unless it had resolved upon dissolution. From the beginning of our history, not simply as an independent nation, but of our colonial existence, the church, as represented in denominations, has pursued the same course, has acted as though its prosperity, if not its very existence, depended upon the possession of the means of liberal culture. Or if it has not been with the instinct and aim of self-preservation and enlargement, it must have been from profoundest interest in the cause of education just from the nature of the cause. Take it whichever way we will, or take it both ways as we should, it comes to the same thing. The history of liberal culture in this country is utterly inexplicable unless we admit that church and school have a community of interest, are in closest co-operation, conspire to a common end. The present attitude of Christian denominations toward their higher schools, the growing purpose every way manifested to go forward, and do more, is to the same purpose. And this attitude is the more noteworthy as at last the theory of state institutions, instead of the denominational schools, is urged, and the attempt is made to effect the change. It is safe to predict that not one of all the denominations of this country will ever transfer its interest from its own to state institutions. So long as the body has Christian life enough to keep it together, it will "love, cherish and maintain" the institutions of its own founding. Certainly the Baptists, in their magnificent Centennial movement, show where they expect to stand for the next century, where their unerring Christian instinct tells them they must stand. Thus it is that a single glance at the history of church and school in America teaches us, what a glance at their history in any and every other Christian country would teach, that there must be in their nature a bond of closest connection. What is that bond?

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First of all, church and school, each in its own sphere, are working on the same view of man. And what is that view? It is this: That nothing in this world save man possesses intrinsic worth; that this worth of man defies all comprehension or calculation; and that it belongs to him by virtue of that which he can become and be. On this view, property, station, achievement, accomplishments, and the world itself, each and all have worth, not in themselves and for their own sake, but from their relation to man and a genuine manhood. It is a view which squarely contradicts the theory, whether consciously or unconsciously held, whether tacitly or openly taught, whether embodied in customs or institutions, which subordinates man to place, which puts position first and manhood last, which makes the person a tool and the occupation its owner, which regards the raiment as more than the body, and the meat as more than the life, which degrades human nature and dishonors God's image. We know how God's word, which is the voice and creed of the church, represents man. Why, the fundamental position of Christianity is that man is made in the image of God, by essential nature akin to God, destined thus to worship, capable of communion. This makes possible the doctrine of God's love to man, and this doctrine again takes form and substance and place and power and glory in the incarnation. And what is the incarnation? Not only the centre, but the sum of Christian doctrines—divine nature coming into human nature, human nature taken into divine nature, divine and human nature co-existing in the divine human person, the God-man, Jesus Christ. Does any one ask what the church makes of man? Let them look at the Head of the church. He was man, the son of man, and also God, the son of God. He was man, the son of man not this man or that man, taking worth not from position, rank, or aught that is special, but from the common nature of the race, existing in its sinless perfection. So does the incarnation forever ask and answer the question which, forever asked, can never be answered: "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Or, in another form, "How much then is a man better than a sheep?" Now it is exactly this view of man's worth which our system of liberal education has adopted, and is applying. Its first principle is to develop manhood because of manhood's worth; to cultivate mind for the mind's sake. It takes hold of our boys and girls—it would gladly take hold of them all—and its great question is, not, What is to be their business, or station? not, How can they be fitted for this profession or that office? but, How can their slumbering powers be aroused and rightly directed? How can their possibilities of a noble becoming be helped onward to

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actual achievement? How in these formative years can they be carried toward the attainment of the purest, strongest, most symmetrical manhood of which their natures are capable? Questions of occupation are regarded as subordinate. They are indeed important, and the system recognizes the importance. But they are not first and chief. Now in holding this doctrine our system is at one with the church; nay, it is the church that has given to the school this doctrine. It is the church that holds the school to this doctrine. And while the church listens to the voice of its God, or keeps its eye on the person of its Head, no utilitarian clamor, whether of ridicule, argument or persuasion, will ever drive or draw it to remodel its system of education to suit another doctrine. That must be regarded as the most practical training which does most for the mind. What if it really were true that a man whose eight or ten years between boyhood and maturity had been spent in gaining liberal culture and manly development was for that reason unable to make as much money as otherwise he might? Would that prove that those years were spent unwisely? Is money-making the chief end of man? Mammon says yes. Christ says no. Christianity teaches that a man's life-work, his real business on the earth, is other and higher than that which we call his business, above and beyond his trade. Our proper business is to enrich society; to bring into it truth and grace and goodness; to leave the world better than we found it. This work is indeed largely effected by noble doing, but far more by noble being, and the noble doing is impossible unless behind it is the noble being. We learned this lesson when we became the sons of God, and while we remain his sons we cannot forget it. We cannot think it man's first business to excel in an occupation. But even if our conception be thus dwarfed, this remains true, that in the higher departments of labor the disciplined mind will in the end win. The higher the culture the better the preparation for such kinds of work. Thus it is that our system of education and the church have one and the same view of man.

As respects the proper work of each, *their relation is clearly that of discipline to piety.* The school is for discipline, the church for piety. What then is the relation of discipline to piety? We may characterize it as both supplemental and instrumental. It remains to consider wherein it is supplemental and wherein instrumental. In doing this, we take in hand first the relation of discipline to piety in the subject of discipline. We, as parents, bring before us our own boys or our own girls, and ask what a thorough education has to do with their Christian character. Here, for want of a better word, we

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may call the relation supplemental. In designating it thus we reject the notion that culture is piety, or that it is a substitute for piety. Our Christian life is not a product of education, but a communication from above. Nor can we claim even that apart from those distinctively religious influences which in our denominational schools are most concentrated, there is more hope for the conversion of students than for the young in other lawful pursuits. But with such influences the nature of the case and the history of our institutions do lead us to expect more frequent and extensive revivals than elsewhere occur. The instrumentality, however, is that of the church in the school, rather than of the school proper. And this shows that we must *keep* the church in the schools. We must continue for the next century, and for every succeeding century, to do what our fathers of the closing century have done, make our academies and colleges centres of gospel light as well as of general culture, turn upon them distinctively religious influence, put them in charge of godly men, keep them in charge of godly men, keep them in contact with the Christian heart of the Christian brotherhood, and flood them with unceasing prayers. Doing this, these institutions will be as they have been, the safest of all places for our children. Failing to do this they must and will become places of swarming perils, and multitudinous ruin. They will become the strongholds of infidelity, impiety and atheism, graduating cultivated sinners, disciplined heathen and gigantic destroyers. It is easy to see that this both has been and must be. Discipline does not stand to piety as identical with it, as a form of it, as a substitute for it, as a cause producing it, or even as immediately instrumental to it. We have ventured to call one's discipline the supplement of his piety. That this somewhat loosely, but correctly, characterizes the relation may perhaps be made to appear. The church in her distinctive function is the immediate instrument in the production and promotion of piety. This is her high prerogative, divinely conferred and forever inalienable. The church as a church is God's prophet, speaking for him to man, taking and interpreting his word, and thus serving as a sort of channel for the communication of life and salvation. In a word the church gives to a man his God. So also in a word the school gives to a man himself. It is only as a man has both, his God and himself, that he is fully a man, a man complete. His God is his chief want, the want of all wants, the need of all needs, need most imperative. Himself is also a mighty need, second only to his need of God. Such being these needs, and such the supplies given respectively through the church and the school, in piety and in discipline, we properly call discipline

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the supplement of piety. The word supplement supposes piety to precede culture in both time and nature. This is the normal order, though unhappily inversions of the order are common. But we are to learn the nature of the relationship from a normal, not an abnormal case. That the proper business of the church is to give to men their God, to minister to the reconciliation and fellowship of man with God, to lead them to devote themselves to him and to receive him into themselves none will deny. This is a ministry which extends itself to all mankind. The field is the world, and the command is, "Go ye into all the world." The field is not alone the schools. The command is not, Go ye only into the schools. About all this we have no question, and therefore no need of further discussion.

But is it true that our course of liberal culture gives to a man himself? Does it thus provide him with an offering to God and a dwelling place for God? Of course in one sense it is an absurdity to speak of giving one's self to himself. Every one is himself through God's creation, and not by the school's mediation. But every one though a person at birth, is also at birth a nature. He is an unrealized potentiality, a latent possibility, an undeveloped complex of unmeasured and immeasurable capabilities. The infant is more a nature than a person, and the infant is such a nature that the direction, quality, and volume of development, are contingent. In the nature are laws of development, but they are not self-sufficient, self-executing, unrelated laws. An infant may be dwarfed, may be misshaped, may be corrupted. What he shall become depends not upon the infant either wholly or mainly. It depends upon that which is without him, upon the influences which shall act upon him, the atmosphere he shall breath, the food he shall eat. Savages are savages not by birth, but by education, or rather by repression and perversion. True the repression and perversion do so become a part of the nature as to affect the offspring of the savages even in the birth, and yet repression and perversion are the father and the mother of savagery. If treatment has much to do with bodily development, treatment has as much more to do with personal development as person is more than body. Now manifestly no man has his own true, full self, either for use or for enjoyment, either to devote or to open to his God, and to the nature, life, law, and love of God, who is not through development the best and the most of which he was at birth capable. If he has that, he has himself. Whoever and whatever contributes to that in so far gives himself to himself. Now no sane man claims that our institutions of learning constitute the only agency apart from distinctively church ministration, which contributes to

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this end. Nobody claims, or dreams of claiming, that only in these institutions is there normal and manly development, ample and goodly education. We all recognize and rejoice in the innumerable and potent agencies with which the infinite wisdom and goodness and power of God have encompassed and invested us in his works of creation and providence, in nature and society. And as to the distinction between self-educated and otherwise educated men, we discard it utterly in so far as it is made a distinction between two kinds of education, one wholly from self, and the other wholly from others. There is no *self*-education. There can be no education which is *not* self-education. Both of these statements are true, both of them are false. Both are true as half truths. Neither gives a whole truth. What we claim for our schools is, not that they make men and women complete, but that they are the best agency ever yet devised for aiding our youth to the fullest realization of their best capabilities. That the system is perfect, and improvement impossible, nobody pretends. Enough that it embodies the combined wisdom of the world's educators thus far, that it has been amply tested by experience, and that nothing exists that has the shadow of a claim to supersede it. Men may ridicule and scoff at it. What is there great and good which is not made the object of ridicule and derision? Men may put together the best men not educated in the schools, and the worst men educated in them, and with sophistical triumph bid us behold and compare. They may thrust up into view real or supposed defects of the system, and thrust down out of view its merits and achievements. They have done it, and will do it. But before they ask us as lovers of our children, our country, our kind, and our God, to turn our backs upon our ancient and established system of liberal culture, let them show us and give us something better. Be sure that for this we shall wait long, and wait in vain. This system takes our boys and our girls at an age when they can pass safely from under the eye of parents to be under the eye of the choicest, fittest of guides. From the beginning to the end of the course faithful, able, experienced teachers are kept in close personal connection with the precious youth. The power of example is thus all the time before them to inspire, correct, guide. The personal efforts of these teachers are also unceasingly and unsparingly given for the same end. And then the nature, variety, balance and succession of the studies and of all the elements of the course are not left to the judgment or caprice of one man, or one set of men, but have been fixed, with infinite care and pains, by the wisdom of the past. The effort has been to adjust these to the laws of mind, and to the age and situation of the minds

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to be moulded, in such way as most effectually to contribute to a sound, solid, roundabout edification. The system makes education chief, and instruction tributary. It instructs in order to educate. Its aim is not to fill an empty sack, but to bring onward into power and beauty a growing man. To do this it uses the food of truth, and the exercise of study, and both the food and the exercise it suits with utmost care to the end in view. As the growth of the man is perpetual, it endeavors only to lay foundations. As beyond the schools the student must advance without tutors and governors, it aims to outline to him the realms of truth that he may continue his progress intelligently. It puts him into connection and sympathy with all that is noble in human thought and deeds, and with the mighty thought of God as interpreted in science. Such a development it attempts and achieves. It does not indeed complete the development. That is for eternity to accomplish. It does complete the beginning. Nothing more does or can it desire. To do this is to give a man himself. To do this is to increase the amount of genuine humanity, and so enlarge the temple of God, and the offering in which he delights. The thorough education of one child adds more to the amount of the world's humanity than the birth of ten thousand. One such man as Jonathan Edwards or Thomas Jefferson outweighs a generation of undisciplined men, though among these there be many equally capable by nature. In so far as one does not know how to think he is not a man. In this respect it holds that "as one thinketh so is he." Rational thought is the measure, as rationality is the essence, of manhood.

So then I say that in discipline the school gives to a man himself as in piety the church gives to a man his God, and no man is whole till he has in full both his God and himself. So does discipline supplement piety. The one gives us our powers, the other gives to those powers their supreme law. The one gives to us movement, the other gives to that movement direction. The one gives to us our being, the other gives to this being its principle of true life.

As for the Christian scholar himself the relation of his discipline to his piety is supplemental, so *through* the Christian scholar as a power in society the relation of his discipline to piety in others is instrumental, and hence the school is an agency for the church. This part of our subject has been so often, so fully and so ably discussed, that there is little need to dwell upon it here. Besides, this relation is far more obvious and visible. We see it as often as we look upon the Christian scholars who in the pulpit and elsewhere are doing service for Christ. All men feel this relation when they feel the

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influence of these workers. Hence consciously or unconsciously men of ordinary intelligence must acknowledge that Christian culture is a powerful instrumentality in advancing Christ's cause. But quite apart from all other evidence this would follow from the supplemental relation of discipline to piety. Plainly if education gives to a man himself, carries him on in manly growth into manly power, it thereby multiplies his influence. But to multiply a thorough Christian's influence is to multiply thoroughly Christian influence. The larger the motive power the more machinery it will drive. Increase the size of your farm, and, other things being equal, you increase its yield. The power of the church is indeed of God, and yet this power operates in connection with human agency, and *through* this agency accomplishes its results. We expect an increase of the results in an increase of the agency, an improvement of the results in an improvement of the agency. But, as already shown, a genuine education increases both the quantity and quality of man's power. There is here no substitution of culture for godliness. Against such substitution we should be, like our fathers, jealous with a godly jealousy. None too vehemently did they protest against the doctrine then ably and widely maintained, that for the pastors of churches a college education was an indispensable qualification, while piety was desirable, but not indispensable. Their doctrine was the same with ours, liberal culture desirable, piety indispensable. But this jealousy for the supremacy of godliness some would identify with antipathy against education, and because they possess the antipathy claim the merit which is due the jealousy. These dealers in counterfeit money sometimes piously ask whether God needs man's learning, and have sometimes been fitly asked in turn whether he needs man's ignorance. The simple truth is that according to his own word he needs men, he needs manhood, and manly power. He therefore does need educated mind, educated men, in the ministry, and none the less in every other business and profession. He needs educated mind, and hence education, and hence the school. The school as an instrumentality for his church he needs and will have.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

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BENEDICT AND THE BENEDICTINES.

Les Monastères Bénédictins d'Italie; Souvenirs d'un voyage littéraire au dela des Alpes; par Alphonse Dantier. Ouvrage couronné par l'Academie Francaise. Deuxième édition. Paris: Didier & Cie. 1867.

HALF-WAY between Rome and Naples there rises above the town of San Germano a mountain crag overlooking the valley of the Liris—

The river taciturn of classic song,[1]

crowned with the white walls and gleaming windows of a building, which, at first sight, the traveller might mistake for a palace or a castle. It is Monte Cassino, the cradle of western monasticism, the capital of the Benedictines for over thirteen hundred years; the most ancient and most illustrious monastery in Christendom. At its base are the ruins of a city going back to the dim times of the Volsci, with an amphitheatre of the days of the Cæsars, and the villa of Varro, who in learning and piety was a Pagan Benedictine of the best type. From its top opens a prospect of Italian beauty, with the river creeping across the hazy plain, the valleys scarped in soft lines in the northern and eastern hills, with the snow-covered Apennines shining in the remoter horizon. Not far are Arpino, where Marius and Cicero were born, and Aquino, the birth-place of Juvenal and Thomas Aquinas. Here, remote from cities and traveled resorts, on

[1] "Rura quae Liris quietâ
Mordet aquâ taciturnus amnis." Horace, *Ode I*, 31.

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its isolated hill, is the home of a society whose antiquity, whose history, whose members, whose wealth, learning and literary treasures, and whose numerous progeny give it a singular eminence. Its church surpasses every other in Italy, even St. Peter's itself, in elegant and costly decoration. Its library was the ark in which some of the richest treasures of ancient literature survived the dark ages. Its archives, with eight hundred original documents, furnish abundant material for ecclesiastical diplomatics and archæology. And it was here, nearly five hundred years after Christianity had come into Italy, and two centuries after it had been legalized by Constantine, more than a hundred years after Honorius had decreed the extinction of Paganism, and the destruction of its temples, and after Theodoric the Goth had interdicted its exercise in Italy under penalty of death, it was here, on this little mountain in Campania, that the ancient religion found its last refuge, as if the better to survey the vast domain which the new faith had taken from it, and to breathe its expiring sigh over the loss. While everywhere else in Italy the old idolatry had disappeared, here, on this lofty height, so near the metropolis of Christendom, early in the sixth century, there was an ancient temple of Apollo still undestroyed, and a grove where the peasantry still made sacrifices to gods and demons.

It was to this spot, it was perhaps in order to attack and vanquish this abomination, that Benedict fled from the retreat he had tried to find in the gorges of Subiaco. There, among the wild and picturesqe Sabine Hills, ascending the course of the Ani as it hollows its path from fall to fall among the rocks, he had thirty-five years before taken refuge as he made his escape from the world whose attractions he dreaded. The son of a noble house of the town of Nursia, born in the year 480, and spending his boyhood in study at Rome, he had taken early disgust at the profligate manners of his companions, and before he was fifteen, if we may credit his biographer, Gregory the Great, he had resolved to renounce all prizes of the world, and try the discipline of solitude and penance. For three years he buried himself in a cave among the cliffs of Subiaco, indebted for his hair-cloth shirt and dress of skins, and scanty fare, to a monk from a convent near by, who alone knew his place of concealment; and there he led the outward life of a wild beast, and, as he conceived, the inward life of an angel. He suffered inward torments and outward vexations. The legend goes that he conquered his unchaste thoughts by rolling his naked body in a bush of thorns till the blood came. The monks of Vicovaro importuned him to take the rule of their house, and then, weary of his austerity, tried to poison him in the wine of

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the Eucharist. He returned to his cavern, where he could find better company in himself. *Habitavit secum*, says Gregory. But the fame of his sanctity had drawn a multitude of monks around Subiaco, who are soon gathered into a community, and Benedict is their superior. It had also exposed him to trials, and brought him enemies, the usual penalty of any kind of excellence. His good name, and even his life is assailed; lewd women are introduced into his monasteries; his efforts to maintain strict discipline are thwarted; and he resolves to abandon the spot sacred to him by so many years of conflict. He is nearly fifty years old; but he perhaps cherishes in his soul the hope of better success in a new experiment. He carries in his bosom, it may be, the germs of the reform he is to start, of that institute he is to establish, and moves in the consciousness of a great purpose and a great destiny, towards a new retreat among the hills of Campania. It is not unlikely that report had come to him of the lingering Paganism of the place, and that he went as a missionary to drive idolatry from a haunt where the negligence of the church, and the ignorance of the people had alllowed it to remain so long.[1] M. Dantier adds the somewhat practical reason, that the land belonged to Tertullus, the rich father of Placidus, one of his young companions, and that the donation of it gave Benedict undisputed possession of a spot for his little colony and his new experiment.[2] Dante, in one of the fine passages of the Paradiso, hears Benedict tell the story of his success:

> That mountain, on whose slope Cassino stands,
> Was frequented of old, upon its summit,
> By a deluded folk, and ill-disposed;
> And I am he who first up thither bore
> The name of him who brought upon the earth
> The truth that so much sublimateth us.
> And such abundant grace upon me shone,
> That all the neighboring towns I drew away
> From the impious worship that seduced the world.[3]

Benedict came into the world in the dark and troubled time when the Barbarians were invading Italy. His life nearly synchronizes with the period of the Gothic rule. The Roman empire, after five hundred years of glory and shame, expired just before Benedict was born, when Odoacer stripped Augustulus of the purple, and sent him

[1] Beugnot, Destruction du Paganisme, II, 287.

[2] Dantier, I, 154.

[3] Paradiso, Canto XXII; Longfellow, 563.

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into exile. The Roman literature came to a brighter close in Boethius, who, imprisoned in the tower of Pavia, was writing his immortal Consolation of Philosophy, five years before Benedict forsook the heights of Subiaco. While he was laying the foundations of the order which has done so much for the scholarship of Christendom, Justinian was silencing the voice of philosophy in the schools of Athens; and, it may be added, the Code of Justinian, more potent and enduring even than the Rule of Benedict, was published in the very year, 529, in which Monte Cassino was founded. It was amidst the invasions of this barbaric life, which was pouring its fresh blood into the veins of a decaying world, it was amidst the terrors and despairs of that age of dissolution, that monasticism came into the West, and was organized for its great service. The Count de Montalembert couples the two together:

> In order [he says] that the church should save society, a new element was necessary in the world, and a new force in the church. Two invasions were required—that of the Barbarians from the North, and that of the monks from the South. The Roman empire, without the Barbarians, was an abyss of servitude and corruption. The Barbarians, without the monks, were chaos. The Barbarians and the monks united, recreated a world which was to be called Christendom.[1]

There were monks and monasteries in the West long before Benedict. They were in the East before they were in the West. Monasticism is a child of the Orient. It does not belong to Christianity alone. It is in human nature. It is Pagan as well as Christian. Eight hundred years before St. Anthony, Buddha turned ascetic and hermit, and established a monasticism more ancient and more enduring than the Christian. The Indian Yogi and the Mussulman Fakir are spiritual relations of the Coptic hermit and Symeon Stylites. It is born of weariness and disgust of the world; of remorse or of misfortune; of the conflict with moral evil which it is vainly thought can be easier waged in solitude; of the inclination for a life of seclusion, of contemplation, of freedom from social bonds or temptations; of the asceticism so natural to the human heart, which thinks to find virtue and perfection, and to earn heaven at last, by personal austerities, by chastising the body, and isolating the soul. It began in the simple asceticism which at first without separating from society condemned itself to silence, to fasting, to celibacy. Soon the ascetae retired into the woods and the deserts, becoming anchorites in lonely cells and

[1] Monks of the West, Vol. I, 276, 283.

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hermitages. In time, from whatever cause, perhaps from very weariness of solitude, they drew together, building their huts in neighborhood, with some sort of community; and at last coming under one roof, forming closer association, and becoming cenobites, as the name indicates, having a common life, and finally a common rule and an established order. This ascetic tendency, beginning in solitude and ending in a separated society, of course was fostered by circumstances; as in Egypt by the climate and geography, by the indolence, the gloomy fancies they engender, and the facilities for life out of doors; by the persecutions on the one hand and the corruptions on the other of the Roman empire; the noblest spirits sometimes in their despairs flying out of a world falling to pieces into refuges of peace and prayer, and when the privilege of martyrdom was passed, seeking its crown in the desert and the cave, in self-torture and spiritual suicide. It was not Christianity any more than the condition of society itself which drove men out of it. There was no energy, and no field for it. With the fall of the empire, and the devastations of the Barbarians, with oppressive taxes and idleness and public wretchedness, and the disturbance of life, men had nothing to do but turn monks. In the storm and general shipwreck, they were glad of a harbor where they could abandon all hope of this world for the sake of a future; where at least the idle could live, where even common spirits could win the honor of sanctity, and where poverty would be without want, and wear even a badge of sacredness and honor. They emigrated from a world vexed by noises and strifes, and which offered them nothing, into some land of seclusion and silence, where they could be quiet and alone, and let the world go as and where it would. Times came when the monk turned into an ambitious priest, or a zealous missionary, when the monastery mixed itself with the movements of the world outside. But originally the monk was a layman, willing to forego the excitements and gains of life for the sake of escaping its distractions or corruptions; desiring to dismiss all hopes or fears of anything here below, that in quiet he might wait for what is to come hereafter. Monachism was a reaction from secular life, which, always burdensome to some spirits, was in the fourth and fifth centuries so full of desolations and miseries that there seemed no remedy but in flight from a world ruined beyond salvation.

It was then that Christian monachism came into the West out of Egypt, its native country. There, as early as the Decian persecution, in the middle of the third century, Paul of Thebes had begun the life of an eremite, and there under the inspiration of St. Antony's example, before a century had passed, the deserts from Nitria to the

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Thebaid were populous with anchorites and cenobites, as populous, it has been said, as the cities themselves.[1]

"Go," says the golden-mouthed doctor of Constantiople, "to the Thebaid; you shall find there a solitude still more beautiful than Paradise, a thousand choirs of angels under the human form, nations of martyrs, armies of virgins, the diabolical tyrant chained, and Christ triumphant and glorified."[2]

Athanasius had known the solitaries of the Egyptian deserts, had been the friend, as he became also the biographer, of Antony; and it was Athanasius who was to be the missionary of monasticism to the West. Twenty years, five times during his episcopate, he was in exile. Twice he had taken refuge and found enthusiastic welcome in the Thebaid, and three times he had been a fugitive in the West. In 340 he came to Rome, bringing monks with him, and the report of a new form of religious life. His story took effect. Monasticism began to spread, and found apostles and defenders. Not only Basil and Gregory and Chrysostom in the East, but Ambrose at Milan, and Augustine in North Africa, and Martin of Tours, himself a monk before he became bishop, and Jerome, spending his last years in a monastery at Bethlehem, gave it sanction and impulse. In Rome it touched some enthusiastic spirits. But it was opposed to the habits and the passions of Roman society, not yet emancipated from Paganism, and often provoked contempt and indignation. The patricians preserved the easy manners of Paganism after they relinquished its doctrines, and the populace kept their prejudices, and to both the monks were detestable. Jerome relates that at the funeral of Blesilla, a nun whose days were thought to be shortened by excessive fasting, the people threatened to throw the monks into the river.[3] "In the cities of Africa," says Salvian, "and more especially in Carthage, no sooner did a man in a cloak make his appearance, pale, and with his head shaved, than the miserable infidel populace assailed him with curses and abuse." It took a different stamp from the more practical genius of the West.[4] There were fools and follies enough, but not so many as infested the monasteries of Egypt and Syria. No saint of the pillar was known in the Latin Church. At the end of the fifth century these spiritual retreats had sprung up

[1] Gibbon quotes Rufinus (c. 7, *Vita Patrum*, p. 461). "Quanti populi habentur in urbibus tanta pæna (pæne) habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum." Dec. and Fall, c. xxxvii.

[2] Chrysostom on Matt., Hom. VIII.

[3] Gieseler, Ecc. Hist., I, 409.

[4] Guizot, Hist. of Civ., II, 65. Millman, Lat. Christianity, II, 74; denied by J. H. Newman, Historical Sketches, III, 377.

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everywhere, in the glens of the Apennines, in the heights of the Jura, in the lonely islands of the Mediterranean coast, in the remote wilds of Ireland and Wales. There were monks and monasteries, but no organization, no uniform discipline—in a word no monastic order. At first, and for two centuries, the monks were simply laymen, and the monasteries were lay associations, under no ecclesiastical engagements. They made their own laws. Their spirit was one of liberty and religious exaltation. Some of them wandered at will, religious vagrants and vagabonds. The West did not follow the extravagancies of monasticism in the East, neither did it altogether avoid them. The door of the cloister in the East or West was not shut against folly, pride, hypocrisy, even avarice and luxury. Such men as Augustine and Jerome, ardent advocates and propagators of monachism, found occasion to denounce its excesses.

With the world outside of the monastery full of confusion, amidst the dissolving of the empire, and the fearful agitations of society, should there not be confusion within? The storms of the time cast into the monasteries all kinds of spirits, and especially such as were distracted, wretched, excited. They were asylums for the wounded rather than the well, for the eccentric rather than the sane. They were societies containing the prolific germs of good and evil, and with an undreamed future before them, but needing order and organization. If they were to be saved from degeneracy and ruin, if they were to withstand the storm and preserve civilization, they must gain a compact and firm order. They were not a clergy, subject to episcopal authority. Their law, their discipline, their organization must come out of themselves. The reformer, the organizer, the legislator of monasticim must be a monk, and that monk was Benedict.

He had fourteen years of life remaining, in which he laid the foundations on Monte Cassino which have endured so long. He purified the spot of its Paganism, became an apostle and missionary of religion to the populations around, and spread cultivation over the barren hillsides, built the Abbey which three times destroyed and rebuilt has held its place for thirteen hundred years; and above all, founded that moral edifice, that code of monastic rules, under whose shelter the monks of western Europe lived and died through so many generations. His sister, Scholastica, born on the same day with himself, had followed him to find a retreat near his own, where they met once a year, and dying within forty days of each other, in the year 543, they were buried side by side in a tomb which is still shown under the high altar of the church of Monte Cassino. It belonged to the habit of the time, and above all of the monkish literature, to surround its saints

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and heroes with an atmosphere of marvel. There are legends enough about St. Benedict, which need not be repeated, which need not be believed, such as invested with wonder every man who awakened the enthusiasm of his age. We may not believe them, our critical philosophy may pronounce them incredible and impossible. But they were believed. Gregory the Great, writing his biography fifty years later, related them for facts. Where there is smoke there is fire. Such legends are the poetry of history. But they spring out of real virtue and sanctity and heavenly communion, out of the faith, the reverence, the admiration at any rate, which believe the saint to be honored of heaven, and crown his head with the aureole which is just as beautiful and golden for being imaginary and unsubstantial. It is not in the legendary story of Benedict, even with the gilding of fable washed off, so much as in the rule he established, that his real spirit and inner life is disclosed. If his life had consisted only of the wonders told of him, his name would have perished long ago.

Hitherto the monks had been guided by rules like that of St. Basil, imported from the East, by vague traditions, and by such records as were to be found in the lives of the Fathers of the Desert. A fixed form and a fixed rule were now to be given to the monastic life. The code which Benedict wrote for his own house became the accepted law of the monks of the West for centuries. It is divided into seventy-three chapters. It turns the cloister into a voluntary prison, and a prison for life. For it established the permanence of the monastic order by the vow of stability which it required. This was the great innovation which changed and fixed the monastic life into an institution. Before, whatever moral obligation held the monk to his monastery, there was no formal engagement. The society lacked the cohesion which it took from the solemn and perpetual vow now required. A novitiate, indeed, was allowed. The perpetuity of vows required it in any wise legislation. Where there is no retreat there ought to be the chance of previous deliberation. The applicant was left outside for some days to test his perseverance. He was then put under instruction in regard to the difficulties and hardships of his new vocation. If after two months he persevered, the entire Rule was read to him, with the closing words: "This is the law under which you wish to enlist; if you can keep it, enter; if you cannot, depart freely." This was to be repeated three times before the close of the year. He is then informed that he is about to lose all power of disposing of himself, or of laying aside the Rule which he now accepts after sufficient deliberation and trial. Then, says the Rule:

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Let him who is to be received promise in the oratory, before God and his saints, the perpetuity of his stay, the reformation of his manners, and obedience. Let a deed be made of his promise, in the name of the saints whose relics are deposited there, and in presence of the abbot. Let him write this deed with his own hand, or if he cannot write, let another, at his request, write it for him, and let the novice put a cross to it, and with his own hand deposit the deed upon the altar.[1]

The monk was to leave everything behind, abjuring family, society, country, property; renouncing his own will in the pledge of absolute obedience, extending, in the strong language of the Rule, even to things which are impossible. With the abdication of will, of personality itself, there went, of course, the renunciation of all individual property. All things were to be in common.

It is especially necessary [says the Rule] to extirpate from the monastery, and to the very root, the vice of any one possessing anything in particular. Let no person dare to give, or receive, without the order of the abbot, nor have anything of his own peculiar property, not a book, nor tablet, nor a pen, nor anything whatsoever; for it is not permitted them even to have their own body and their own will under their own power.[2]

In fact, individuality was completely abolished, the will abdicated, self sacrificed in favor of obedience, absolute and without reserve. In fact, it was spiritual slavery of the worst kind. "That," says M. Guizot, "is the fatal present that the monks made to Europe, and which so long altered or enervated its virtues."[3] While the government of the monastery was an absolute despotism, it was despotism tempered by the liberty of election, and even by the privilege of advice. The abbot was to be elected by the free choice of the monks, and he was elected for life. He was also to take counsel with them in all matters of importance, though his decision was to be final and supreme.

The monastery was a prison, but an industrial prison. The great reform which Benedict introduced into the monastic institute was the ordination of labor. "Laziness," says his Rule, "is the enemy of the soul, and consequently the brothers should, at certain times, occupy themselves in manual labor, at others in holy reading." It accordingly regulated minutely the employments of every hour of the day, according to the seasons. Seven hours were appointed for manual labor, and two for reading. "If," says the Rule, "the poverty of the place, or the harvest, or any necessity keep them constantly at work, let them not be vexed; for they are truly monks if

[1] Reg. S. Bened., c. 58. [2] Ibid, c. 33. [3] Hist. of Civ., Vol. II, 77.

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they live by the labors of their hands, as our brothers the apostles did. But let all be done with moderation, for the sake of the weak." The regulations for reading illustrate the spirit of the Rule:

During Lent, all shall receive books from the library, which they shall read, one after another, all through. Especially let one or two ancients be chosen to go through the monastery at the hours when the brothers are occupied in reading, and let them see if they find any negligent brother who abandons himself to sleep, or to talking, who in no way applies himself to reading, but is useless to himself and distracts others. If one of this kind is found, let him be reprimanded once or twice: if he do not amend, let him receive correction, in order to intimidate the others. On Sunday, let all be occupied in reading except those who are selected for various functions. If any one be negligent or lazy, so that he will neither meditate nor read, let some labor be required of him, so that he may not be left to do nothing. Let some employment be imposed for the weak and delicate brothers, so that they may be neither lazy nor oppressed with severe work.

Such distribution of time, giving so much to labor and so little to study, Benedict probably felt to be required by the circumstances of the monasteries of that age. They were agricultural colonies in their way, settling in uncultivated places, reclaiming the land, tilling the soil—the agricultural missionaries and teachers of Europe. In time, when by industry and by donations these communities had mastered nature and become rich, these prescriptions were modified, the hours of manual labor were reduced, as they were also changed to the transcription of books and other literary tasks.[1]

Having regard to their hard labor in the fields and at their trades, perhaps also to rougher men and harsher climate, he spared his monks some of the mortifications practiced in the East. They were to be allowed a pint or more of wine a day, and the abbot was at liberty to deviate from the rules in regard to food and drink, according to the season of the year and the amount of labor, as he was required to have respect to the necessities of the sick and infirm, of old men and of children. He also repressed the love of gain by requiring that the monks should sell the products of their industry at less price than secular laborers. The monastery must be so constructed that the mill, the bakery, the garden, and the whole internal economy could be carried on within the walls, so as to break up the vagabond ways into which so many monks had fallen, and to complete their seclusion from the world.

M. Guizot speaks of the character of good sense and mildness

[1] Dantier, I, 198.

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which marks the Rule, and adds: "The moral thought and general discipline of it are severe; but in the details of life, it is humane and moderate; more humane, more moderate than the Roman law, than the barbaric laws, than the general manners of the times."[1] Benedict himself intended it should be as moderate as the object of monastic life would allow. He says, in closing the preamble to his Rule—

> We must then institute a school for the service of the Lord, in which we trust nothing harsh or burdensome will be established. If, however, anything a little severe, on reasonable grounds of equity, be enjoined for the correction of vice or the preservation of charity, do not in sudden alarm fly from the way of salvation. It is always narrow at the beginning, but walking some time in the way of obedience and faith, a man's heart dilates, and runs with unspeakable sweetness of love in the way of God's commandments.

The Rule of Benedict has been praised by popes and princes; by Gregory the Great, who believed it to be inspired; and by Charlemagne, who caused inquisition to be made if there were any other order in his empire; by Louis le Debonnaire, who recommended it to his son as a manual of government; and by Cosmo de Medici, who read it, as he said, for its good lessons in the administration of his states and the government of his people;[2] by Bossuet, who called it an epitome of Christianity; and by Guizot, whose words have just been quoted; by the councils which have recommended it; and by the monasteries without number which have adopted it. Says Sir James Stephen:

> The comprehensiveness of thought with which he so exhausted the science of monastic polity that all subsequent rules have been nothing more than modifications of his own; the prescience with which he reconciled conventual franchises with abbatial dominion; the skill with which he at once concentrated and diffused power among the different members of his order, according as the objects in view were general or local; and the deep insight into the human heart, by which he rendered myriads of men and women, during more than thirty successive generations, the spontaneous instruments of his purposes—these all unite to prove that profound genius, extensive knowledge, and earnest meditation, had raised him to the very first rank of uninspired legislators.[3]

That Benedict expected for it such fame, and so wide a sway; that he supposed he was making a Rule for an innumerable progeny to spring out of the loins of his single house, and for ages to come,

[1] Hist. of Civ., II, 80. [2] Dantier, I, 201. [3] Essays, 236.

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there is little sign.[1] It contains no reference to an association, or great order, such as sprung out of it. If it is elastic enough in scope for its subsequent growth, its future could hardly have been anticipated. Like all founders of great institutions, doing the duty of his time in the simplicity of faith, and establishing a strict and wise order for his own house, he builded better than he knew, and laid the foundations of many generations. He simply sowed a seed in the ground, and it brought forth fruit, not according to the foresight of man, but according to the will of God.

And yet his Rule contained in itself the reason of its success. It was written after long experience with the class for which it was made, and was the fruit of earnest thought applied to the problem of organizing monastic life into permanent and useful form. The practical, organizing genius of the West found its expression and instrument in Benedict, who found a growing world of monasticism waiting for its law, and had the wisdom to enact and to try it. He committed it to missionaries, who went forth to plant it in new fields, in Sicily and in Gaul, on the heights of Soracte, and the isles of the Adriatic. More than all, it may be, within a half century, in 590, a Benedictine monk, the first of his order, came to the See of Rome, in the person of Gregory the Great. He did not forget his order. He never ceased to be a monk. He not only wrote the Life of Benedict, but gave the sanction of his supreme authority to his Rule. He guaranteed the freedom of monasteries and the inviolability of their property. The Rule and the order of Benedict might have lived and triumphed had there been no Gregory; but they felt the influence and the help of his mighty hand.

His own house was not to escape the calamities of a violent age. The Goths had spared it. A year before he died, by some strange freak of curiosity or superstition, Totila, the last and not the least of the Gothic sovereigns, reversing the victories of Belisarius, on his way through central Italy, sought out the saint of Monte Cassino. The story goes that the barbaric king was awed by the presence and softened by the words of Benedict, who even foretold his conquest of Rome, his reign of nine years, and his death in the tenth. The Goths disappeared, and the Lombards came in their turn. Their coming was in ravage and terror, and the home of the Benedictines did not escape. In 589 it was sacked, and the monks fled. They found refuge in Rome, where, under Pope Pelagius II, they built a

[1] In a single passage it prescribes a difference in the style of the monastic dress, according to country or climate, and the prescriptions for food and medicine refer to the expectation of having monasteries elsewhere.

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monastery near the Lateran, remaining there one hundred and thirty years. After so long a time the sanctuary on Monte Cassino was rebuilt, receiving great endowments, and by its wealth tempting the Saracens to destroy it in 884, the autograph copy of Benedict's Rule being at that time irrecoverably lost. In 1349 it was shattered by an earthquake, to be restored in 1365 by Urban V. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was rebuilt in its present form, with a magnificence before unsurpassed; and on the 19th of May, 1727, was consecrated for the third time by a Pope, Benedict XIII.

The community has passed through fortunes of equal interest with those of its residence. It has had illustrious inmates and illustrious guests. Its abbots have been princes of the realm. In its palmy day the abbot was first baron, and it held feudal privileges and rights.[1] It was involved in the great strife between the papacy and the empire; and when Hildebrand, who had, as cardinal, assisted at the dedication of its basilica in 1071, retired from Rome to die at Salerno, he halted at the tomb of Benedict, and in his last hours nominated the Abbot Didier, afterwards Victor III, for his successor. It had opened its gates to Charlemagne, and Carloman, the son of Charles Martel, came here as a monk to find relief from the cares of empire. Its decline began in the political strifes of the Middle Age, in which it became more or less involved. The order of St. Benedict was too closely associated with the Roman pontificate not to share its waning fortunes. Monte Cassino was at the summit of its power during the time of Gregory VII, and it declined with the papacy. Its decadence was marked in the second half of the fifteenth century. The mendicant orders, with their militant spirit, were coming into competition with the Benedictine, to contract its dominion; and increase of wealth tempted strong hands to lay hold of religious houses when they could. Commendatory abbots took the place of those elected by the chapters, and in 1454 Monte Cassino yielded to this abuse. In Canto XXII of the Paradiso, Benedict says to Dante—

> And now my Rule
> Below remaineth for mere waste of paper.
> The walls that used of old to be an abbey
> Are changed to dens of robbers, and the cowls
> Are sacks filled full of miserable flour.
> But heavy usury is not taken up
> So much against God's pleasure as that fruit
> Which maketh so insane the heart of monks.

[1] "A l'epoque de sa splendeur, elle comptait au nombre ses domaines, 2 principautés, 20 comtés, 440 villes, bourgs ou villages, 250 chateaux, 335 manoirs, 25 ports de mer, et 1662 églises."—Dantier, I, 6, note.

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For whatsoever hath the church in keeping
Is for the folk that ask it in God's name,
Not for one's kindred or for something worse.[1]

In commenting on the first line of this extract, Benvenuto gives a description of Boccaccio's visit to the library of Monte Cassino, in the last part of the fourteenth century. He says:

To the clearer understanding of this passage, I will repeat what my venerable preceptor, Boccaccio of Certaldo, pleasantly narrated to me. He said that when he was in Apulia, being attracted by the fame of the place, he went to the noble monastery of Monte Cassino, of which we are speaking. And being eager to see the library, which he had heard was very noble, he humbly—gentle creature that he was—besought a monk to do him the favor to open it. Pointing to a lofty staircase, he answered, stiffly, "Go up; it's open." Joyfully ascending, he found the place of so great a treasure without door or fastening; and having entered, he saw the grass growing upon the windows, and all the books and shelves covered with dust. And wondering, he began to open and turn over now this book and now that, and found there many and various volumes of ancient and rare works. From some of them whole sheets had been torn out, in others the margins of the leaves were clipped, and others were greatly defaced. At length, full of pity that the labors and studies of so many illustrious minds should have fallen into the hands of such profligate men, grieving and weeping he withdrew. And coming to the cloister, he asked a monk whom he met why those most precious books were so vilely mutilated. He replied that some of the monks, wishing to gain a few ducats, cut out a handful of leaves, and made psalters, which they sold to the boys; and likewise of the margins they made breviaries, which they sold to women. Now, therefore, O scholar, rack thy brains in the making of books.[2]

However Decameronian this story may appear—and M. Dantier is inclined to accuse both Dante and Boccaccio of prejudice—there is probably truth in it.[3] Still, through the disasters of the Abbey the

[1] Paradiso, XXII, 74–84. Longfellow, 564.

[2] Quoted by Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, I, 271, from Valery, Voyages historiques, etc.

[3] In the "Atlantic Monthly" for February, 1875, Mr. Longfellow prints an exquisite, pictorial poem, describing his visit to Monte Cassino. He found the librarian incredulous about this story.

"Boccaccio was a novelist, a child
Of fancy and of fiction at the best;
This the urbane librarian said, and smiled
Incredulous, as at some idle jest."

It may be added that, under the supervision of Father Tosti, this little community, now reduced to about twenty persons, is engaged upon a catalogue of the manuscripts in their library. It is to be completed in five volumes, the first of which is already issued, and has

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library kept its root and grew. Benedict was no literary person, and the patronage of learning was no object of his Rule; but he provided for reading in his monastery, and required, whether for penance or pleasure, that during Lent all the monks should receive books from the library, which they were to read, one after another, all through.[1]

He thus gave an impulse to study. Another impulse probably came from the monastery at Vivarium, in lower Italy. There, five years before the death of Benedict, Cassiodorus, the great light of the Gothic monarchy, the minister and friend of its kings for thirty years, had retired from the court of Ravenna, weary of his tasks or his honors; and when nearly seventy years old, with an immense fortune, had founded, on his patrimonial estate, a monastery with magnificent buildings, amidst the incomparable charms of the Calabrian shore. He did not renounce culture in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. He collected a great library, imposed study more than manual labor upon his monks, and turned his monastery into an academy. This example was not lost on the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, when, in time, there was less occasion for manual labor, with perhaps more inclination for study, and the spirit, if not the letter, of the Rule was kept, as the monks, many of them, turned from the fields and shops to the Scriptorium, where their labor was spent in the transcription of manuscripts, first Scriptural and patristic, and then literary and classical. In the eleventh century Monte Cassino had become famous for this work, and much of it was widely disseminated. Its monks were among the best illuminators of the time. After the vicissitudes of so many centuries, and with the pilferings which Mabillon and his companions did not hesitate to charge upon the Vatican, there are still eight hundred manuscripts, mostly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[2] There is a manuscript of Origen on the Epistle to the

been received by the Public Library in Boston. It gives chromo-lithographic specimens of the writing, the initials, colored rubrics and ornamentation of the various manuscripts, with detailed descriptions and copious extracts. Eight hundred pages are devoted to forty-four manuscripts, which shows how thoroughly the work is done. In the Preface, Father Tosti gives a short account of the growth of the library, and closes with some mention of some of the more distinguished visitors in his time. Among them is Mr. Longfellow, to whose name is attached this note: "*Haec carmina in tabularia, sua manu exarata, reliquit:*

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints in the sands of time."

He could have hardly selected, in all literature, a verse more appropriate for such a visit than this one of his own.

[1] Reg. XLVIII. Dantier, I, 354.

[2] For an account of the Library, see Dantier, I, 21–42.

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Romans, with an inscription indicating that it was in use in the middle of the sixth century.[1]

It is a mistake to suppose that the monastery is a university, a centre of active intellectual life. Occasionally there has been a monk of intellectual force, like Thomas Aquinas or Anselm. But Dr. Newman claims, and with good reason, I think, that literary pursuits are a fall and departure from the pure, primitive idea of a monk. He is to mortify his reason as well as his flesh. He retires to a convent not to search after truth, not to wrestle with the secrets of God, but to find repose. If he studies, it is in paths that do not distract, and which are well trodden. It is as much to keep out of idleness, as to discover truth. Says Dr. Newman:

> The object of the monks was rest and peace; their state was retirement; their occupation was some work that was simple as opposed to intellectual, namely, prayer, fasting, meditation, study, transcription, manual labor, and other unexciting, soothing employments. Such was their institution all over the world.[2]

Such is the history of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, and everywhere. Here is a society thirteen hundred years old, with seclusion and silence, and a library, and what has it produced? It has transcribed books, it has preserved manuscripts, and occasionally some work of historical investigation has been done. It has added little to the intellectual treasures of the race. And yet it has done service for others in its time. It has preserved what it did not create. The monks could copy what they could not produce. They were the printers of the middle age, reproducing with the pen, illuminating with the pencil the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and the Greek and Latin classics, and thus performing an invaluable service at a time when nobody else could or would do it. When a copy of the Bible was worth a king's ransom, when the literature of the ancient world was in danger of being lost, it was the Benedictines in the Scriptorium of their abbeys who kept the lamp burning which without them had gone out. And then the abbeys and churches themselves, their very ruins, tell what the Benedictines did for the architecture of Europe. Nearly every cathedral in England is a Benedictine foundation. At Rome, San Paolo-fuor-le-mure, with its magnificent basilica, belongs to this order. And it was for the Benedictine convent of San Sisto at Piacenza, that Raphael painted the Madonna at Dresden, "which enchants the world."

[1] Donatus gratiâ Dei presbyter proprium codicem Justino Augusto tertio post consulatum ejus, in aedibus B. Petri in Castello Lucullano infirmus legi, legi, legi.

[2] Historical Sketches.

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It is reserved for the cradle of the Benedictine order at Monte Cassino to be its grave. The first, it is also the last in the splendid line, and has the singular fortune to outlive its innumerable children. While Benedict was yet alive his Rule began its victorious career. The year he died, his faithful associate, Maurus, had crossed the Alps, and planted the first monastery of his order at Glanfeuil, in the centre of France. Before the end of the century Augustine had planted the Benedictine standard at Canterbury, and the marks of the order are seen in the two Universities, in twelve cathedrals, and in abbeys, beautiful for situation, and enchanting even in their ruin. The monasteries of an earlier or of an independent foundation accepted the Rule of Benedict. It supplanted and absorbed the Rule of St. Columban, the Irish missionary to France. For six centuries Latin monachism, while it was undivided, belonged to Benedict. And when decay and corruption came, as they did come with opulence and repose, and reform followed, as it did follow, when nobler spirits like Romuald and Bernard arose, the variations took new names, but were still his. The houses of Clugny, Camaldoli and Vallombrosa, the Carthusians and Cistercians, with their separate founders, still venerated Benedict as the patriarch of them all.

The panegyrists of this illustrious order [says Dr. Newman] are accustomed to claim for it in all its branches as many as thirty-seven thousand houses, and besides thirty Popes, two hundred Cardinals, four Emperors, forty-six Kings, fifty-one Queens, one thousand four hundred and six Princes, one thousand six hundred Archbishops, six hundred Bishops, two thousand four hundred Nobles, and fifteen thousand Abbots and learned men.[1]

In comparatively recent times the Benedictine name has flashed forth with new splendor. In the seventeenth century it revived more than its pristine literary glory in the congregation of St. Maur. At this house, in Paris, gathered a company of scholars whose labors make an era in letters. Their editions of the great writers of the church are a monument of industrious and careful scholarship such as the world has never seen. Their researches in archaeology and history, their indexes, prefaces, memoirs, and dissertations, have the homage of all grateful ecclesiastical scholars. At a period of the richest literary fruitfulness the quickening influence invaded this quiet retreat, and it took its part in the harvest which enriched France in the reigns of the Great Louis and his predecessor. One hundred and five writers belonged to this illustrious congregation,

[1] Historical Sketches, III, 272. Cf. Dantier I, 6 (note), Supra.

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and contributed to its treasures. Not the least of their works is the annals of their ancient order, which is no mere piece of hagiology, but a grand accumulation of historical materials gathered from all the Benedictine ages. They unearthed the legends of the middle age, and meaning to serve their church, really exposed its follies to the unbelieving generation which followed. Mabillon discussed the worship paid to unknown saints, and tried to discriminate the sanctity and to reduce the number of the large and rather mixed company whose relics were hallowed by the church. But he gave great offence at Rome. The learning of Montfaucon rivals the learning of Mabillon, and Ruinart and Achery and Martene and the rest, shed a glory on the house of Maurists, at St. Germain des Pres, great in its way as that which illustrated in the same generation the house of the Cistercians, the home of the pious Jansenists of Port Royal.

It has come to this. Whether man is developed out of an Ascidian mollusk or not, the monasticism which begins with St. Antony, who could not read, and despised a book, has travelled the long journey to Mabillon, the master of learning. The same system that produced Antony issued in Anselm and Abelard. It is difficult to put together in the same class the religious troglodytes in a cave in Upper Egypt, and the pale scholars who walk under the shades of Vallombrosa, or the stately cloisters of St. Denis or Westminster. But there are two monks. There are canonized fanatics and paupers and idiots, and there are missionaries like Boniface, and scholars like Alcuin, and saints like Bernard, and reformers like Savonarola and Luther. And there are two sides to monasticism, as well as a principle at bottom by which it is to be finally judged. There are the unquestionable services, the great Providential uses of this institution in ages of darkness and violence; services to learning and religion, to agriculture and art, to the overthrow of Paganism, to the diffusion of the Gospel, to the discipline of Christianity for its conquests among barbarians; the industrial, the missionary, the educational, the moral influences which went out from the monasteries through ten centuries to mould the civilization, the thought, the religion of Europe. Here is this great historical institution, with its degenerracies and its reforms, with good in it and evil in it, certainly filling a large place in the church, in the entire life of the middle age. That that place was good and useful cannot be honestly denied. It is impossible, too, not to be touched with admiration for the nobler spirits who in cloisters have renounced everything else for the sake of the soul, that they might see the face of God; for the superiority to mortal cares and fears and passions, and for the generous self-denial

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and heroism even which in so many instances illuminate the monastic annals. In a busy and out of doors age let us appreciate the value of the monastic principle of separation from the world. The highest and best things of the world have been born in solitude, and there the noblest spirits have been nurtured. Not for the highest religion only, but for education, for study, for clearness of thought, for fertile production, there must be at least periodical seclusion.

And yet the monastic institution is to be judged as a whole, not by the learning and sanctity of the few, not by its temporary uses in an evil time, not by the advantages of seclusion, not even by its ideal alone. It was opposed in the beginning for reasons of religion, of political economy, of patriotism. It has been finally suppressed by the consent of civilized nations for its mischiefs and corruptions. Founded on a vow of poverty, it accumlated wealth, not always by right, to be used often for self-indulgence. Founded in a plan of industry, it degenerated often into indolence, and in some of its orders made mendicity a virtue. It has withdrawn an immense force from the productive industry of the world, spent much of it in idle dreaming, in fruitless self-inspection, in impotent prayer, in injurious charity. It is fatal to domestic and to patriotic virtue, for the monk has no family and no country.

The monk's theory of life, of God and goodness, is not a true, it is a false theory. The world is not such, life is not such as he dreams. It is a slander on the Maker of the world that he did not make it to live in, to be good in it and not out of it. It is a false theory of the world, which is bad enough and miserable enough, a sick world and a dying world, and yet is God's world, and a good world, to be used and not despised after all. It is a slander on the holy name of Christ Jesus, who did not flee, but boldly bore up against the evil of the world and conquered it, that any of his followers must do otherwise, or that they follow him while they do otherwise. It is a slander on God that he is Lord of the soul and not of the body; that he has set them at necessary war; that the soul is God's, and the body the devil's. It is a false theory of virtue that there is an aristocratic and a democratic kind of it; that there are select spirits who are under a special rule, and who are to strike for a more perfect life, while they retire to pray for the rest of mankind who are incapable of it; that there are two orders of men, when there is really only one, and that the monk in his cell, obeying God, if he does, is any better than his brother, just as virtuous, and using his time a great deal better and to the world's advantage in earning his dollar a day in making shoes. It is contrary to the theory of true religion, that the way to do the

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evil world good, to make it a better world, is to live in it. If the life withdrawn from the world into the monastry is good life, it is not wanted there, but it is surely wanted in the midst of human sin and sorrow.

A poor-house is useful, and the monastery is a poor-house in its original intention. But to exalt poverty to a virtue is at war with the interests of society, and brings no necessary purification or salvation to the soul. Charity is good, and the monastery dispensed charity. But the wealth used in charity was acquired, some of it at least, as the price of sin and under the constraint of terror, and it has been distributed for the perpetuity of pauperism. Prayer is good, and retreats for prayer may be useful. But if prayer promotes indolence, if it degenerates into formality, if it takes the place of duty and righteous service, its benefit is doubtful, and a society organized only for that may be a mischief. Whatever Providential uses it has served, they have been temporary. Whatever call there may ever have been for it was local, and surely the time for it has passed away. What is good in the sixth or the tenth century, may be worse than useless in the nineteenth.

The monk had notice of ejectment long ago. A new world has arrived, and the monk has no place in the busy, free, industrial civilization of to-day. Italy at last, the home of the Benedictine, dismisses him as useless, needed neither for learning, charity, nor religion. Fifteen hundred years ago Athanasius came to Rome to preach monasticism, and now after fifteen hundred years, after so long a time, the Parliament of Italy comes to Rome to suppress its religious orders, and to sequestrate even the ancient house of the Benedictines to the uses of religion, charity, and education, but after the methods of a new, perhaps a more secular, less religious age.

It is not an altogether sentimental regret which wishes that at least this ancient home of so much which is historical, binding the Christian ages together, might be spared. Its buildings must remain, its archives and library ought not to be scattered, and there seems to be no political or other necessity for the dispersion of this small company of gentlemen and scholars who may be at least the guardians of the cradle and the tomb of their ancient order.

Will the monk ever come back? Will a new Benedict be called to organize an institute to last through another thirteen hundred years? It is too soon to say that the world, that Christianity has outgrown asceticism and the monastic life which springs from it. Times of exhaustion, of convulsion may come, very different from these of labor and of liberty. Fanatic or ascetic impulses may sweep through the

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church. The spirits who in every age, even in our own time, find some charm in monastic life, may multiply. The spirit which produces monks may never die. But the tendency of modern society, the spirit of reformed, advanced Christianity, is opposed to any general development of monasticism, and it is only in a sporadic way that the religion, the civilization of the time, of the future, is likely to issue in an institution so antiquated and practically extinct.

SAMUEL L. CALDWELL.

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THE NEW NATURE OF THE BELIEVER.

THERE is no fact more plainly taught in the Word of God than the necessity of an individual regeneration. We say an individual regeneration, because there is a notion, somewhat common, that in the higher civilization, in the greater refinement, in the purer morals of this age, society as a whole is passing through a kind of regenerating process, and the inference is that the time must come when the necessity of a special renewing work will not be felt. To be born in such a time will preclude the necessity of being born again. Christianity has indeed had a general, external influence which is perhaps too little acknowledged. Purer than all systems of philosophy, proclaiming principles suited to all human relations, it has wrought great changes in the life of the person, the family, and the state. It has given character to laws. It has thrown a sacred protection around the family tie. It has produced no slight modification of the habits and the views of men. Schleiermacher has somewhere written, "You could not abolish Christianity without thereby plucking up the root of what is good and beautiful in that civilization of which you make your boast." And we cheerfully acknowledge that whatsoever there is that is true, lovely, and of good report around us, is the fruit of a Christian civilization; and still further, that if the influence of the religion of Christ should be removed, these fruits would disappear with it. It needs Christianity

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to sustain what Christianity has begun. This is on the principle that Christ must abide in the hearts of men in order to save them. But while we gratefully ascribe the blessings and immunities of social and civil life which are now enjoyed to the teachings, the general influence of the Christian faith; while we rejoice that Christianity elevates and purifies society, producing a higher morality, a broader charity, a more wide-spread peace; we are taught that Christ *saves individual men.* Renewing grace is a special gift. Humanity is not redeemed as a whole, because the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. God's kingdom comes, and men are made subjects of it, only as they are born one by one of the divine Spirit. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The reign of Christ is not established, when a man yields to the outward, restraining influences of truth; he must be quickened to a new life of obedience and love.

The necessity of the new birth must be inculcated in the Old Testament Scriptures. Otherwise we are unable to account for the exclamation of Jesus at the ignorance of Nicodemus, "Art thou a teacher of Israel, and knowest not these things?" This doctrine, it is implied, was contained in the truths of which he was an acknowledged teacher, and his mind should have been prepared to understand the language in which Christ addressed him. We are easily reminded of the prayer of David, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me;" and of the words of Jehovah by the mouth of Ezekiel, "And I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and will give them a heart of flesh." These passages, and similar ones, clearly express the need of the operation of a new-creating divine power in the hearts of men. And in the words of Christ, of Paul, of James, of Peter, and of John, this doctrine of regeneration has become one of the most familiar of revealed truths. Born or begotten of God is frequently the phrase employed to describe the believer's experience or condition.

Yet many of those who have become the sons of God, have very indefinite and inadequate views of the act by which they became such, and of the spiritual state into which they have been brought. Not a few place faith and repentance prior to the new birth, and make those spiritual exercises which are the manifestations of the new life its antecedents and conditions. Analogy teaches us that a person must be born before he is capable of the first or the least of those exercises which belong to the new creature. Moreover many confound regeneration with its fruits, and make it to consist in a series of holy acts, with the Holy Spirit or man himself as the author, and

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do not recognize any distinct, permanent work in man's moral constitution. And it has seemed to us that even the view commonly held by evangelical Christians, that regeneration is such a change in a man's disposition that he is pre-disposed to holy action, may in some respects come short of the full truth which we are not only authorized but required to receive. That a regenerated man has a new nature, or as Edwards defines it, "a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul," whereby he has spiritual discernment, a love of holiness and a hatred of sin, and a prevailing determination to right action, will not be very generally denied. But that this new nature is utterly distinct from the old, the product of an implantation rather than of a change, existing together with the old nature, but in necessary opposition to it; in other words, that a renewed man has two natures, the old and the new, the sinful and the holy; is contrary to the common doctrinal statements of Christians, and probably to their belief. That there are many things in Christian experience and revelation that appear to favor this view, we are fully persuaded. That there is anything that conclusively proves it, we are not so confident. Perhaps all efforts to discover the truth on this point will be only tentative. It is proper for us to state here, that in much that we shall say we shall be able to express only the tendency of our belief, and not our settled convictions.

I. The New Nature proved.

We first present some of the evidence that would lead us to believe that the immediate product of the regenerating work of God's Spirit is a new nature. As there is danger of possessing too low a view of the new birth, so there is also a possibility of implying by our definition more than is intended. What is to be understood by the term "nature," as applied either to the unregenerate or the renewed man? We answer "disposition"; this, and nothing more than this. Whatever a man's disposition prompts him to think, to will and to do, that it is his nature to think, to will, and to do. Disposition or nature, then, lies back of both action and volition, and determines them. It is the moral state of the soul. It points the soul, and indicates the direction in which it will move. Although in creation God made the nature of Adam holy, his disposition formed no part of his created substance, and when he had fallen in disobedience, nothing was subtracted from that substance; he acquired a new disposition; his nature became sinful. Says Prof. Shedd in his celebrated essay on "The Doctrine of Original Sin":

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The word "nature" for some minds conveys only the meaning of "created substance," so that to assert that sin is a nature, is tantamount, for them, to the assertion that it is the substance or essence of man.

But he continues: "The term 'nature' when applied to moral agency is equivalent to 'natural disposition.'" In regeneration, therefore, which is the first step in the restoration of man to holiness, there is no call for addition or change in the substance or essence of man, but there is a call for the creation of a holy disposition, a new nature.

Our view of sin and its effect will of course determine our view of the new birth. If sin consists only in outward acts of disobedience, then regeneration is only a reformation of habit and life. If sin consists in certain acts or "exercises" of the soul of which it is conscious, then regeneration is the creation of holy exercises either by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, or indirectly by his assistance in restraining the active operation of the sinful principle in the heart, and thus enabling a man to accomplish the work of his own regeneration. Prof. Phelps is an earnest advocate of this theory.

> We cannot err [he says] in adopting as one of the first principles of revelation on the subject of the new birth, that it is a change of character as distinct from constitutional changes in the soul. It is a change in that, and only that, for which conscience *and* reason, reason *and* conscience, hold a man responsible as for a thing of its own originating and nurturing.

But if sin be a disposition, a relish, a bias of the soul, lying deeper than all exercises, giving character to all volitions, situated back of consciousness, yet to which we consciously refer as the source of all evil acts and volitions, if, in a word, sin be a steady, uniform controlling nature, then the product of regeneration must also be a nature, a new nature, else we have sin lying below the power of God's regenerating Spirit.

We may appeal with the utmost confidence to Christian experience, the experience of those who have enlightened views of the workings of sin, in confirmation of the truth that all sins are but manifestations of one sinful spirit. And we appeal with no less confidence to the same enlightened Christian experience in proof of the statement that all his holy thoughts and aspirations and purposes must have some basis, some source in the believer's heart. They are not like separate, transient experiences, but a steady flow of life. They are not like cut flowers, whose beauty and fragrance refresh the spirit for a moment and are gone, but like ever-flowering

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shrubs whose roots remain in the soil of a new divine nature. They are not like draughts from a cooling stream, but like an indwelling fountain. "The water that I shall give him," said Christ, "shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." If it is true that a "sinful nature is an *inference*, an *assumption*, or, to use a word borrowed from geometry, a *postulate*, which the mind is obliged to grant, in order to find a key that will unlock and explain its own experience," we believe that this also is true that the experience of a regenerated man, comprising the joys and the hopes, the faith and the self-denials, the struggles and the triumphs of a consecrated life, demands the existence of a *new nature*, controlling, permanent and divine, as its satisfactory explanation and *causa sine qua non*.

We pass now to some of the Biblical representations of the state of the believer. Prof. Phelps has spoken of these emblems as "the paradox of regeneration," "boldness of imagery," "a daring imagery," implying that great allowance is to be made for the bold, not to say extravagant, metaphorical style; that we are in danger of adopting an overstatement of the truth, and that the true meaning is very far removed from the literal. That the language of Scripture, in respect to the new birth, is to some extent figurative, none can doubt. But to how great an extent it is so, who shall say? Of this, however, we may be confident, that the language is not more than an adequate expression of the idea; that the figures must have a basis of fact. We have already alluded to the frequency with which this figure occurs. It may be called a favorite representation, with the inspired writers, of the spiritual condition of the disciple of Christ. He is said to be "born again," to be "born of the Spirit," to be "born of God," to have received "the washing of regeneration," to be "begotten again unto a lively hope," to be "created anew in Christ Jesus," and to be "a new creature," or "a new creation." Now, what basis of fact have we here? What definite conception should such language convey to the mind? Christ said, as if in explanation of his words to Nicodemus: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." That which is begotten must be of the nature of that which begets. This seems to be the least that can be meant by the words of our Saviour. Moreover, we learn from the figure that to be born again is not the process of a lifetime; if it were, the term would be exceedingly inappropriate. It must refer to some single act of divine creation, to some special renewing of God's merciful and sovereign grace. To be born of God must be to have the life of God implanted and begun in the soul; in some sense to have

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him for a spiritual Father. The relation of sonship is a most tender and intimate one. The children of God are not his simply by adoption. The adopted child may bear no resemblance to him whom he calls his father, either in look or in spirit, in features or in mental characteristics. But they who have been made the children of God, are more than sons by adoption. They are sons by regeneration. They are born of him. They have received life from him. They are created in the image of Christ, who is the express image of God. It should be remembered then that the relation of the believer to God is not external, that he who is born of God is not his simply by a legal act of adoption, but by an impartation of life, of nature, of spiritual being. The new man must be a man of God. The new creature must be like unto him who formed him.

There is another class of passages which, we think, find their best, if not their only, explanation in the light of this truth. We refer to those which teach the personal indwelling of Christ, or of his Spirit, in the heart of the disciple. Take these for examples: "Christ liveth in me," "Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates," "the Spirit of God dwelleth in you," "your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost." And we might add all of those passages which teach the intimate and indissoluble union of Christ and his chosen followers. Christ is not a principle. His Spirit is not an impersonal power. And we know not how to understand such language, we were about to say how to justify its use, unless we allow truth to explain truth, and say of those in whom Christ is said to live and his Spirit to dwell, they are "partakers of the divine nature"; they are begotten into a new nature, and in that new nature they are one with Christ and with his Spirit. Edwards says:

> Not that saints are made partakers of the essence of God, and so are godded with God, and christed with Christ, according to the abominable and blasphemous language and notions of some heretics; but to use the Scripture phrase, they are made partakers of God's fulness, Ephesians iii. 17-19; John i. 16, that is, of God's spiritual beauty and happiness, according to the measure and capacity of a creature.

And again he says:

> The Spirit of God is given to the true saints to dwell in them, as his proper lasting abode; and to influence their hearts as a principle of new nature, or as a divine supernatural spring of life and action.

Other language of Scripture, which represents the believer as having passed from death unto life, out of darkness into light, and especially that which declares that he has escaped from the kingdom

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of Satan unto God, and has received the gift of a new spirit and a new heart, points directly to the supernatural work which has been effected at the fountain-head of thought, of feeling, of life, in the nature itself of the man. Men may call it a change, but a change of what? Men may say it is not a mystical, but a reasonable change; yet all life is enveloped in mystery, from the life of him who is the source of life, to the life of the smallest plant which he has made, and offers a thousand problems before which reason is dumb; and we know of no reason why the beginning of the new life should be an exception. Men may call it a radical change, by which they ought not to mean that the work of God's Spirit is limited to the fruit, or the leaves, or the trunk even, but that it extends to the very roots of a man's moral nature. Men may call it a change of character; but we think that it seems more in harmony with the teachings of Christian experience and of God's word to call it the creation of a new nature, which inevitably produces a change of character, and takes a man lost in sin and under condemnation, and makes him a new creature in Christ Jesus.

John Howe, in the first of nineteen sermons on "the office and work of the Holy Spirit," upon the text, "that which is born of the Spirit is spirit," says:

> But to give you somewhat a more particular account of this thing, this being, this creature, which is here signified by the name of Spirit. Of this we have said it is not a distinct substance from the spirit of man; and yet we must know concerning it in the first place, that 'tis a distinct thing; or something, though not of another substance, which is yet superadded to the spirit of man; and which the spirit of man, considered according to its mere naturals, is destitute of, and which, therefore, lies without the whole sphere and compass of mere nature, or any of the improvements thereof. It is spoken of in the Scripture as a thing put on—"Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." Col. iv. 10. There is something put off and laid away; the old man, with his deeds. This shows it to be an adjunct, or a thing superadded to us; which is not only out of the compass of our natures, but is no more to be conceived as comprehended in that state, than a man's clothes which he puts on are comprehended in the notion of his body. And in that it is called a new thing, as the new creature and the new man.

Howe afterward describes this spirit that is begotten of God, as "a most intimately inherent thing," and as "alterative of its subject, or of that nature to which it is adjoined." But the language above quoted points not to an effect produced in or upon the nature or spirit of man, but to the introduction and addition of something entirely new and distinct.

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II. The New Nature characterized.

Under this head we propose to discuss briefly two questions: *first*, does the existence of the new nature exclude the presence of the old, or, in other words, may a regenerate man be said to have two natures? and *second*, is the new nature sinless?

1. And first we are to ask the question does the new nature co-exist with the old, and to see what intimations there are, that it should be answered in the affirmative. The question does not relate to a mingled existence, but to a distinct co-existence. We present the views which are held by some Christians on this question, allowing them to state them in their own language. There is no lack of confidence or of clearness in the statement of them. We give them from tracts which we have at hand.

One writer says:

Let us, then, see clearly what regeneration is. It is a new birth; the imparting of a new life; the implantation of a new nature; the formation of a new man. The old nature remains in all its distinctness, and the new nature is introduced in all its distinctness. This new nature has its own habits, its own desires, its own tendencies, its own affections. All these are spiritual, heavenly, divine. Its aspirations are all upward. It is ever breathing after the heavenly source from which it has emanated. As in nature water always finds its own level, so in grace the new, the divine, nature always tends towards its own proper source. Thus regeneration is to the soul what the birth of Isaac was to the household of Abraham (Gen. xxi); Ishmael remained the same Ishmael, but Isaac was introduced. So the old nature remains the same, but the new is introduced. "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." It partakes of the nature of its source.[1]

Another, having described at length the old nature and the new, concludes:

Such, then, are the two natures; the one the old, which has been crucified; the other which is new, and which is of God. The one, as we have said, remains essentially corrupt; the other essentially holy. "It sinneth not." The evil nature, though it has had its doom, is still *in me*, and opposes itself to the energy and work of the Spirit, who dwells in the new man, and who is *ungrieved* within us in exact proportion as sin and the flesh are not allowed.[2]

Once more, in a similar strain, we read:

In the Christian there must, therefore, be a constant strife between the two opposing natures. The old nature is nowhere spoken of as capable of improvement, but always as incurably evil. We are to have "no con-

[1] Regeneration: What is it? Philadelphia: Charles Campbell.

[2] The Two Natures, by J. Denham Smith. Philadelphia: Repository of Scriptural Testimony.

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fidence in the flesh." We are commanded to mortify (*put to death*) the members upon the earth.[1]

Such views are held with great assurance, are proclaimed with great fervor, and are not without the apparent support of numerous texts of Scripture. Indeed, no tracts have a greater interweaving of the phraseology of the Bible than these. We are not sure that "nature" with the advocates of these views is not different from what we have defined it. It has the appearance of including something of the essence of man.

The question naturally suggests itself, how is it possible for the two natures to co-exist, and for the consciousness and personality still to remain single? We are reminded of the complex nature of Christ. We know it is by no means a parallel case. We do not offer it even as an illustration. Christ's human nature was not sinful as ours is. And of his divine nature we at best can be only the feeblest partakers. Still further, there was no conflict between them. Yet in the fact that "his consciousness was single, though it embraced the motions of two most unequal natures, the one divine and the other human, so that whatever could be affirmed of either nature, could be affirmed of him," in this fact, we say, we may be led to see the *possibility* of a union of two natures in the person who is a new creature in Christ Jesus. This acknowledged distinct co-existence of two natures under one consciousness and person, may relieve the question above suggested of a part of its difficulty. We remark, in passing, that our final likeness to Christ may perhaps admit us further into the mystery of his person than we at present dare to speak or think.

We cannot refrain from quoting in this connection a passage from "The Living Temple," by John Howe, in which he speaks of Christ, the original Temple, as being in his divine nature, as well as in his human nature, in some sort a type and model of his disciples:

> For having the representation before our eyes of this *original Temple*, that is, God inhabiting human flesh on earth, we are not merely to consider it as it is in itself, and to look upon it as a strange thing, or as a glorious spectacle, wherein we are no further concerned than only to look upon it, and take notice that there is or hath been seen such a thing: but we are to consider how it came to pass, and with what design it was that such a thing should be, and become obvious to our view. Why have we such a sight offered us? or what imports it unto us? And when we have informed ourselves, by taking the account the gospel gives us of this matter, and viewed the inscription of that great name, *Emmanuel*, by wonderful contrivance inwrought into the very constitu-

[1] Waymarks in the Wilderness, for January, 1868.

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tion of this Temple, we will then find this to be intended for a leading case; and that this Temple was meant for a model and platform of that which we ourselves are to become, or after which the temple of God in us must be composed and formed; and so that this matter is possible to an ordinate, divine power, even to that mighty Spirit that resides eminently in this temple, or purpose to be transmitted thence to us, for the framing of us to the likeness of it; and so that the thing is not merely possible, but designed also, viz., that as he was, so we might be in this world (1 John iv), unto which is necessary our believing intuition towards him, or a judicial acknowledgment that this Jesus is the Son of God, come down on purpose into human flesh, to bring about a union between God and us, whereupon that union itself ensues, the matter is brought about, we come to dwell in God, and he in us (vs. 15).

We think it more than possible that many may have been misled and may have accepted erroneous views of the new birth and of what the Holy Spirit actually accomplishes when a man is born again, by reason of the phrase so commonly used among Christians, "a change of heart." The idea often received from these words is that something in the sinner has been changed, reformed, made anew. A new man is in some way constructed out of the ruins of the old. If it is asked what becomes of the old nature, it is answered it is changed into the new. But by a change of heart have we any warrant for teaching anything different from this, that a man has received a new heart, under the controlling influence of which he has become a changed man? Does not that which is born of flesh remain flesh? Is the heart of stone to be converted into a heart of flesh? Is it not rather to be taken away? If we understand Edwards rightly, he means to assert that "God by his mighty power produces something that is new, not only in degree and circumstances, but in its whole nature, and that which could be produced by no exalting, varying or compounding of what was there before." Is not this in harmony with the uniform teaching of Scripture? Is "the old man" (by which the apostle means the sinful nature) ever spoken of as being reformed, improved, converted into the new man? Is it not still said to be "corrupt according to the deceitful lusts"? If the old nature is changed in regeneration, how can we account for the existence and the consciousness of sin in the renewed man? A sinful disposition reversed becomes a holy disposition. But the apostle clearly reveals the fate of the old nature when he says, "Knowing this that our old man is [was] crucified with Christ." This was the doom which it deserved. This was the end for which it was meet. It was worthy only to be destroyed. The cross has put it in the place of death.

But the old nature of the believer is only judicially dead with

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Christ. God treats it as dead and buried, and "there is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh," that is, the old nature, "but after the Spirit," that is, the new nature begotten by the Holy Spirit. Though the Christian is under the controlling influence of the new, divine life, he is not yet delivered from the power of the old, selfish life. May not the old nature be said to exist still, growing weaker and weaker in the presence of the new, until at length its judicial death shall be made actual death, and the new life shall be made perfect in the presence of him who is its Author and Finisher?

Do not men fall naturally into this manner of expressing themselves, whether they recognize the existence of two distinct natures or not? President Hovey, under the topic of regeneration, makes the following statement: "The moral state or 'taste' of the soul is virtually reversed by regeneration; a new disposition is implanted which controls and eventually destroys the old." Here are the new disposition or nature and the old existing together, distinct and opposed to each other. Are we not proving false the assertion of the English poet that—

> In the human breast
> Two master passions cannot co-exist.

The passage of Scripture which is supposed to go very far toward establishing the view presented above, is contained in the seventh chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.[1] The apostle is giving an account of the fearful conflict with sin which he is having in himself. It is as thrilling as a battle scene. We can almost see the invisible foes as they struggle in the fierce contest, and can almost hear the blows that are given and received. His words go through us like the sound of a trumpet. "For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not: but what I hate, that do I. . . For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. . . When I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind." We read these words just as we read the vivid narrative of a battle, but with intenser feeling and deeper sympathy, because they describe the conflict that is raging in the heart of every child of God. Earth never shook with a battle more real than this. But who are the contending parties? For we see but one person. They are the law of the mind and the law of the members; the re-

[1] For an admirable discussion of this passage, and presentation of the view which we believe to be the true one, see BAPTIST QUARTERLY, Vol. IX, p. 385, article by Rev. W. N. Clarke.

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newed man and the power of sin; the new nature that is in Paul, and the body of death that still clings to him. "It is the regenerate ego warring with the old ego," the former nature and self of the apostle continuing as the personal and inveterate foe of the new nature and self that have been begotten of God.

2. We pass now to the consideration of the second question proposed, viz., Is the new nature of the believer sinless? In considering the new nature as co-existing with the old, yet as distinct from it and engaged in a perpetual strife with it, its moral character has been quite clearly indicated already. It will be shown still further when we look more particularly at *the origin* of the new nature, *the manner of its continuance,* and *its exercises.*

The believer is said to have been "born of God," to have been "born of the Spirit," and to be a "new creature in Christ Jesus." A nature that springs from the Godhead must be essentially holy. The true child of God must have, it would seem, a nature sinless like his. "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." How can a man be born of God and not have that in him that is Godlike and makes him bear a resemblance to him who has begotten him! We fear the world is called too often to look upon the sad spectacle of those claiming to be children of Heaven, and yet living wholly in worldliness and sin. Men cannot know or show that they are children of the Most High unless there be the power of a holy life within them, a life that is spiritual and derived from Christ as its source, as truly as the natural and psychical life is derived from Adam. As we cannot be born of man without inheriting a nature that is human and sinful, can we be born of God and not become partakers of a nature that is pure and divine, not in prospect, but at the hour when we are spiritually born? No objection to this view can be raised from the fact that the regenerated person is not entirely sanctified. We might with equal propriety say that the child is not full-grown, and does not possess the parent's wisdom and strength, and therefore it does not possess his nature. It is part of our creed that man is prone to sin, that it is his nature to sin, since it is depraved at its source. If then he is born again, will it not be his new nature not to sin, since it is from God?

Look also at the provision which has been revealed for the security and permanence of the new nature in the child of God. Adam was created holy and he fell. Why may not he who is re-created by the divine Spirit fall from the new state into which he is begotten? We know simply that God did not prevent Adam, and that he has declared that he will prevent him who is new-created in the second Adam.

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"For his seed," John says, "remaineth in him." Whether with most interpreters we refer the term "seed" to the Holy Spirit, or with some to the word of truth, or with Bengel, who stands almost alone, to the offspring of God,[1] the important teaching of the passage remains the same, viz., that the life of the believer is preserved by an unbroken union with its living source. This is the safety which Christ has provided for his disciples—they shall abide in him, and he in the. And how can a nature, which has been begotten of God and remains in him, whose origin is from God and all of whose springs are in him, possess either the tendency or the possibility of sin?

Look once more upon the exercises of the new nature of him who is born of God, and learn from these its holy character. We have first *faith*, by which the new-born soul accepts the word and the promises of God, and confides in his grace. By it the soul draws near to Christ, takes hold of Christ, rests in Christ, looks upon the unutterable agony of the Cross, and says with deep emotion and with grateful tears, "It was for me." Faith is a principal exercise of the renewed heart. Is such faith sinful? Verily nay; but rather the lack of it is sinful. For unbelief, which is the most common, is the most fatal of sins. Again we have *understanding*, by which we mean ability to discern spiritual things, and to estimate the realities of eternity according to their true value. It is the familiar testimony of the rejoicing convert, "Whereas I was once blind, now I see"; and though in many respects he sees "through a glass darkly," still he walks as a child of the light and of the day. Is spiritual discernment a sinful exercise? Verily nay; but rather the lack of it is sinful. And we tremble at the predicted end of those who continue in blindness of heart, and are hastening on to death with the understanding darkened. Again we have *love* and *hope*—*love* by which we know that we are of God and possess his spirit; which overcomes all anger, and hatred, and envy, and fear; which makes us patient and Christlike under trial and reproach; which, while it binds us fast to Christ, could make an apostle willing to be accursed from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh; and then *hope*, which reaches beyond the storms, the ills and the sins of this life into the holy of holies, and anchors the soul fast in the peace of heaven and the presence of God. But are love and hope sinful? Nay, thrice nay; and our prayer unceasingly is, that a God of infinite compassion will show mercy to those who are still enemies to his grace, and are living having no hope and without God in the world.

[1] Bengel says, on 1 John iii. 9, "Vel potius sic: Semen Dei, *i. e.*, is qui natus est ex Deo, *manet* in Deo. σπέρμα, natus. Tales sunt vere, זרע אלהים, semen Dei. Malachi ii. 15.

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These are some of the exercises of the renewed heart, and they bear additional testimony to the holy character of the new nature of him who has been born again. Whatever the child of God may still find the old nature to be, in the new nature, in its workings and manifestations, in its aspirations and strivings and successes, he will find only the power of a sinless life. Herein lies the proof of his divine relationship, the evidence that he is born of God.

It is this new nature which makes the believer to differ from the unbeliever. It is so prominent in its possessor, and so distinguishes him and fixes his place among God's creatures, that it may be looked upon as *the person, the man himself.* For in this way Paul speaks of himself in the description of his conflict with sin already referred to. "Now if I do that I would not, it is no more *I* that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me"; it is no more *I*, the regenerate *I*, the renewed *Paul*, but it is the old self, the body of sin that dwelleth in me. The divine life that had been begotten within him was *himself*, and it was not this that sinned. Of this passage Dr. Chalmers says:

> I would have you to notice how he shifts the application of the pronoun I, and transfers it from the corrupt to the spiritual ingredient of his nature. It is I who would do that which is good. It is I who hate that which is evil. It is I who consent unto the law; and, finally, it is I who delight in the law of God after the inner man. Thus it is, if I may so speak, that Paul interchanges himself between the two conflicting elements that were within him.

Moreover, we are quite persuaded that only upon the hypothesis of a new, distinct, sinless nature, dominating the man and appropriating the personality, can 1 John iii. 9 be satisfactorily explained: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." (Cf. iii. 6 and v. 18.) Of this text Dr. Hopkins has said that it "may perhaps be among the number of those that had been more clear, if they had been less expounded." Without the supposition of the new nature, it seems dark, perplexing, conflicting; with it, it is clear, intelligible, consistent.

Of this difficult and much-interpreted text it may be added, it cannot mean that *some* Christians are sinless and perfect in contrast with others; for if it proves that any do not sin, it proves that all Christians do not and cannot sin. Neither does it say simply that it is possible for a Christian not to sin; but it seems to declare that there is a sense in which it is not possible for him to sin. "And he cannot sin, because he is born of God." The Romanists have explained

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it in this way—those who are born of God cannot commit mortal sins, as they call them. But there is no evidence that such a thought was in the apostle's mind. It has also been thought to mean that he that is born of God does not and cannot sin deliberately and persistently, he does not sin as the children of the Devil do, he cannot live in the constant and allowed practice of sin. All this certainly is true; but there is reason still to doubt if this comprehends the full idea of the text. The statement is very broad, and there is no intimation that it should be thus qualified. John simply says, "doth not commit sin and cannot sin." Again it is said that John is holding up the ideal life of the Christian, that which "continually, so to speak, floats above the actual life of believers as their rule and aim," and that in the actual life the text finds only a relative and partial fulfillment. But the context, we think, shows upon its face that the apostle is speaking of the actual life, the real state of those who are born of God, and is contrasting this with the state of the unregenerate. The one is a state of righteousness, and the other is a state of sin, and by this criterion the true character of men is now determined. "In this the children of God are manifest and the children of the Devil." John is making no allusion to what might be called a model Christian life, or to the possible attainments of the believer; but he describes every one who is born of God as one who *now* cannot commit sin. The interpretation of the text evidently depends upon the meaning of being "born of God." If this denotes the impartation of a new, divine nature, what is more natural than to infer that this, which makes the believer in Christ to differ from the unbeliever, which must distinguish him and fix his place among God's creatures, and which is eventually to overcome the power of sin in the whole man, is even now looked upon as *the person, the man himself?* That which is highest in the renewed man, and which establishes his spiritual relationship with God, is regarded as the man. And thus John says, "Whosoever is born of God," so far as the new man is concerned, in quantum sumus filii Dei, "doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

It is possible that our discussion of this attractive and important subject may have served to suggest a multitude of questions, and may have answered none. We bring it to a close with two or three remarks.

The new nature is not a silent factor in the soul. It arrays itself with a powerful opposition against everything that is sinful. It presses on daily and hourly towards the complete conquest of every evil tendency and the entire possession of the man. That which is

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born of God, and is like God, must drive out that which is unlike him. Hence the conflict; which instead of bringing a distressing fear, as it does to many persons, that they are not God's children, should be to them one of the surest evidences that they are. He who has ceased to fight and pray, has surrendered himself, body and soul, to the enemy.

He that is born of God does not deny the presence of sin or his accountability for sin. The sources of sin are in his old nature; but that is still a part of his being; and as long as he lives he is accountable for his wrong-doing. The old man which is not yet fully put off, still brings him into captivity to the law of sin. When Paul said of his transgression, "It is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me," he was not apologizing for sin or throwing off its responsibility from himself. It was his sin still. But he showed that though sin still clung to his being, there was a new life within him which resisted sin to the last, which could not sin, and attested his spiritual sonship with God. The Christian will never in the flesh outgrow the need of repentance; but this fact will not destroy the blessed witness of his new heart, that he is a child of God.

How deep is the significance of the new, spiritual birth! The sinner is born of God, is already partaker of the divine nature (a nature that cannot sin), owns God as his Father, and is heir with Christ, his elder Brother, to the inheritance of heaven. Who can comprehend its nature and its fullness? It may be that we have been wont to make regeneration too much an adoption and too little a real spiritual birth, too much an external act or even an inward change, and too little the implanting of a divine life. The new birth must precede all holy exercises, faith, love, hope, joy, and is the prescribed means of entrance into all blessedness here and hereafter. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," not a kingdom simply that shall be, but a kingdom that has already come, and of which Christ is king, a kingdom of peace, of truth, of purity, and of love, that is even now diffusing itself like leaven in a world too long under the dominion of Satan, of sorrow, and of sin.

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THE TALMUD.

THE Talmud consists of the *Mishna* and the *Gemara*, or rather the two Gemaras, the Palestinian and Babylonian.

I. The Mishna.

The great mass of traditional lore, which had accumulated itself for about seven centuries was collected by Rabbi *Jehudah the Holy*, or Rabbi *κατ'ἐξοχήν*, who died A. D. 191,[1] under the title of Mishna,[2] which a Jewish historian has pronounced a work the possession of which by the Hebrew nation compensates them for the loss of their ancestral country, a book which constitutes a kind of homestead for the Jewish mind, an intellectual and moral fatherland for a people

[1] Comp. the Art. *Jehudah the Holy* in McClintock and Strong, Cycl. s. v.

[2] Mishna (מִשְׁנָה) means *repetition*, Greek δευτέρωσις. According to the Jewish tradition the law was given in a two fold manner: there was the written law by Moses the תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָב *verbum Dei scriptum*, ἔγγραφας, and the delivered oral law תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל פֶּה, παράδοσις, *verbum Dei non scriptum*, or *lex oratenus tradita*, or the Mishna δευτέρωσις, which Moses, who received it on Mount Sinai (פֶּה אֶל פֶּה, "from mouth to mouth,") transmitted to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great synagogue (Aboth 1, 1), until Jehuda embodied in the celebrated code of Traditional law or Mishna, all the authorized interpretations of the Mosaic law, the traditions and decisions of the learned, and the precedents of the courts or schools.

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who, in their long-lasting discipline of suffering, are exiles and aliens in all the nations of the earth. A modern Christian writer, Mr. Rule ("History of the Karaites," p. 52), makes the following remark:

> The Mishna, as the orginal text of the Talmud, and as a faithful picture of Jewish theology and ecclesiology in the apostolic and post-apostolic ages, should be known to every Christian student, at least in its general outlines, and a nearer acquaintance with its contents is indispensably required for successful investigation of the Hebrew elements in primitive Christianity as found in the New Testament, and in the New Testament alone. As an ancient document it possesses great interest, and we should be thankful to God for the preservation of so large a mass of materials for explaining the phraseology, and therefore the teaching, of our Lord and his apostles, materials which are not now sufficiently employed in application to their proper use. . . . Yet, again, the Mishna must be read with interest, for it has contributed, more than any other visible intrument, to the perpetuation of a system of traditionary principles, precepts, and customs, that keeps alive the peculiar spirit of Judaism, as distinct from all the world of Gentiles, that feeds an enthusiasm and rivets an attachment strong beyond the conception of any stranger, thus keeping this ancient people in an isolated existence for the fulfillment of their appointed service in the world, until the fullness of the Gentiles shall be gathered in, and the dispersed of Judah shall return with a ransomed world to crown the triumph of their Messiah—theirs and ours. While it serves these great purposes, Christian scholars do well to acknowledge its existence, examine its various contents, and refrain from indulging in expressions of contempt or censure until their criticism can be discriminative as to the demerits and merits of the work.

The collection of R. Jehudah, who adopted as the basis of his work the labors of Akiba and Meir, is simply called *Mishna*,[1] and was primarily designed for the use of his own students, but gradually gained universal reception. The patriarch himself revised it during his lifetime, but it was not committed to writing till later times. It continued faithfully in the memory of the Rabbins, was used as the text of their prelections, and speedily spread through various countries. The text of the Mishna is in the later style of Hebrew, largely intermixed with Aramean, and even Greek and Latin words in Hebraized forms. The work itself is composed of the following elements:

1. Pure Mishna; the elucidation of the fundamental text of the Mosaic laws and their application to an endless variety of particular

[1] From *shana* (שָׁנָה), "to iterate," or repeat a "second time." In the Arab. *Mathani*, Sura xv. 17; xxxix. 34; Augustin *contra adversarium legis et prophet.*, lib. II, cap. 1: Nescit habere praeter Scripturas legitimas et Propheticas, Judæos quasdam traditiones suas, quas non scriptas habent, sed memoriter tenent, et alter in alterum loquendo transfundit, quam δευτέρωσιν vocant. Comp. also St. Jerome, in epistol. ad Algasiam.

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cases and circumstances not mentioned in them. 2. *Halachoth*,[1] the usages and customs of Judaism, as sanctioned and confirmed by time and general acquiescence. 3. *Debrey Hachamim*, law-principles of the wise men or sages, *i. e.*, the ancient and at that time the more recent teachers, to whose decisions the people's respect for them gave a greater or less weight. 4. *Maassijoth*, practical facts, conclusions arrived at by the operation of events. 5. *Geseroth*, extemporaneous decisions demanded by emergencies. 6. *Tekanoth*, modifications of usages to meet existing circumstances, and 7. *Kelalim*, universal principles under which a multitude of particular cases may be provided for.

In constructing his work, Jehudah arranged these manifold materials under six general classes, called *Sedarim* (סְדָרִים) or orders. The first is called *Zeraim* (זְרָעִים) or "seeds;" the second *Moëd* (מוֹעֵד) or "festival," or "solemnity"; the third *Nashim* (נָשִׁים) or "women"; the fourth *Nezikin* (נְזִיקִין) or "injuries"; the fifth *Kodashim* (קָדָשִׁים) or consecrations"; the sixth *Taharoth* (טָהֳרוֹת) or "purifications." The initial letters of these titles composed for the sake of memory, the technical word *ZeMaN NeKeTh* (זמ"נ"ק"ט) "a time accepted."

The regulations thus generally classified are further arranged under a multitude of subsidiary topics; each *Seder* being divided into a number of tracts or treatises, called *Masiktas* (מַסֶּכְתּוֹת), and these again subdivided into *Perakim* (פְּרָקִים), chapters or sections. The whole is called *Shas* (ש"ס), after the intials of שִׁשָּׁה סְדָרִים *i. e.*, six orders.

The principal topics of the Mishna will be seen by glancing at the following analysis:

I. Order: *Zeraim* סֵדֶר זְרָעִים

TREATISES.	Chapter.	Section.	CONTENTS.	TRANSLATOR.[2]	PUBLICATION.
1. Berakoth בְּרָכוֹת	9	57	On the confession, service, and worship of the one God, and of prayers and benedictions offered to him as the giver of the blessings of life.	P. Riccius. S. Clerc. J. Ulmann. W. Guisius. M. Woeldike. Edzard.	Augsb'g, 1819. Oxford, 1667. Strasb'g, 1663. Oxford, 1690. Hafniae, 1738. Hamb'g, 1713.
2. Peah פֵּאָה	8	69	"the corner," the corner of the field (Lev. xxiii. 22; Deut xxix. 19). The rights of the poor on the soil of Palestine.	W. Guisius.	Oxford, 1690.

[1] *Halackoth* or *hilkoth*, plural of *halaka*, "modes of conduct," or authoritative decisions regulating them, from halak "to go," "walk," "conduct oneself." Hence "halaka" a way, going, procedure, conduct. In Talmudical usage it denotes *traditio decisa, usu et consuetudine recepta et approbata secundum quam incedendum et vivendum.*

[2] The translations are all in Latin.

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TREATISES.	Chapter.	Section.	CONTENTS.	TRANSLATOR.	PUBLICATION.
3. Demai דְּמַאי	7	63	things doubtful in matters of tithes and heave-offerings for agrarian produce.	W. Guisius.	Oxford, 1690.
4. Kelaim כִּלְאַיִם	9	77	"things mixed," or the the lawful commixture of seeds, accociation of plants, etc. (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9–11).	idem.	" "
5. Sheviith שְׁבִיעִית	10	88	the seventh or Sabbathical year (Exodus xxiii. 10; Lev. xxv).	idem.	" "
6. Terumoth תְּרוּמוֹת	11	100	"oblations" (Numbers xviii. 8.)	idem.	" "
7. Maaseroth מַעֲשְׂרוֹת	5	40	first tenths (Deut. xiv. 22; xxvi. 14).	idem.	" "
8. Maaser Sheney מַ֫עֲשֵׂר שֵׁנִי	5	57	second tenths (Lev. xxvii. 30; Num. xviii. 28)		
9. Challah חַלָּה	4	37	"the cake of dough" (Numb. xv. 20).		
10. Orlah עָרְלָה	3	35	newly planted or "uncircumcised" trees (Lev. xix. 23).	Chr. Ludwig.	Lipsiae, 1695.
11. Bikurim בִּכּוּרִים	4	34	"primitiae," or "first-fruits" (Deut. xxvi. 1).	idem.	" 1696.
			II. Order: *Moëd* סֵדֶר מוֹעֵד		
1. Shabbath שַׁבָּת	24	139	laws relating to the Sabbath	Schmid and Carpzov.	" 1670.
2. Eruvin עֵרוּבִין	10	89	"combinations," the relation of places and limits as affecting the observance of the Sabbath.	idem.	" "
3. Pesachim פְּסָחִים	10	88	on the Passover.	S. Schmid (in his Comment. de Pashate, p. 202).	
4. Shekalim שְׁקָלִים	8	52	the poll-tax of half a shekel (Exod. xiii. 12).	J. H. Otho.	Geneva, 1675 (added to his Lexic'n-Rabb).
5. Yomah יוֹמָא	8	61	the day of atonement.	J. Wielser. Sheringham.	Altorf, 1680. London, 1648.
6. Sukkah סוּכָּה	5	53	the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 33).	Rhenford. Dachs.	Franec., 1700. Traj. ad Rhen., 1726.
7. Yom Tof or Bitzah (בֵּיצָה)	5	41	"the good day," restrictions and distractions regarding festivals. N. B. This treatise is also called *Bitzah*, "an egg," from the initial word.	Ludwig.	Lipsiae, 1697.

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TREATISE.	Chapter.	Section.	CONTENTS.	TRANSLATOR.	PUBLICATION.
8. Rosh Hashanah רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה	4	35	the New Year: Feast Tisri.	Houting.	Amste'd.,1695.
9. Taanith תַּעֲנִיּוֹת	4	44	concerning feasts.	Lundy. v. d. Hardt.	Tr. ad R., 1694. Helmst., 1712.
10. Megilla מְגִלָּה	4	33	"the roll," *i. e.*, the Book of Esther. Purim.		
11. Moëd Katon מוֹעֵד קָטָן	3	23	"the minor feast," middle days of the Passover and Tabernacles.		
12. Chagiga חֲגִיגָה	3	23	"solemnity," the sacrifices for festivals (Exod. xxiii. 17).	Ludwig.	Lipsiae, 1696.
			III. Order: *Nashim* סֵדֶר נָשִׁים		
1. Yevamoth יְבָמוֹת	16	123	"of a brother-in-law," concerning the "marriage of the childless widow" (Deut. xxv. 5), and "the taking off the shoe" (Deut. xxv. 9).		
2. Ketuvoth כְּתוּבוֹת	13	111	"writings," on marriage contracts.	Faust.	Basel, 1699.
3. Kiddushin קִידּוּשִׁין	4	47	"betrothments."		
4. Gittin גִּיטִּין	9	75	"divorcements."		
5. Nedarim נְדָרִים	11	90	vows made by families.	Ulmann.	Strassb., 1693
6. Nazir נָזִיר	9	60	vows of abstinence (Num. vi. 1-21).	idem.	" 1663
7. Sootah סוֹטָה	9	67	"declension of a wife from fidelity" (Num. v. 11).	Wagenseil.	Altorf, 1674.
			IV. Order: *Nezikin* סֵדֶר נְזִיקִין		
1. Bava Kama בָּבָא קַמָּא	10	79	"the first gate" (*i. e.*, place of justice), or injuries received from fire, etc.	L'Empereur.	Lugd., 1637.
2. Bava Metzia בָּ' מְצִיעָא	10	101	"the middle gate;" or deposits, hire, accommodations, loans, usury, etc.		
3. Bava Bathra בָּ' בָּתְרָא	10	86	"the last gate," or buying and selling heirship, succession and trust.		
4. Sanhedrin סַנְהֶדְרִין	11	71	of the Sanhedrin; the great and inferior councils; forensic transactions; fines and punishments; the *future*; the *Messiah*.	Coccejus.	Amst., 1629
5. Makkoth מַכּוֹת	3	34	the forty stripes, save one (Deut. xxv. 3); corporal punishments.	idem.	" "

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TREATISE.	Chapter.	Section.	CONTENTS.	TRANSLATOR.	PUBLICATION.
6. Shevuoth שְׁבוּעוֹת	8	62	of oaths.	Ulmann.	Strassb., 1663.
7. Edioth עֵדְיוֹת	8	74	"testimonials," *i. e.*, decisions or judgments on various litigated subjects, collected from legal authorities.		
8. Horioth הוֹרִיוֹת	3	20	"precepts" or "judgments," of oversights and errors in the administration of law, and how they are to be atoned for (Lev. iv. 13).	Ludwig.	Lipsiæ, 1696.
9. Avoda Zara עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה	5	50	"of strange service," i. e., idolatry and heresy; the avoiding of the society of idolaters and Christians.	Peringer.	Altorf, 1680.
10. Aboth פִּרְקֵי אָבוֹת	6	106	the fathers, who have transmitted the oral law.	Different, into Latin, Fr. English, German, etc.	
V. Order: *Kodashim* סֵדֶר קָדָשִׁים					
1. Zebachim זְבָחִים	14	101	"of sacrifices."	Ulmann.	Strassb., 1663.
2. Minachoth מְנָחוֹת	13	93	"meal-offerings"; flour and bread, with and without oil and incense.		
3. Cholin חוֹלִין	12	74	"profane or common things"; of animals, clean and unclean, as material for food.		
4. Bekoroth בְּכוֹרוֹת	9	73	the first-born and their redemption (Exod. xiii. 13).		
5. Erakin עֲרָכִין	9	50	of valuations.	Rounow.	[1690. Traj. ad Rhen.,
6. Temurah תְּמוּרָה	7	35	commutations or substitutions of one sacrifice for another.		
7. Mehila מְעִילָה	6	38	inadvertencies and trespasses in the misuse of sacrifices, and things consecrated (Num. v. 6, 8).		
8. Kerithoth כְּרִיתוֹת	6	43	"revisions," the sins which incur revision from the people.	Ulmann.	Strassb., 1663.
9. Tamid תָּמִיד	6	33	"the daily or perpetual offering" (Exodus xxxiv; Num. xxviii).	Peringer. M. Arnold.	Altorf, 1680. Franec'r, 1680.
10. Middoth מִדּוֹת	5	33	"measurements"; dimensions of the temple.	L'Empereur.	Lugd., 1630.
11. Kinnim קִנִּים	3	15	"nests," also "turtle-doves"; of birds offered at the altar of the poor.		

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TREATISE.	Chapter.	Section	CONTENTS.	TRANSLATOR.	PUBLICATION.
			VI. Order: *Taharoth* סֵדֶר טָהֳרוֹת		
1. Kelim כֵּלִים	30	254	of such things as contract and communicate uncleanness, and how to purify them (Lev. xi. 11, 32; Num. xix. 14; xxxi. 20).	Dassow.	Wittenberg, 1696.
2. Ohaloth אֹהָלוֹת	18	134	the defilement and purification of tabernacles, or houses and their parts, with special reference to the presence of a corpse (Num. xix. 14).		
3. Negaim נְגָעִים	14	115	uncleanness from leprosy, etc (Lev. xiii and xiv.		
4. Parah פָּרָה	12	96	"the red heifer" (Num. xix).		
5. Taharoth טָהֳרוֹת	10	92	purifications from various minor kinds of uncleanness.		
6. Mikvaoth מִקְוָאוֹת	10	71	of lavers and baths (Num. xxxi. 23).		
7. Nidda נִדָּה	10	79	purifications required by women.		
8. Makshirin מַכְשִׁירִין	6	54	various rules of purifications founded on Lev. xi. 36–38.		
9. Zabim זָבִים	5	32	of fluxes (Lev. xv).		
10. Tevul Yom טְבוּל יוֹם	4	26	of purification on the same day that defilement is contracted (Lev. xvii. 15; xxii. 6, 7).		
11. Yadaim יָדַיִם	4	22	on purifying the hands.	Romaun.	Hamb'g, 1786.
12. Okezin עוּקְצִים	3	28	"stalks" of fruits and legumes which contract uncleanness.		

With the life and labors of Rabbi ended the succession of the Tanaïm, the men who had delivered the oral law. They were now to be followed by a new order, the *Amoraïm*, that is to say, the expositors of the law, at length no longer oral, but reduced to a written text. The Amoraïm laid down new principles, or novel applications of received ones, which carried with them a certain legal weight and authority. A principle or application of this kind was called a *baraïtha*, also *tosefta*, the former term denoting a law maxim *extra* to the Mishna, the latter an appendix or superaddition. They are indicated in the Talmud by the prefatory formula *tannu rabbanu*, "our teachers have delivered."

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II. The Gemara.

The work of R. Jehudah could not satisfy for the length of time the zeal of the Rabbis for the law; for all casuistry is endless as to its essence. There was a great multitude of all kinds of possibilities, which were treated in the Mishna, and yet again each single sentence left open diverse possibilities, diverse doubts and considerations not yet finished. Thus it was an inner necessity of the matter that the text of the Mishna again became the point of learned discussion. Partly by means of logic (that is, rabbinical), partly with the help of the traditional matter, which had not yet been perused in the Mishna, all open questions were now discussed. The two main schools where this casuistic treatment of the Mishna-text was exercised, were that at *Tiberias*, in Palestine, and that at *Sora*, in Babylonia, where *Abba Areka*, called *Rab*, a pupil of R. Jehudah, had brought the Mishna. In these, and other schools, the thread of casuistry was twisted over and over again, and the matter of traditions of the law thus took greater and greater dimensions. Finally, this matter also had to be fixed, which was done in the two so-called *Gemaras*, the Palestinian, or Jerusalem, and the Babylonian.

The *Palestinian Gemara*, commonly called *Talmud Jerushalmi*, was completed at Tiberias about 350, A. D., and in the form as we have it, only contains four orders, while the Babylonian Talmud, completed at Sora about 550, is four times as large as the Jerusalem one, and has always been held in greater esteem, and was up to this day studied more, for, indeed, when speaking of the Talmud, always the latter is understood.

The *Talmud* then (from *lamad*, to teach), that wonderful monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly, is next to (or rather, in the strictly Jewish view along with) the canonical Scriptures, the authoritative code of Hebrew doctrine and jurisprudence. It consists of the Mishna, as such, and a voluminous collection of commentaries and illustrations, called in the more modern Hebrew, *Horaa*, and in Aramaic, *Gemara*, "the complement," or "completion," from *gamar*, "to make perfect." The men, therefore, who delivered these decisive commentaries are called Gemarists, sometimes *Horaim*, but more commonly, *Amoraim*.

In general, the Gemara takes the character of scholastic discussions, more or less prolonged, on the consecutive portions of the Mishna. On a cursory view, it is true these discussions have the air of a desultory and confused wrangle; but when studied more

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carefully, they resolve themselves into a system governed by a methodology of its own.

The language of the Talmud is partly Hebrew and partly Aramaic. The best Hebrew of the work is in the text of the Mishna, that in the Gemara being largely debased with exotic words of various tongues, barbarous spelling, and uncouth grammatical, or rather ungrammatical, forms. The same remark will apply to the Aramaic portions, which, in general, are those containing popular narrative or legendary illustration, while the law principles, and the discussions relating to them, are embodied in Hebrew. Many forms of the Talmudic dialect are so peculiar as to render a grammar adapted to the work itself greatly to be desired. Ordinary Hebrew grammar will not take a man through a page of it.

In style, the Mishna is remarkable for its extreme conciseness, and the Gemara is written upon the same model, though not so frequently obscure. The prevailng principle of the composition seems to have been the employment of the fewest words, thus rendering the work a constant brachylogy. A phrase becomes a focus of many thoughts, a solitary word an anagram, a cipher for a whole subject of reflection. To employ an appropriate expression of Delitzsch: "What Jean Paul says of the style of Haman, applies exactly to that of the Talmud: It is a firmament of telescopic stars, containing many a cluster of light which no unaided eye has ever resolved."

Since the Gemara is in general only a more complete development of the Mishna, it also comprises all the primary elements of the Mishna, mentioned above, which are, however, intermixed with an endless variety of *Hagadoth*, anecdotes and illustrations, historical and legendary, poetical allegories, charming parables, witty epithalamiums, etc., which tend to keep up the attention, and give the book a charm for the mere reader, and an ever recurring refreshment to the severe student.

As to these Hagadoth, we must confess that many of them which crowd the pages of the Talmud are extravagant, and often, when taken literally, absurd. But they must be merely regarded as to their meaning and intention. Much has been said against the Talmud on account of the preposterous character of some of these legends. But we should give the Hebrew *literati* the benefit of their own explanations. They tell us that in the Talmud, Hagada has no absolute authority; nor any value, except in the way of elucidation. It often enwraps a philosophic meaning under the veil of allegory, mythic folklore, ethical story, oriental romance, parable, and aphorism and fable. They deny that the authors of these fancy pieces intended either to

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add to the law of God, or to diminish from it, by them; but only to explain and enforce it in terms best suited to the popular capacity. They caution us against receiving these things according to the letter, and admonish us to understand them according to their spiritual or moral import. "Beware," says Maimonides, "that you take not the words of the Hachamim (that is, wise men) literally; for this would be degrading to the sacred doctrine, and sometimes to contradict it. Seek rather the hidden sense; and if you cannot find the kernel, let the shell alone, and confess, 'I cannot understand this.'" Some of the earlier rabbis themselves confessed but little esteem for the Hagadistic branch of their scholastic lore. "He," exclaims R. Jehoshua ben Levi, "he who writes it down will have no portion in the world to come; he who explains it will be scorched." And another Jewish writer freely acknowledges that—

The Talmud contains many things which every enlightened Jew must sincerely wish had either never appeared there, or should, at least, long ago have been expunged from its pages. . . . Some of these sayings are objectionable *per se;* others are, indeed, susceptible of explanations, but without them are calculated to produce false and erroneous impressions. Of the former description are all those extravagancies relating to the extent of Paradise, the dimensions of Gehinnom, the size of Leviathan, and the *shor habor*, the freaks of Ashmodai, etc., etc., idle tales borrowed most probably from the Parthians and Arabians, to whom the Jews were subject before the promulgation of the Talmud. . . How these objectionable passages came at all to be inserted, can only be accounted for from the great reverence with which the Israelites of those days used to regard their wise men, and which made them look upon every word and expression that dropped from the mouth of their instructors as so many precious sayings well worthy of being preserved. These they wrote down for their own private information, together with more important matters, and when, in after times, these writings were collected in order to be embodied in one entire work, the collectors, either from want of proper discrimination, or from some pious motive, suffered them to remain, and thus they were handed down to posterity. That the wiser portion of the nation never approved of them is well known. Nay, that some of the Talmudists themselves regard them with no favorable eye, is plain from the bitter terms in which they spoke against them [for example, Jehoshua ben Levi, whose evidence we have quoted above]. . . . I admit also that there are many and various contradictions in the Talmud, and, indeed, it would be a miracle if there were none. For the work contains not the opinions of only a few individuals living in the same society, under precisely similar circumstances, but of hundreds, nay, thousands, of learned men of various talents, living in a long series of ages, in different countries, and under the most diversified conditions. . . . To believe that its multifarious contents are all dictates of unerring

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wisdom, is as extravagant as to suppose that all it contains is founded in error. Like all other productions of unaided humanity, it is not free from mistakes and prejudices; to remind us that the writers were fallible men, and that unqualified admiration must be reserved for the works of divine inspiration, which we ought to study, the better to adore and obey the all-perfect Author. But while I should be among the first to protest against any confusion of the Talmudic rills with the ever-flowing stream of holy writ, I do not hesitate to avow my doubts whether there exists any uninspired work of equal antiquity that contains more interesting, more various and valuable information than that of the still existing remains of the ancient Hebrew sages.

Thus far the opinion of a modern Jew (H. Hurwitz, *The Uninspired Literature of the Hebrews*, in the *New Era*, New York, 1872, April and June).

The Mishna [says Mr. D'Israeli, in his "Genius of Judaism," p. 88], at first considered as the perfection of human skill and industry, at length was discovered to be a vast indigested heap of contradictory decisions. It was a supplement of the law of Moses, which itself required a supplement. Composed in curt, unconnected sentences, such as would occur in conversation, designed to be got by rote by the students from the lips of their oracles, the whole was at length declared not to be even intelligible, and served only to perplex or terrify the scrupulous Hebrew. Such is the nature of traditions, when they are fairly brought together, and submitted to the eye.

The Mishna now only served as a text (the law of Moses being slightly regarded) to call forth interminable expositions. The very sons of the founder of the Mishna set the example by pretending that they understood what their father meant. The work once begun, it was found difficult to get rid of the workmen. The sons of the "Holy" were succeeded by a long line of other rulers of their divinity schools, under the title, aptly descriptive, of the *Amoraim* or *dictators*. These were the founders of the new despotism; afterwards, wanderers in the labyrinth they had themselves constructed, roved the *Seburaim* or *opionists*, no longer dictating, but inferring opinions by keen speculations. As in the decline of empire mere florid titles delight, rose the *Geonim* or *sublime* doctors, till at length, in the dissolution of this dynasty of theologians, they sunk into the familiar titular honor of *Rabbi*, or master.

The Jews had incurred the solemn reproach in the days of Jesus of having annihilated the word of God by the load of their *traditions*. The calamity became more fearful when, two centuries after, they received the fatal gift of their collected traditions, called *Mishna*, and still more fatal when, in the lapse of the three subsequent centuries, the epoch of the final compilation, was produced the commentary graced with the title of the *Gemara*, completeness, or perfection. It was imagined that the human intellect had here touched its meridian. The national mind was completely rabbinised. It became uniform, stable and peculiar.

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The Talmud, or the Doctrinal, as the whole is called, was the work of nearly five hundred years.

Here, then, we find a prodigious mass of contradictory opinions, an infinite number of casuistical cases, a logic of scholastic theology, some recondite wisdom, and much rambling dotage; many puerile tales and oriental fancies; ethics and sophisms, reasonings and unreasonings, subtle solutions, and maxims, and riddles; nothing in human life seems to have happened which these doctors have not perplexed or provided against, for their observations are as minute as Swift exhausted in his "Directions to Servants." The children of Israel always children, were delighted as their Talmud increased its volume and their hardships. The Gemara was a kind of a third law to elucidate the Mishna, which was a second law, and which had thrown the first law, the law of Moses, into obscurity.

Having thus traced the origin of Talmud, and to what abuse the rabbinical labors naturally led, it is but right to say that the popular judgment on the Talmud is often unjust, because based on utter ignorance of the subject.[1] The Talmud, as it now stands, is almost the whole literature of the Jews during a thousand years. Commentator followed upon commentator, till at last the whole became an immense bulk, the original Babylonian Talmud alone consisting of 2,947 folio pages.

Out of such a literature it is easy to make quotations which may throw an odium over the whole. But fancy, if the productions of a thousand years of English literature, say from the "History" of the Venerable Bede, to Milton's "Paradise Lost," were thrown together into a number of uniform folios, and judged in like manner; if, because some superstitious monk should write silly "Lives of Saints," therefore, the works of Jnhn Bunyan should also be considered worthless! The absurdity is too obvious to require another word. Such, however, is the continual treatment the Talmud receives both at the hands of its friends and of its enemies. Both will find it easy to quote in behalf of their preconceived notions, but the earnest student will rather try to weigh the matter impartially, retain the good he can find even in the Talmud, and reject what will not stand the test of God's word.[2]

In conclusion, while we acknowledge the fact that this great encyclopædia of Hebrew wisdom teems with error, and that in almost every department in science, in natural history, in chronology, genealogy, logic and morals, falsehood and mistake are mixed up with

[1] I lament that the learned should have turned their backs on the Hebrew sources; and that, whilst they hope to find the key of ancient doctrine in the obscure, insoluble riddle of Egyptian hieroglyphics; whilst nothing is heard but the language and wisdom of India, the writings and traditions of the Rabbins are consigned to neglect without examination.—*Schelling*

[2] Alexander, "The Jews: their Past, Present and Future," p. 80, sq., London, 1870.

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truth upon its pages, we nevertheless confess, that notwithstanding, with all its imperfections, it is a useful book[1], an attestation of the past, a criterion of progress already attained and a prophecy of the future.

It is a witness, too, of the length of folly to which the mind of man may drift, when he disdains the wisdom of God as revealed in the gospel; and in these respects it will always have a claim on the attention of the wise. When Talmudism, as a religious system, shall in a generation or two have passed away, the Talmud itself will be still resorted to as a treasury of things amazing and things profitable; a deep cavern of antiquity, where he who carries the necessary torch will not fail to find amid whole labyrinths of the rubbish of times gone by, those inestimable lessons that will be true for all times to come, and gems of ethical and poetic thought, which retain their brightness forever.[2]

In addition to the treatises which compose the Gemara, there are certain minor ones which are connected with it as a kind of apocrypha, or appendix, under the title of מסכתות קטנות or smaller treatises. These are:

1. *Soferim*, concerning the scribe and reader of the law, in twenty-one chapters.
2. *Semachoth* or *Ebel rabbathi*, concerning the ordinances for funeral solemnities, in fourteen chapters.
3. *Kalla*, relating to marriage.
4. *Derek erez rabba vesuta*, concerning the life in a strange land, etc., in twenty chapters.
5. *Gerim*, concerning proselytes.
6. *Cuthim*, concerning the Samaritans.
7. *Zizith*, concerning fringes.

To these treatises are sometimes added:

1. *Hilkoth Erez Israel*, relating to the ways of slaughtering ani-

[1] Sunt enim in Talmud adhuc multa quoque Theologica sana, quamvis plurimis inutilibus corticibus, ut Majemon alicubi loquitur, involuta. Sunt in co multa fida antiquitatis Judaicæ collapsæ veluti rudera et vestigia, ad convincendam posterorum Judæorum perfidiam, ad illustrandum utriusque Testamenti historiam, ad recte explicandos ritus, leges, consuetudines populi Hebraei prisci, plurimum conducentia. Sunt in co, multa Juridica, Medica, Physica, Ethica, Politica, Astronomica et aliarum scientiarum praeclara documenta, quæ istius gentis et temporis historiam mirifice commendant. Sunt in eo illustria ex antiquitate proverbia, insignes sententiæ, acuta apophthegmata, scite prudenterque dicta innumera, quæ lectorem vel meliorem, vel sapientiorem, vel doctiorem reddere possunt, et ceu rutilantes gemmæ non minus Hebræam linguam exornant, quam omnes Latii et Graeciae flosculi suas linguas condecorant. Sunt in eo multæ vocum myriades, quæ, vel voces in Scripturæ Sacræ usu raras illustrant, et native explicant, vel totius linguæ Hebraicæ et Chaldaeæ usum insigniter complent et perficiunt, qui alioqui in defectu maximo mutilus et mancus jaceret.—Buxtorf, in *Praefat. Lex. Chald. et Talmud.*

[2] Etheridge.

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mals for food, after the Jewish ideas, a treatise which is much later than the Talmud.

2. *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, a commentary on, or amplification of, the treatise Aboth, in twenty-one chapters.

Subsidiaries to the Talmud, printed either in the margin of the pages, or at the end of the treatises, are 1. the *Tosafoth*, exegetical additions by later authors; 2. *Masorah hashesh Sedarim*, being marginal masoretic indices to the six orders of the Mishna; 3. *Aïn* or *En Mishpat*, that is, index of places, on the rites and institutions; 4. *Ner Mitswoth*, "lumen præcepti," a general index of decisions according to the digest of Maimonides; and 5. *Perushim*, or commentaries by different authors.

Editions and Translations of the Mishna.

Mishna sive totius Hebræorum juris, rituum, antiquitatum ac legum oralium systema cum clarissimorum Rabbinorum Maimonidis et Bartenoræ commentariis integris, etc. Latinitate donavit ac notis illustravit Guil. Surenhusius. Six volumes, folio; Ams.: 1698–1703. This noble edition will always remain the standard work. The latest edition of the Mishna, with the Hebrew commentaries (משניות), is that by N. A. Goldberg, 6 vols., gr. quarto; Berlin: 1864.

The entire Mishna has been translated into Spanish by Abraham ben Reuben, with the commentaries of Bartenora and Maimonides; Venice: 1606, folio. Into German, by J. I. Rabe, 6 parts; Onolzbach, 1760–63; and by M. Jost, with a voweled text and notes, 6 parts, Berlin: 1832–33. Into English by Rabbis de Sola and Raphall, 1 vol., London: 1845, but only 18 treatises. In a note to the Preface, the translators give the following reason for some of the omissions: "The treatise Nidda, not being suited to the refined notions of the English reader, has not been printed; and for the same reason the Hebrew in some places has been substituted for the English. In Treatise Yevamoth it has been deemed necessary to omit, for similar reasons, chapters vi and viii, as well as several sections in the same treatise, the omission being indicated by asterisks."

Of the Talmud.

The Jerusalem Talmud was first published by D. Bomberg, Venice, without date; then with brief glosses at Cracow, in 1609; at Krotoschin, 1866, folio. A new edition of Bomberg's, with commentaries, was commenced by late Dr. Frankel, of which, however, only the first order was published, Vienna, 1875.

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The Babylonian Talmud was first published at Venice in 1520–23, in 12 volumes, folio; republished by Froben of Basle in 1558–60, folio, excluding all passages calumniating Christ. The latest editions are those of Berlin, 1868, with all commentaries, in 25 volumes, folio; and of Warsaw, 1868, in 12 volumes.

Latin translations of a large portion of the Jerusalem Talmud may be found in Ugolino's *Thesaurus antiqq. sacr.*, vols. xvii, xviii, xx, xxv, xxx.

The first treatise, *Berakoth*, according to the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, was tranlsated into German by Rabe, Halle, 1777; into French by L. Chiarini, Leipzic, 1831, and by M. Schwab, Paris, 1872 (*traité de Berakoth du Talmud de Jérusalem*, etc.) The same treatise of the Babylonian Talmud was translated into German by Pinner, Berlin, 1842, and *Aboda Sara*, by F. Chr. Ewald, Nürnberg, 1868. In Ugolino's *Thesaurus*, vol. xix and xxv, some parts are also translated.

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Löwy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, etc., Leipzig, 1875.

Geiger, *Lehrbuch der Mischna*, Breslau, 1845.

Dukes, *die Sprache der Mischna*, Eslingen, 1846.

Weiss, *Studien über die Sprache der Mischna*, Wien, 1867 (hebr).

Luzzatto, *Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo Biblico e del dialetto Talmudico Babilonese*, Padua, 1865; translated into German by Krüger, Breslau, 1873.

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Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iv, 103, ff.; *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, ii, 114–126.

Zunz, *die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden* (1832), p. 45, f., 86, f., 106, ff.

Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv, 210–240, 419–422, 430, f., 479–485,

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494, f.; and in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1871, p. 228, ff., 264, ff., 494, ff., 530, ff.

Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, etc., Lipsiae, 1859, 1867 (hebr.)

Dünner, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1871, 33–42, 59–77, 157, ff., 158, ff., 313, ff., 363, ff., 416, ff., 449, ff.; 1872, p. 161–178, 218–235.

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Kämpf, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 201–207, 231–236; 1854, p. 39–42, 98–107.

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Geiger, in his *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii, 1836, pp. 474–492.

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On the Jerusalem Gemara.

Cp. Fürst, *Literaturbl. d. Or.*, 1843, Nr. 48–51; Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1851, 52, pp. 36–40, 70–80; 1871, pp. 120–137; Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 278–306.

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Rule, *History of the Karaite Jews*, chap. 8th, London, 1870: *on the zoology of the Talmud*, wrote L. Lewysohn, Frkft. on Main, 1858; on the *religious philosophy of the Talmud*, A. Nager, Leipzig, 1864; *on pedagogics*, Dr. S. Marcus, Frankfort, 1863; *on talmudic coins and weights*, B. Zuckermann, Breslau, 1862, and *on the geography of of the Talmud*, wrote A. Neubauer, a prize essay, estitled "*la geographie du Talmud, memoire couronné par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.* Paris, 1868. Of the monographies on the Talmud we mention besides Bedarride, *étude sur le Talmud*, Montpellier, 1869, only the following, that appeared in English periodicals: Nordheimer, *the Talmud and the Rabbies* in the *Amer. Bibl. Repository*, October, 1839; Deutsch, "*The Talmud*," in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1867 (reprinted in his "Literary Remains," New York, 1874), making a great ado for nothing, and the more so, as it was supposed to have been written by a Christian, because the Reformed Jew hid himself behind the Christian mask, speaking of Christ as of "our Saviour"; M. Grünbaum in the *North American Review*, April, 1869; C. E. Stowe, *The Talmud*, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1868; *The Talmud and the Jewish Reformation*, in Blackwood's Magazine, November, 1869; *The Talmud*, in the Edinburgh Review, July, 1873; *Hebrew Christian Witness*, London, September, October, etc., 1873; and the art. *Talmud* in the Cornhill Magazine, London, August, 1875 (No. 188).

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THE UNITY OF THE BIBLE.

THE Christian Bible is made up of many parts. It is most noticeably divided into the Old and the New Testaments. These sections are in turn compiled, the former from thirty-nine, and the latter from twenty-seven separate writings. The nearly forty authors manifest every variety of qualification for literary labors. Their work extended over the long period of sixteen centuries. They wrote in many lands, and in different languages. We find among their productions a great deal of history and prophecy and song, of biography and ethics and theology. They contain the sayings of good men, and the sayings of bad men; the words of God, and the words of malignant spirits from the world of darkness. Indeed, in whatever direction we contemplate the Bible, there seems an endless diversity. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a volume bringing together within the same compass a greater amount of dissimilarity as to subject, style, and circumstance.

The question naturally arises, whether the Christian Bible is really one book, thoroughly permeated with an all-inclusive, and all else exclusive unity? To this question the volume itself gives perfectly satisfactory answer. In manifold ways it declares that it is one harmonious and complete book, an organic and finished whole, an unique and ultimate creation of the Divine mind. In the light of the testimony of the volume itself, the ingenuous mind, it would seem,

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cannot fail of the impression that all the parts of Sacred Scripture are united in closest intimacy and kinship, that the thought of unaided men has never produced such a master piece of living unity amid inexhaustible diversity, and that it would be more easy to rest in the conviction that the Bible had been written in one country, under one mind, by one pen, and at one time, than that it is merely a collection of religious productions, made one by custom and the printer's binding.

A study of the Bible, in the interest of this question of unity, has more than a mere literary and artistic value. It will decide very largely the estimate in which the volume will be held, the moral power of its sway over the believer's conduct and life, and the force felt in that solemn prohibition with which the book of the Revelation is closed, but which is generally thought to refer to the entire volume of the Sacred Scriptures: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book."

I. Its Analogical Unity.

The Scriptures bear upon their face a striking resemblance to every general aspect of nature. In whatever direction the mind looks out upon the creation, as it is left from the divine hand, it observes endless diversity wrapped up in all-comprehending unity. There are innumerable plants and animals, but they are all bound together by a minute cellular construction. The organs of plant life seem endlessly confused in their first appearance; but careful observation detects a mathematical spiral regulating the arrangement everywhere. To the superficial and unreflecting mind there seems to be no order in the distribution of colors throughout the vegetable world. And even Mr. Ruskin, in his "Lamps of Architecture," can assert that "while in nature the boundaries of forms are elegant and precise, those of colors, though subject to symmetry of a rude kind, are yet irregular—in blotches." Nevertheless there are laws of the beautiful, only, indeed, partially understood, that unite all the coloring of the vegetable kingdom into one harmonious system. What were till lately regarded as mere casual coincidence of floral color are coming to be understood as nature's fidelity to the strictest æsthetic principles. And while the diversities in the association of color are being discovered as more and more numerous and complicated, the all-comprehending

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unities are gradually unfolding themselves, these unities in turn pointing toward a supreme law of harmony, even as all unifying laws of astronomy centre in that of gravitation. At first, there are few subjects that confuse the mind more thoroughly than the numerous and diverse mineral substances which form the great mass of the earth's crust. Even Paley was obliged to confess that he saw no traces of order in a stone. And perhaps the most reflecting minds of the present day would have continued not to dream of any regularity among inorganic objects, had not Abbé Haüy dropped his beautiful specimen of calcareous spar, and noted that all the shivered fragments of the original prism had the same rhomboidal form. And it almost belongs now to the common stock of knowledge to recognize that all the wonderful diversity of crystalline form in nature is bound together by a still more wonderful uniformity. These outlooks will suffice to give the general aspect of nature. Everywhere the first impressions are confusing. In all directions there is infinite variety, and long and patient toil is required before the human mind apprehends the all-pervading unity. If, then, God was to furnish man with a volume of complete religious instruction, it should be presumed that he would form one after the analogy of all his other formations. It should be presumed that he would give us a volume whose unity would not stand out upon its surface for the recognition of any impromptu superficial thought, which would not seem to be one as readily as a geometry, or history, or book on moral science, but whose connection would reveal itself to the studious and ingenuous; at first, in scattered and imperfect recognitions of intelligent order, and then in more and more vivid apprehension of the grand and all-inclusive theme of the divine Author. It should be presumed that God would provide a book that would correspond as a literary creation to the diversified unity which characterizes every other department of creation.

II. Its Authoritative Unity.

The history of thought, that comparatively new field of science, and to which of late a gratifying number of exceedingly valuable contributions have been made, has much to reveal that is curious and instructive in respect to the tone or air of thought, as well as in the directions of its variation of judgment, and of its argumentative processes. At one time, thought, such as that along the line of material science, has maintained the bearing of humility and self-distrustful caution, but at another its carriage or mien is that of vanity and presumption. Indeed, all literature, of every range of subject, and

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of every period of the world, may yet find a new, and one of the most valuable of classifications, in the variety of the tone or air with which the authors have carried themselves all the way from the caution of Lord Bacon, to the imprudence of John Stewart Mill; from the strong common sense of Thomas Reid, to the frivolity of Auguste Comte; from the reverence of Sir William Hamilton, to the irreverence of David Hume; from the dictatorial spirit of Confucius, to the subservient spirit of a Baden Powell; from the sensuality of a Mohamet, to the purity of an elder Edwards; and from the censoriousness of a Ruskin, to the generosity of an Agassiz. All men who have contributed to our world's literature, have not only ranged themselves as naturalists, and metaphysicians, and theologians, or as belonging to the German, and French, and Scottish schools, but they have also classified their writings as pompous or deferential, dictatorial or suggestive, conscientious or unscrupulous, reverent or irreverent, and in many other ways, according to the tone, mien or spirit with which they have thought, and committed their thoughts to paper. This is equally true of the various authors whose writings are collected within the volume of the Sacred Scriptures. Each one has left the impress of his own peculiar style. Each one carries about his own distinctive look, or aspect. But, above all the peculiarities that thus distinguish one from another, there is a single grand all-inclusive characteristic of general bearing or deportment of thought and expression that sets them off from all other authors, in a class by themselves. There is one feature that runs through them all, that cannot remain undiscovered even upon the slightest acquaintance, and that cannot be found in any other known literary production. This peculiar feature is of an authoritative type. Every Bible writer speaks with a tone of characteristic authority. They do not carry themselves with the air of a king, but rather of a king's ambassador. They seem conscious of occupying before men the highest representative rank conceivable. But evidently the dignity does not affect their minds and communications, as honorable preferment always affects to some degree the carriage of thought and expression of other men. All their sympathies and tastes and companionableness remain the same toward the various classes of people with which they were identified before becoming honored above all others of the human race. They were as accessible and communicative subsequent to their wonderful inspiration, as they ever had been among the brickyards of Egypt, or the pasture fields of Judea, or the fisherman's boats upon Genesareth. They maintain the attitude of the most dutiful service, and yet it is not a cringing service. They bear them-

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selves as only the mediums of authority, and yet they are continually weighed down with a sense of tremendous personal responsibility. They argue, but do not rest on argument. They appeal to conscience, but do not rest even there. They seem conscious of the immediate presence and oversight of One whose being and nature are the foundation of all argument, and whose watchfulness is full assurance. The doctrine of divine inspiration may or may not be accepted, but there is the undeniable feature or bearing to all, the spirit of thought and style of language throughout the Sacred Scriptures, which inspiration is brought forward to explain. Each writer moves on with all the assurance of Cæsar, when he crossed the Rubicon in his march upon Rome, and yet there is no self-assertion, or assumption of personal superiority, no air of false pretension. The bearing of command, and the mien of obedience are adjusted to a perfect harmony. The one is not laid aside for the other, as occasion requires, according to universal habit among men, but both attitudes are preserved by every Bible author, so that ever in thought and word and action it is the commanding one who obeys, and at the very same time the obeying one who commands. This prevailing and characteristic feature of the Scriptures must be classified as one of the important links which form a unit of the whole.

III. Its Religious Unity.

Throughout the entire volume a religious purpose is preserved, as distinct from philosophical or speculative or scientific or ethical purposes. From beginning to end the single aim is to reveal God to man, and to bring man under subjection to God. From this design nothing causes the writers to swerve by even so much as an hair's breadth. Considerations, personal, social and political, continually crowded upon them, well calculated to divert their attention, at least occasionally and incidentally, from the simple purpose of leading men to reverence God and obey his will; and yet with unparalleled fidelity, they successfully resisted every such wayward influence, and remained religious, and religious only, to the end.

It is not meant to say that philosophy and science and ethics exclude religion; for many a work profoundly philosophical has been thoroughly pervaded with the religious spirit; and beside much of the anti-Christian science of to-day there stand rival books filled with Christian sentiments; and by far the best and most numerous of our ethical treatises are of pious parentage, born of minds and hearts submitted to the will of God as revealed in Christ Jesus. But it is

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one thing to carry along the two ideas together, as of philosophical speculation and of practical godliness; and another thing to be so thoroughly absorbed in the aim of revealing God to man in both doctrine and life, as to be utterly unconscious of any scientific associations.

It is in this latter sense that all the Bible writers are plainly religious. They undertook no other task than to unfold to sinful men whatever they understood to be the divine will. Their lines of thought ranged alongside all of the most inviting fields of the theoretical, but they not only refused utterly to be diverted by the speculative and unpractical, they seemed even to be sublimely unconscious of the diverting influence. Many historical facts of thrilling interest were occurring contemporaneously with each of their several lives, but they mention a trivial incident of some person, or family, or tribe, because of its contribution to their religious purpose, while mighty revolutions and dynastic changes, as irrevelant, are unnoticed. And there seems to be no effort at this caution. Their flow of silence is as perfectly easy and natural as the current of their communications. This all-exclusive and all-inclusive singleness of purpose, stands out perfectly unique in human literature. The Scripture writers seem to have a monopoly of this highest style of consistency. All other authors are to some degree afflicted with double vision. Moralists are ever watching some theory, while endeavoring to direct men in the better paths of life. Historians are ever hampered with a national bias, while seeking to portray, in utmost fidelity, the facts of human progress. Novelists are ever careful of their reputations, while striving to set forth in varied ways the lessons of earth's teeming experiences. And theologians are always conscious of system, even among the most earnest efforts to reveal to sin-darkened understandings "the way, the truth, and the life." Not a sermon is ever delivered, but that the closely observant mind will detect a cautious defence of some theory, a conscious wariness amid the most faithful and enthusiastic presentations of the truth. But all this universal caution, this wariness, seems entirely absent from the Bible writers. They appear to be lifted up into a sublime unconsciousness of any necessity to stand guard over their thoughts and words. Their religious purpose so thoroughly absorbed them that they moved about in it in perfect freedom, as in their own native element. There was no more need of a manifest effort at limitation, than for a covering over the ocean, or an artificial protection along the shore to keep the fish in the water. Each of the Scripture writers seems plunged into a vast sea of religious

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interest, and there made to feel perfectly at home. By an instinct, as natural as breath, they avoid the shoals of bare ethics, the dry sands of speculation, and the profound depths of mystery. And this characteristic wonderfully unifies all the contents of the Bible. This common feature sets them aside from all other literature, and most fittingly collects them in one volume.

IV. Its Methodical Unity.

Each writer has first the truths he has been selected to communicate, wrought out, as far as possible, within his own experience. Then, when they have become clear in his own mind, and warm in his own heart, and not till then is the task assigned of committing the divine revelation to writing. In this is certainly to be found a feature of Bible authorship that stands out in strong contrast with much of the hasty, inconsiderate and immature literature of the present day. It has become customary, the instant a new idea or theory has occurred to any man's mind, for him to assume at once the advocacy of it before the world, as one of the most self-evident truths or plainest deductions of reason; and, if he has any access to a publisher's room, he will be seen immediately carrying thither his manuscript, of which he is loth to deprive the multitudes for a single day. Men cannot wait to test thoroughly their supposed facts, or to mature their views of life; hence the vast accumulation of almost worthless scientific books, and the still larger mass of poetical and fictitious trash. But this was not the method allowed in Scripture authorship. Neither Moses, nor Solomon, nor Paul, nor John, nor any of the other inspired writers, came to their vastly responsible tasks hastily and immaturely. With each of them there is a restraint and a reserve until their fulness of time, that is really wonderful and unparalleled. If only one or two of them were enabled to hold back, until their views of God and of man's duty had become perfectly correct and thoroughly practical, clear to the mind and familiar to the experience, it would be a surprise to those acquainted with the leading characteristics of the world's literature. But when this feature plainly appears upon the face of all the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, and of all the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, the surprize becomes amazement, and the candid mind exults in the discovery of a new and important bond of unity to the sacred volume.

Another striking feature of their method should be noted. It is emotional rather than intellectual. The logic is not so much that of the mind as that of the heart. The prevalent method among

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human productions, and it may be said to be the universal method in efforts to unfold new truth, is the dialectic. Premises are laid down and conclusions reached, propositions stated and regular syllogisms formed. Deference to the emotional nature is made incidental, either scattered along conveniently, or made the hortatory conclusion, after it is supposed that the truth has been apprehended and the convictions have been formed. But this process is reversed or inverted in all the sacred writings. It is uniformly taken for granted that a man's heart, in God's sight, is of more consequence than his head; that it is of far greater moment that God should be loved than that he should be fully apprehended doctrinally; and that there is a better way than cold logical argument to lead the wandering affections of mankind back to their true and eternal home. The method of the sacred writers does not, however, fail to recognize dialectics, any more than their faith to regard the inexorable demands of reason. But all their language is that kindled by the glow of affection, and uniformly its direct aim is the heart of man. Explanation is deferred until attention has been brought to the fact, which is itself calculated to stir the emotions. Where the mind would naturally indulge in logical inferences, recurrence is made again and again to the simple heart-thrilling statement. Frequently broad chasms of argument are bridged by a single span of affectionate testimony, wrought out from personal experience. And this feature also, of method, preserved with the most perfect consistency through all the Bible writings, contributes an additional bond of unity, which cannot be lightly esteemed.

V. Its Moral Unity.

There seems, at first view, a great break between the moral teachings of the Old and of the New Testaments. This apparent diversity is the most conspicuous as regards the sexual relations. Laxities are allowed under the former dispensation, that do not receive the slightest countenance under the latter. It is thought to be impossible to see any kinship between the bigamy of Abraham and the monogamy of Peter, or between the polygamy of Jacob and the celibacy of Paul, or the incest of either Lot or Judah and the lofty ideal of the married life held up by Christ and His apostles before their followers.

But it must be remembered that the history of the patriarchs goes back nearly twenty centuries from the commencement of the Christian era. Their moral light was far from being as bright as that, under which the first churches were planted by the apostles, and

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their companions. They lived in the early dawn of the better day succeeding the antediluvian night. It would be very unjust to gauge their conduct or to measure their views by the high standard of the Christian moralist, even as it would be altogether too severe to judge the sexual thoughts and sentiments, at all times and under all circumstances, of the very best of present Christians, by that transparent purity of mind and thorough spirituality of feeling which pervade the ranks of the redeemed in heaven.

In the most flagrant instances named, which are the most flagrant of the Old Testament record, there is a very gratifying contrast with the heathen morals, by which the patriarchal system was surrounded. It was the natural sexual desire versus the unnatural; procreation versus mere animal gratification; and more or less consciously there was through all the laxity, a feeling out after the true ideal of marriage. Abraham took Hagar to wife, not under the influence of the prevailing heathen licentiousness, but at the prompting of a mastering desire for the promised heir. And surely this, and this only, led his wife Sarah to make the suggestion, and arrange for its execution. Moreover, the great mistake was not allowed by the Lord to pass without correction. Ishmael, the child of Hagar, is at last set aside by Isaac, the true offspring of Sarah. All the circumstances connected with the four wives of Jacob, lift his polygamy far above the gross beastliness which prevailed throughout the world around him. He first sought a true union of heart, and resolved not to be thwarted in his long cherished purpose by the treachery of Laban and his daughter Leah. But Rachel bore him no children, so that it came to pass that the procreative desire overmastered his truer marital ambition, Bilhah taking the place of Rachel, as also Zilpah subsequently took the place of Leah. It is very plain that the controlling motive in all this was not lust, but a far higher and more Christian desire. Yet God did not leave the error without rebuke. Rachel was afterward remembered, and the highly honored Joseph became the standing protest against Jacob's polygamy. A greater difficulty, however, confronts us, when we consider the incest of Lot with his two daughters, and that of Judah with Tamar, his daughter-in-law. Here, at first thought, there seems an inevitable break with the moral instructions and examples of the New Testament. But two considerations should not be forgotten in measuring the criminality of these sins. Lot's incest stood over against the sodomy, with which, doubtless, he and his daughters had become shockingly familiar; and the corresponding act of Judah was in strong contrast with the abominable onanism of his son. Moreover, Lot was drunk

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at the time of both of his sins, at the solicitation, it must be remembered, of daughters frenzied with the thought of the extinction of their people; and Judah was utterly unaware of his relationship to the supposed harlot who had tempted him, and whose motive in all her deception, it must not be forgotten, was principally the desire for offspring. And all this distinction, with the evident advance upon the accompanying heathen morality, was emphasized by the destruction of Sodom while Lot was preserved, and by the violent death of Onan while Judah was kept alive.

As thus a careful examination of the apparent discrepancies between the moral instructions of different parts of the Bible upon the subject of the relation of the sexes will show that there are no real discrepancies, but that everywhere there is the same high ideal of married life struggling forth from more or less ignorance and weakness; so will it prove from a candid contemplation of all the other great moral questions which are treated in the sacred volume, that the instruction is always the same in principle, only adapted to a variety of individuals and of circumstances. Thus upon the subjects of revenge, of slavery, and all others; and, if so, the comprehensive moral unity which pervades the sacred writings is a strong additional evidence of the integrity of the volume.

VI. Its Doctrinal Unity.

Ever since the completion of the canon, a superficial criticism has been found throwing out now one, and now another of the collated books or parts of books, on the ground of the diversity of their doctrinal teachings. And a modern disposition is abroad to practically erase or expunge the whole of the Old Testament, because its doctrines are not those of the New Testament. But a more thorough examination will reveal the perfect consistency of all the religious teachings of the Bible. The Book of Genesis, as truly as that of Revelation, represents God as personal, and never confounds Him with blind law or force. He has thoughts and feelings, and expresses them in language. He lays His commands upon His creatures, and accompanies them with threatened rewards and punishments. He walks in the garden in the cool of the day, superintends the construction of the ark, and enters into solemn covenant with Abraham. God's supremacy over all things is also the teaching of every portion of Scripture. All nature is represented by the earlier as well as by the later writings as entirely under His control. The lesson of the brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah, is as plain in its teaching as that of Christ's

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speaking to the waves upon the Sea of Galilee. The holy horror with which God ever contemplates sin, is by no means a doctrine of the New Testament only. The record takes us back to God's feelings immediately upon the eating of the forbidden fruit, and we see there the same loathing and repulsion of sin that was evidenced by Christ's dealings with the Pharisees, and by his driving the money changers out from the temple. To the benevolence of God, Moses and the prophets bear witness, as well as Christ and the apostles. John records the Master as saying to Nicodemus: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." But two thousand years before upon Sinai, at the time of the renewal of the two tables, it was proclaimed, doubtless by the same voice: "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression and sin." The sacred writers are also uniform in their representation of the moral condition of man. His state is that of thorough alienation from God. He is not merely unfortunate, but guilty. And wherever the idea of salvation is approached, it is in the light of only divine grace. Always the way of life for the sinner is the way of combined justice and mercy. Justice is met in substitutionary sacrifice, and then pardon is granted as a sovereign boon. The same might be said of the doctrines of the Trinity, of the immortality of the soul, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the resurrection of the body, and, indeed, of all the prominent doctrines of Christianity; whatever traces we find of them scattered throughout the Old Testament, and there certainly can be found traces more or less prominent of nearly all of them, we discover no essential difference, no substantial correction of view in later statements, no other variation than that to be noted in the next following section of this paper. And, if there is this essential agreement in all that sixty-six writers, reaching over fifteen hundred years, have to record, upon the grandest themes that have ever been canvassed by human thought, then certainly there is added one most important bond of relationship to all the contents of the Bible.

VII. Its Progressive Unity.

While all the doctrines of the sacred writings are essentially consistent in their various representations, there is, from the beginning of the volume to its close, a constant unfolding of doctrine into greater clearness, permanency and universality. And this is to an extent, as would be expected, if the various books have faithfully re-

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corded the progressive apprehensions of revealed truth, along during the fifteen centuries covered by the canonical writings. Any carefully gathered volume of essays; as upon politics since the time of Plato, or upon sculpture from Phidias to Canova, or upon astronomy from Hipparchus to Newton, or even upon Voltaic electricity, from Galvani to Faraday, or upon physiology and comparative anatomy, from Harvey to Cuvier; any judicious collection of treatises upon these subjects, scattered along at intervals in their authorship, would show an order of progressive instruction upon the science or the art. Still, all such secular literature, fails very far to equal that of the Bible, in the steady march of its unfolding, in its victory over all opposition, and in its ability to accomplish the most under the greatest embarrassments. Astronomy had to throw aside entirely Ptolemy's theory of epicycles, but Revelation was not called upon to make a corresponding sacrifice of any of the writings of Moses, Bishop Colenso to the contrary notwithstanding. Chemistry had to utterly cast off almost all the instructions of the alchemist and of the spagiric art; but the sacred oracles have met no such necessity respecting the wisdom of Solomon or the experimental lore of David. And crystallography was compelled to cancel Pliny's view that "the pyramidal points of quartz are not all of the same kind," and substitute Haüy's theory; but the divine instruction of the Holy Scriptures has never been required to erase either the one hundred and tenth Psalm, or the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. The progress of Bible doctrine has not been from failure to success, from mistaken hypothesis to advanced and correct views; but from a success up to the full measure of its time, to a deeper and broader success corresponding to the advance in its surrounding conditions. It has not been the human mind manufacturing a system of truth, continually altering and perfecting it; but the divine mind planting within the soil of earth-born creatures a measure of wisdom that is from above, and then attending to its growth for fifteen centuries, until it had reached its maturity. The progress of Bible doctrine is like the progress in other departments of truth, and yet unlike in that while they are all more or less artificial, this is perfectly artless; that, while they have often to retrace their steps, this is a natural growth, constantly forward toward higher conceptions and wider ranges of influence; and that, while they often entangle themselves in darkness, which has frequently been embarrassing for ages, this progress of Bible doctrine has never itself involved human thought in any practical difficulty, has never been called upon to contend with any obscurity except that produced by foreign influences.

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The progress thus to be distinguished in the sacred writings, may be particularized in respect to the nature of God. His holiness, in its basal relation to all his other attributes, comes out with ever increasing clearness from the scene in Eden to the vision upon Patmos of the throne in heaven, and the ceaseless exclamation of the throng before it, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." His tri-personality, while only intimated in the Old Testament, or at the most obscurely revealed, comes out in the most conspicuous light in the teachings of Christ and his apostles. The Fatherhood of God, though clearly to be inferred from many passages in the older writings, is a thought that wonderfully grows upon the reader, as he advances into the gospels and the epistles. The sinfulness of man is manifoldly taught by the patriarchs and prophets, but after Pentecost the disciples were enabled to see much more profoundly the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the thorough radical alienation of the heart from God. And while the preachers of the former dispensation represented the way of grace as the only salvation, those who preached in the later times, under a larger outpouring of the Holy Spirit, were much more simple, clear and satisfactory in showing man how he may become reconciled to God and an heir of heaven. They were privileged to point directly to the great archetypal Lamb himself, who taketh away the sins of the world. For them the veil of the temple had been rent, the sacrifice once for all had been made upon the cross, and the Comforter had come as never before to take of the things of Christ and show them unto the disciples. In all this progress of doctrine throughout the sacred oracles, so wonderfully vital, persistent and soul-satisfying, there cannot fail to be seen a binding together principle, that must go far toward settling the conviction that all the commonly received writings of the Holy Scriptures form one complete book.

VIII. Its Christ Unity.

The Incarnate Logos is more than a doctrine of the Bible. He is its life; and from the beginning to the end its only life. While avoiding the extreme of mysticism, the devoutly studious mind cannot resist the impression that Jesus Christ has thrown himself into the volume of divine inspiration, in a more full and complete sense than the hero of any other story or the subject of any other biography has ever been represented in human literature. More vitally and comprehensively is the Lord Redeemer the sum and substance of the entire Scripture theme, than Mahomet of the volumes of

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Washington Irving, or than Paul of the celebrated work of Conybeare and Howson, or than the apostles of Neander's History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church. Never has man in his most successful authorship, secured anything like such a living representation of his subject, as have the inspired writers in their delineation before the world of Jesus the Christ. It is his record in all their history, his music in all their song, his glory in all their beautiful imagery. He gives the meaning to all their ceremonialism, the direction to all their worship, the warmth to all their attachments. His hands guide them through all their mysterious thoughts, his arms uphold them when sinking under their heavy weights of responsibility, and his eyes look ahead for them to the end of time. They rest all their commands upon his authority, all their arguments upon his reason, and all their awakenings of hope upon his anchorage. All the lives that they live, as well as all the lives that they record, are not reckoned from any centres within themselves, but by their nearness to or distance from the revealed God. They have no other philosophy of civilization but Christ, no other science of history, no other statesmanship. They all, more or less distinctly, anticipated the great idea of Dionysius "the Little," and dated everything before and everything after from the birth of the Saviour. They made him the grand central sun of the entire moral universe, and contemplated all events as revolving at greater or lesser distances around him. Everything that preceded him was a preparation for his advent, and all that was to follow him was to contribute more or less directly to the establishment of his sovereignty over the hearts of all mankind. They contemplated Christ as the fulfillment of all the prophecies and types of Judaism, and all the quenchless longings of heathenism. In the one they saw religion preparing for man, and on the other man preparing for the Christian religion. Not as clearly were all these facts appreciated as they have come to be in the clear light of modern historical knowledge, but, to a controlling extent in their labors upon the sacred Scriptures, all the writers appreciated that the revealed God was the centre of all things, the end of the old and the beginning of the new. Let any portion of the Bible be expunged, and the complete presentation of Christ would receive a material injury. It would be felt that the body was a maimed body, that some limb or other function was wanting to this incarnation. If the Psalms were not in the canon, the book would be crippled upon the experimental side of the Old Testament religion. If the historical portions succeeding the Pentateuch were lacking, the volume would be imperfect in its revelations

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of God preparatory to his personal advent. If we had no Acts of the Apostles, the followers of the Redeemer would understand far less their Master's will concerning the planting and training of his churches. And if the Epistles were not to be found, the Scriptures would be very unintelligible concerning much of the application of Christ's teachings to the various needs of his followers, and regarding much of the practicability of his indwelling life with his people at all times and under all circumstances.

Here then is the resting place for the inquiring mind. The problem of Scripture diversity is completely solved in Christ. Other explanations help, but this alone satisfies. Acknowledge Christ as related to the whole Bible, and it is as the acknowledgment of the heart as connected with the entire circulation of the blood. When we take Calvary as a point of view, it is as when we leave the tortuous and bewildering streets of old Boston, and, ascending to the dome of the Capitol, look down from that high elevation upon the great city. As, then, at last, we see the bearings of all the prominent sites, and in a few moments have order brought out of all our former confusion; so from Christ Jesus we finally learn why Moses wrote and David sang, and Isaiah prophesied, and Paul preached, and John indulged in his celestial visions. From the high uplifted Cross an essential unity is seen to comprehend all the various parts. Bewilderment gives place to admiration at the completeness of the design, the fitness of each successive part to its assigned place, and the success with which every thought and word that is irrelevant is avoided. All Mosaic legislation, all prophetic anticipations, all Jewish history, and all apostolic instruction centre in Christ, drawing motives from his heart, illumination from his mind, and assurance from his power. All the chronology and history and mysteries of the Bible find their turning-point in the great Prophet, Priest and King. Christ is everywhere in the Bible, even as oxygen is everywhere in the atmosphere, its all and in all of vitality. Its mass of fragments, so separated by subject and time and method, becomes, as thus only, "One in Christ Jesus."

Many have gazed at the grand old cathedral in Strassburg, and received the leading lesson of its architectural design. In huge proportions the sanctuary towers upwards before us, and its spire is the highest in the world. Innumerable Gothic adornments are spread over every surface, and sculptures, statutes and bass-reliefs throng upon the walls, even as the people around the doors. But a strange incompleteness is manifest everywhere. Each window and door, each moulding and entablature, each cornice and pediment, each

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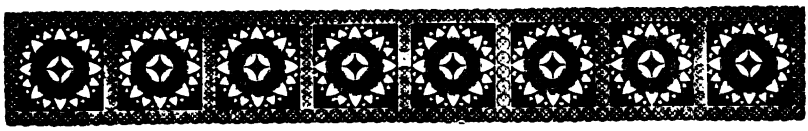
bass-relief and statue seems waiting for something above to finish it, and unite it in perfect symmetry to the grand structure. Instinctively the eyes of the beholder creep upward from one incompleteness to another, till they rest upon the all-surmounting Cross. And so with the sacred Scriptures, God's far grander building; they ever seem incomplete and disunited until they are recognized as all surmounted by the Cross, and the one chorus of all their voices is heard in the immortal stanza of Sir John Bowring:

> In the cross of Christ I glory,
> Towering o'er the wrecks of time;
> All the light of sacred story
> Gathers round its head sublime.

W. F. BAINBRIDGE.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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DAVID BENEDICT, D. D.

MANY eminent men in different Christian countries have borne the name of Benedict. Of Latin and ecclesiastical origin, it is supposed to have been adopted as a proper name out of regard for some individuals distinguished in religion. The Benedicts of America do not, however, trace the line of their ancestry to any patron saints. "The bones of the good old ministers and deacons, who bore the name, would hardly lie quiet in their graves should any attempt of that kind be made."

The authentic history of the family begins with Thomas Benedict, of Nottinghamshire, England, who was born in 1617. He was an only son, and the name, according to the tradition, had been confined to only sons in the family for more than a hundred years. In the spirit of his time, impatient of civil or ecclesiastical oppression, preferring voluntary exile rather than to endure the cruelties of the Stuarts and Lauds, Thomas Benedict came to New England in 1638. He resided for a time in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, then on Long Island, and afterwards became an influential man in the Connecticut colony.

David Benedict, of the sixth generation from "the first settler," was born in Norwalk, Fairfield County, Connecticut, October 10th, 1779. He was the eldest son of Thomas and Martha Scudder Benedict. His father, who served as a soldier in the war

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of the Revolution, was an enterprising farmer and a man of gentlemanly bearing. He removed from Norwalk to Saratoga county, New York, afterwards to New Lisbon, Otsego county, and in 1833 to Rhode Island, where he died, leaving a large family of children affectionately united to each other and revering the paternal name. The mother died in 1786, while her eldest son was a boy of six years of age. Her memory was to him ever grateful as that of a pious and devoted Christian woman, who did much even in his earliest years to mould his character and develop the principles of truth, virtue and piety which so distinguished him through his long life. Fourteen years were passed in the country home and amid the routine of farm life. The boy was early taught to work, and had only the ordinary advantages of education which a few months in each year and in a country school-house of the last century afforded. Christian influences, the pious order, the regular discipline and simple habits of a New England home, were the constant agencies giving form and strength to character and direction to mental and moral powers suited to whatever position might be occupied in mature years. At the age of fourteen he left home and was apprenticed to a shoemaker in the town of New Canaan, adjoining Norwalk. Here he remained for seven years and wrought well, until he won the deserved reputation of a skilled workman and master of his trade. At the close of his apprenticeship he went to the city of New York, and was employed for one year as a journeyman in a large shoe establishment, when the opportunity was soon afforded him of entering into partnership with his employer in an extensive and profitable business. Much to the disappointment, however, of his expected partner, and at "much sacrifice in a worldly point of view" to himself, the young man determined upon a change of pursuit and to commence a new course of life. At a very early age he had a fondness for books. Historical books, such as were within his reach, were carefully read, and habits of mental culture and application were formed which appeared in all his subsequent history. In a brief autobiography he writes: "On a review of the limited space between my leaving the shoemaker's bench and graduating at college, the following things are to be observed: In the first place, my studies were commenced in a small way while on my bench, with a book on a shelf before me; in the next place, when I entered fully on my work I remembered a remark of the late Dr. Judson, whose room was next to mine in college, namely, that 'no man ever succeeds well in any enterprise unless his whole soul is in it'; again, I had two specific objects in view from the first, which were, the ministry

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and authorship; and finally, a kind and beneficent providence most evidently favored my laborious efforts."

This new course of ministerial and literary life was entered upon deliberately and heartily, for its own sake, as the calling of God for him who was to pursue it. The last year of work in New York was passed in the endeavor to procure means of support while preparing for college, and with the one hundred dollars thus earned he began his preparatory studies. His father, who had removed to Saratoga county, New York, was unable to give his son pecuniary aid, and the young man, now at his majority, began in earnest his life work. The discipline of childhood and youth fitted him for close and continuous application. In 1802 he became a student in the academy at Mount Pleasant, now Sing Sing, New York, under the tuition of Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, a graduate of Brown University of the class of 1794. Here he entered at once upon classical study. Having resolved to enter the junior class in college, he gave himself to study with intense application, and at the end of two years was prepared to enter the university, then called Rhode Island College. Of this period he writes: "Most of the time I was with Mr. Nelson I paid my way by assisting him in his school, which contained some quite young scholars, and among them was Francis Wayland, afterwards President of Brown University, but then a mere lad, whom I taught his first lessons in reading. On account of my advanced age, and for economical considerations, I was very anxious tc prepare for two years advance in college, and with this end in view I studied so hard day and night that I almost broke down in health." The object was gained, change of scene and rest restored the physical and mental vigor which was to the end of his life his abiding heritage. He left Mount Pleasant in the summer of 1804, and by the kindness of the captain of a trading vessel, was granted a free passage by way of New York to Gloucester, Massachusetts; thence by another vessel he went to Boston, where he spent some days with Drs. Stillman and Baldwin and Rev. William Collier, his former pastor in the First Baptist Church in New York. These men gave him encouragement and help in preparing for his entrance at college. He next proceeded by stage to Providence and to the house of Dr. Gano, "then and always the pilgrim's home." At once the eager student entered upon his further preparation for an advanced standing in college. To use his own words: "My studies were assiduously continued till the close of the vacation, when," he modestly adds, "by some special grace my name was entered on the catalogue of students. I graduated in 1806, and wherein I was then deficient in scholarship, I have been

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endeavoring for the past sixty-two years to supply." This was written in 1868. From the record he made for himself during the two years spent in college it is evident he held no mean rank in his class, nor forgot the purpose and work before him. At the junior exhibition he delivered an oration on "Religious Toleration," and his theme at graduation was "Ecclesiastical History," in which he discussed particularly the character of the period of the Crusades, in an oration marked by "the originality and characteristic enthusiasm of the speaker."

Here ended the preparatory course on September 3, 1806, and the young man of nearly twenty-seven years of age, furnished by patient toil for other and higher toil, lost no time in seeking for place and opportunity. He had written a few months before these words: "Where I shall go, should I live to get through college, I know not. I wish to be resigned to the will of God, and to go where he shall open a door in his providence, and appear to call me." This indicates the controlling motive and the governing principle which had been studiously followed from the time his decision was formed to leave secular business and engage in literary and intellectual pursuits. Much as he loved learning and culture, these were not the end. They were means and aids to the ministry of the gospel and ecclesiastical authorship, the two-fold purpose of his active religious career.

Dr. Benedict's Christian life, it may be said, began in 1799. The religious influences of his boyhood had been salutary, exerted by a mother's early training and a father's constant habit. Occasionally, as the young man began to accustom himself to independent thought, he would seek answers to various doctrinal questions of the clergymen of the town. At length, to use his own words, "I became convicted of my sin and found the Saviour; as I read my Bible, the question of baptism arose; I went to the minister to inquire for the passage which taught that baptism takes the place of circumcision. He disappointed me by a paraphrase, but failed to point me to the chapter and verse. I wrote to Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, for advice, and he directed me to the Scriptural teaching, and I was baptized and joined the Stratfield Baptist Church, in Fairfield, Connecticut, December 8, 1799, eight days before the death of George Washington." From this time the Christian ministry began to be his aim and purpose. In June, 1804, he received from the Stratfield Church a license to preach, and soon after he entered the University he was invited to supply the pulpit of a small Baptist society in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. By the advice of President Messer, and Dr. Gano,

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pastor of the First Church in Providence, the invitation was accepted in September, 1804, and during all the college course the Sabbaths and vacations were spent with what the student called his "informal pastoral charge." The divine favor at once marked his ministrations. He prayed to be faithful and successful, he sought after the spirituality and simplicity of the gospel, and to experience so much of the meek and lowly spirit of the Redeemer as to walk in his footsteps. Such was the desire which breathes in the words of the student minister, and which record his experiences of that time. The first winter spent in Pawtucket was distinguished by a powerful work of the Holy Spirit; about forty persons were converted and baptized. In the following summer, Aug. 27, 1805, the First Baptist Church in Pawtucket was recognized, and the young minister continued to preach, do pastoral work and preside over the social and business meetings until the end of his college course.

During this time, a period of two years of incessant work in college and in Pawtucket, the young man had made a place for himself in the newly-organized church and in the hearts of the people of the town. Immediately after his graduation the church invited him to formally accept the pastorate. He complied with the invitation, and on the 16th of October, 1806, was "set apart by the solemnity of ordination for the work of the ministry." A sermon was preached on the occasion by Dr. Gano. Then began a ministry which continued for twenty-three years, or until the summer of 1829. The prayer of the pastor, in prospect of ordination, was answered, and the Lord blessed the connection of minister and people for his glory and their mutual good. In the outset he prayed to be faithful and successful. The record of the quarter of a century's pastorate is full of proof of fidelity and success. How fervently he prayed let the recorded words attest: "O thou Eternal Spirit quicken my languid devotion, make me more watchful, more prayerful, more engaged to maintain the power of religion in my own soul, and more zealous and successful in recommending it to others. May the Lord revive his work throughout the world, and in the place where my feeble labors are spent. Oh, that he would return again and revive the hearts of his drooping saints, reclaim backsliders, and turn sinners to repentance." Again he prayed, and the power of his long ministry appears in the prayer: "O Lord pardon the sins of thine unworthy servant; forbid that they should rise to his present shame or his future condemnation. Oh, that thou wouldst erase the remembrance of them from his mind, place them on the head of the scapegoat, that they may be borne away to the land of forgetfulness. O Lord forbid that

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thy servant, who is engaged for the defence of the gospel should become a stumbling block to others, but Oh, that thou wouldst enable him to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called. He has sinned against light and love, and has no excuse to offer, and no merit to plead but the merit of thy beloved Son. For his sake wilt thou look upon him in compassion, and restore unto him the joys of thy salvation, grant him the light of thy countenance, preserve him from temptation, deliver him from evil, for Jesus' sake. Amen and Amen." In the spirit of these prayers he worked, and the divine blessing followed; frequent baptisms and additions to the church showed its healthy and prosperous condition. He anticipated the administration of the ordinance of baptism for the first time with solicitude, but wrote immediately after: "God was better to me than my fears. I felt a peculiar satisfaction in the performance of the duty, and the candidates evidently found it the answer of a good conscience towards God. I desire to say—

> When all thy mercies, O my God,
> My rising soul surveys,
> Transported with the view, I'm lost
> In wonder, love and praise."

Thus the young pastor is absorbed in his labor, and sustained by abundant blessing. He identified himself with his people; studied or found out by a quick intuition their spiritual wants, and met their necessities with the far-reaching provisions of the word of God. On one occasion a young man wishing to justify himself in the practice of dancing against the wishes of his pious mother, quoted the 31st chapter of Jeremiah. The mother referred the matter to the pastor. He made it the subject of discussion at a conference meeting which was largely attended by the young people. "I endeavored to show them," he writes, "that the dancing here spoken of, as in many other places in the Bible, was a religious exercise intended to express joy and gladness for divine goodness; that it was a mere extemporaneous movement of the body as the effect of religious joy, and that these examples would not justify those dances which had no other object than carnal pleasures and vain amusements." Equally clear and definite in his own views of what the Scriptures teach on all practical questions, he preached to the understanding and conscience of his hearers; fervent in spirit and of quick sensibility to feel for others, he won hearts to himself and to Christ.

At the close of his first year's pastorate, a well-established church

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stood lovingly around him; an invitation to remove to Boston was declined. God's place for him on earth he had found. But the evidence of overwork began to appear, and for some weeks he suffered from the only severe illness of his long life. With the renewal of strength and the exclamation, "Oh that it may be spent to the glory of him who hath given it," he entered again upon the varied round of duty and service. Dr. Benedict was a most efficient pastor; no record can fairly represent his labors and usefulness in his pastorate of twenty-five years. His leadership was wise and good, the church was prosperous during his administration, and much was accomplished for the glory of Christ. Dr. Robinson, President of Brown University, whose boyhood was passed under the ministry of Dr. Benedict, gives this tribute: "Although I was between thirteen and fourteen years of age when I ceased to hear him, impressions were made upon my youthful mind, which have never been erased. All his peculiarities of manner and speech come vividly to my mind. . . An intelligent and appreciative congregation gathered around him, made up largely of men of solidity, character and intellectual ability, until the church came to be the second of our denomination in Rhode Island in strength and moral influence, and perhaps the third in New England. It is surprising how far extended has been the influence which went out from that church. The telegram which announced the death of Dr. Benedict awakened the sensibilities of hearts in New Haven, New York, Baltimore, and other and more distant cities of our country. Strong men on whom he left his stamp were affected by the news. I cannot help feeling that the best part of his work was done in the pulpit; for the period in which he lived he took most respectable rank as a minister." His theological training was for the most part gained during the heat and pressure of service; following the custom of his time, he went at once from the college to the pastorate, for there was then no theological school of the Baptists to offer him its advantages. But he had learned to discipline himself in all sound doctrine; he stored up the gospel in his heart, and it made him a true minister of Jesus Christ. His preaching was Biblical and therefore sound and true; experimental, and therefore practical, not speculative, theoretical, cumbered with human philosophies. He preached, as a living man, a living gospel, to hearers by nature dead in sin, that they might be made alive in Jesus Christ. There was great simplicity, clearness, directness in his sermons. The plans and sketches of them—for they were mostly unwritten—are models in these particulars. The impressions of an early sermon on the text, "Adam where art thou?" remain to this day vividly stamped on the

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minds of some who heard it and were convicted of personal sin and need of salvation, under its direct and forcible appeal. "They felt while listening as though personally addressed," and forced to give answer to God.

But the pulpit was only one medium by which the minister sought to reach his people. He taught in an evening school young workingmen who came to him for instruction; he labored in the first Sunday-school in the town, and brought it under the care and influence of the church; he published one of the first Sunday-school papers in this country, entitled the "Sunday-school Journal," and prepared a question book on the New Testament for gratuitous distribution among the younger children, for whom, in his wise judgment, catechisms and ordinary methods of teaching were not adopted. He did not overlook singing and the use of hymns in social worship, inviting the lovers of hymns to bring their favorites to him, adding some of his own composition. He selected and arranged a volume of conference hymns which passed through several editions and was extensively used in the prayer-meeting.

Thus, in very inadequate outline, is the pastor's work of a quarter of a century reviewed. He was greatly aided and encouraged in it by his devoted wife. Nearly two years after his ordination, May 5, 1808, he married Margaret Hubbel Gano, with whom he lived "in love and unity" more than sixty years, until her death, November 28, 1868. Briefly, but in most appropriate words, the Rev. George Bullen, at her funeral, gave this summary of her life and character; "She was a person whom a stranger could easily know. She seemed to be what she really was. She possessed a peculiar mildness of bearing and voice, and a rare quietness of spirit. Divine grace, operating upon a nature delicately constituted, of great conscientiousness, of genial disposition and tranquil temperament, wrought a beautiful and symmetrical Christian character. At the age of twenty years she became a disciple of Christ and was baptized by her father, the late Rev. Stephen Gano, of blessed memory. Her sphere was in her home. Here her character was developed. Here in the presence of this family, this husband and these children, the picture was drawn by the divine artist, line by line, feature by feature, foreground and perspective all combining to make it the thing of singular beauty and completeness we to-day behold. Out of rare materials, by means or in spite of the pressing cares of a large family, and the varied experiences and discipline incident to one in her station, as well as those common to mortals, a rare character was produced. In her was realized the description of a true wife and mother given us by Solo-

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mon: She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life. In her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household. Her children arise up and call her blessed."

The ministry and authorship designate the two-fold object of the life and labors of Dr. Benedict. He began at an early period of his educational history to work in both directions. The ministry engaged him for twenty-five years, during which time he preached more than most ministers in the same length of time, while he prosecuted historical research and investigation with assiduity and zeal enough to quite absorb the powers of an ordinary worker. But the pen of the author he did not lay aside until a few months before the close of his life. Study was a habit with him; he lost no time; he was "not long without book or pen;" rest only so much as nature demanded, then work as much as nature could endure, divided his days. His first venture as an author was, during the closing scenes of his college life, in a pamphlet entitled "The Watery War, or a Poetical Description of the Controversy on the Subjects and Mode of Baptism, by John of Enon." For more than thirty years the author was unknown, though the work was generally considered to be that of Rev. John Leland. It had a large circulation, was republished in 1843 in the first volume of the Baptist Library, and again by a clergyman of New York. It was after the style of the "Salopian Zealot, or the Good Vicar in a Bad Mood," a work on a similar subject by a Baptist minister in England. It sparkles with wit and wisdom, and treats the "ludicrous suppositions and arguments which do not merit a serious refutation" in a facetious and ingenious manner. Dr. Benedict had a great love for poetry, and possessed much of the poetical spirit. He collected hymns and sacred songs in large numbers, used them freely in his sermons, and committed many of them to memory. Even at the age of ninety years he gave himself to the study of modern hymns, which he was accustomed to repeat with all the enthusiasm of his earlier days.

Historical studies, however, occupied him for more than seventy years, and their results gave to his name its publicity and distinguished regard. In 1802 the idea of historical authorship seems to have entered into his plans for future work. While a student in college in 1806 he wrote: "For some time past my mind has been much employed in contemplating a general history of the Baptist denomination, and I have been directing my energies to that object. I have a settled resolution at some future period to prosecute the business as far as my circumstances will permit." A short time before the date at which this was written he had seen and conversed with Rev. Isaac

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Backus, whose successor in the preparation of Baptist history he may in some sense be called. The interview he thus recalls: "I well remember the grave and venerable appearance of the man so famous in Baptist history, and the conversation we had on historical affairs." This was in the autumn of 1805, at a meeting of the Warren Association. The next year Backus died, and after his death a large amount of historical papers which Dr. Benedict considered of great value to him in his new undertaking fell into his hands. At length, in the autumn of 1809, he began the great work of collecting materials for his general history of the Baptists in America and other parts of the world. His method required him to travel extensively through the United States to collect facts and documents needed for his work. He spent more than a year in this way, traversing the States and Territories north, south and west, traveling more than four thousand miles on horseback and alone, never diverted from his purpose nor deterred by the hardships and discomforts of the undertaking. Often he found himself dependent upon the hospitality and benevolence of the poor Baptists in different parts of the country, whose contributions and good cheer encouraged and helped him on to his gratifying success. The narrative of his long journey is interesting, and fills many pages of a carefully preserved diary. Intent upon his single purpose he yet preached many times, and seems to have exerted a happy influence on all whom he met. Upon his return to Pawtucket, near the close of the year 1810, he continued his preparatory work; he sent printed circulars to places he had not visited, wrote many hundred letters, and with wonderful ardor and incessant application he applied himself to his task. Rev. George H. Hough, afterwards a missionary to India, became his assistant; together they labored, and at the end of two years the work was printed. The preface bears the date April 16, 1813. The field had been explored with fidelity and care, "in the determination to preserve from oblivion facts worthy of transmission to posterity, and which at the same time might be edifying to the present generation." The author purposely laid aside all rhetorical embellishments, endeavoring to follow the motto, "perspicuity is half the battle, for if the sense is not so plain as to stare one in the face, but few people will take the pains to poke for it." He examined the records of more than two thousand churches; he gave brief histories of those most distinguished, and furnished many valuable biographical notices of ministers. He labored as a pioneer historian; love for the work was his inspiration, considering that the pleasure and profit afforded by it more than compensated for all the labor and anxiety it cost him. He aimed to

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place the history of American Baptists on such a foundation as easily to be continued by the future historian. The work was published by subscription in two royal octavo volumes. Five thousand copies were sold. The author superintended the distribution of the books, employing men and fitting out an expedition, with which he went as far south as Georgia, arriving at Savannah just as the joyful news of the close of the war of 1812 had been received.

In 1817, Dr. Benedict published his "Abridgement of Robinson's History of Baptism" in one octavo volume. The original work was by Rev. Robert Robinson, a Baptist minister of Cambridge, England, who died in 1790. The book showed considerable scholarly ability, and was much esteemed by Baptists, both in England and America. It had, however, passed out of print, and few copies could be obtained. The Philadelphia Association, in 1806, had requested Dr. Samuel Jones to prepare an abridged edition. He died too soon to accomplish the task. Dr. Benedict was at length solicited to edit and abridge the work, which he did with much care, translating some notes from the Greek and Latin, and omitting such portions as were of least importance to the question discussed. An edition of nearly three thousand copies was circulated, and the book may be considered of real value, to which frequent reference has been made by writers on the baptismal controversy.

In 1820 appeared the "Abridgment of the General History of the Baptists" in one volume. The article on baptism was omitted, much of the matter in the first history was rewritten, many corrections made, and statements were added which covered a period of seven years beyond the date of the close of the first book. The author prefaces this volume with these words: "The denomination is gradually advancing to an important stand in Christendom; the grand distinguishing principle of believers' baptism is making a rapid and triumphant march in the Christian world. May the prudence and piety of the denomination be as remarkable as have been their zeal and success."

The "History of All Religions," in one volume of four hundred and fifty pages, was published in 1824. Three thousand copies or more were sold by subscription. The object of the author was to exhibit the actual state of the different Christian denominations. "I resolved," he said, "to use the precise language of each in presenting their peculiar dogmas and rites, and let them speak for themselves in all that pertains to their distinctive characters." The work was full of interest and information, marked by candor and good sense, and pervaded by a catholic and charitable spirit.

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In 1848 the last edition of Baptist history was published in one large volume of a thousand pages. Like each of the other works of its author, it had a wide circulation. It was a continuation of the first work, prepared thirty years before, from materials collected in a similar manner, by more extended study and research, and by repeated journeys through most of the States of the Union and in Canada. This the author considered the greatest labor of his life; to it he gave his time and thought for ten years. He had resigned his pastorate, and now bent his remarkable energy and activity to the task; vast numbers of circulars were distributed; a paper devoted to historical matters, entitled "The Historical Compendium and Enquirer," was edited; historical documents accumulated; an extensive correspondence was carried on with leading men in America and England, and the enthusiastic worker gained a wide reputation as the historian of the Baptists. He had well earned his rank and title; he had accomplished a service for the denomination of incalculable value; he had proved himself a marvel of industry, a man of indomitable energy, the worker of the century, without a peer, without a rival.

But the day of rest for this tireless toiler had not come; page on page of manuscript was written in preparation of a "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History." Twelve years was devoted to this work in the endeavor to furnish a popular record of the facts of history, and especially to give full and accurate "accounts of the various parties of reputed heretics of the early ages," thus presenting somewhat in detail the history of dissent in the religious world.

As "an episode in the severe historical studies" of this period, the historian prepared a volume entitled "Fifty Years Among the Baptists," which was published in 1860. In some respects it is the book of greatest interest produced by its author. It covers a period which marks the rise and growth of most of the enterprises which engage the Baptists of America; it is the story of one who has participated largely in all these enterprises, and had familiar acquaintance with men and measures representing all the organized benevolent, missionary and Christian operations of the denomination. He tells the story which belonged to him of right to tell: "As I have outlived most of my contemporaries, and having from my youth a familiar acquaintance with Baptist people in all parts of the country, now in the evening of life I leave for perusal a few sketches of my experience and observations for the last fifty years." It is not the garrulous talk of a feeble old man, it is a book any student of the history of American Baptists may read with benefit, and any preacher may study with profit.

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Although large progress was made in the compilation of the "Compendium," it was never finished. But the author did not stop; authorship had become his normal condition. Like Neander, whose history he so much studied and loved, he must dictate what was in him to say until the latest evening hour; life's evening, like the evening of each day, was spent in close study; far into the night the lamp burned brightly on; men watched it as it shone through its window; one after another they retired, the light shone on alone undimmed and steady, the toiler thought not of rest. He had rounded out the circle of ninety years, had recorded much of contemporary history, had traversed the course pursued in the centuries by the Christian religion, going back like some Nile hunter nearer and nearer the source and fountain-head of our history in apostolic practice in the example and command of Jesus Christ. And now, with the same enthusiasm, and not a particle of the natural force abated, the historical student gave himself to the task to prepare from original sources an authentic "History of the Donatists," who, in the fourth century, had expressed in emphatic terms their dissent from the errors and assumptions of the Roman Catholic Church. In his previous investigations the author had followed other writers on church history in their statements concerning this people. Now he brought his independent judgment to the case, weighed the conclusions of many authors, studied the questions at issue, and gave intelligent decision in favor of dissent and against the misjudgments, falsities and assumptions of the dominant power. In the ponderous Latin folios of Augustine and Optatus, the chief opponents and persecutors of the Donatists, the author found exact statements of the belief of the Donatists, detailed records of the discussions and arguments of Donatist and Catholic bishops assembled in council at Carthage, and such abundant material as enabled him, when he had translated and transcribed the record, to furnish an historical monograph of unexampled character, and worthy to stand beside the stories of councils and debates as told by the most popular and authentic historians. The work was begun about the year 1864, and the writer gave to it the last strokes of his unwearied pen but a few months before his death, when ninety-five years of age. The manuscript was left complete and ready for the press, needing only that amount of labor to carry out the design of the author which so important and peculiar a work required. It is printed, and this sketch of the life and work of its author prepared, under the direction of one who comforted the father's last days with the promise that his purpose should be carried out.

Thus, in imperfect outline, are the historical labors of the subject

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of this sketch reviewed. Like chips from his workshop he gathered up the materials for history, the accumulation of years, and in the closing days of his life distributed them among several historical societies which he had helped to form, or of which he was an honorary member. He contributed freely to the religious press during his life, and aided in founding many churches and in organizing associations for missionary, educational and philanthropic purposes as represented by the Baptist denomination in the United States. He was long in correspondence with the leading religious bodies in this country and in England, and the man of one church, one work and one home, who for fifty years lived in one house, won a world-wide reputation, and made a name which is a very household word in all the Baptist families in the land. Shurtleff College, Illinois, in 1851, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1818 he was elected a trustee of Brown University in place of Rev. Lucius Bolles, who was transferred to the Board of Fellows. At the time of his death, Dr. Benedict had been for sixteen years the senior member of the Board of Trustees. For more than half a century he attended all its meetings; he was absent from only a single meeting during all that period. Thus was he faithful everywhere, and thus did he exhibit everywhere the genius of fidelity, the native force well-directed and constant that compels success. His own work is his own best monument, unfailing, enduring; his transparent life and character present their own summary; nature and God wrought together in him to make a perfect work. As the pictures of the old men of the Bible record are attractive, so is his picture attractive; nothing mars, nothing dims it. It bears the lines of completeness, the evidence of hopes realized, ends attained, plans perfected, work done, such as makes it a sober pleasure to contemplate it. Its subject realizes the divine promise:

> Because he hath set his love upon me
> Therefore will I deliver him;
> I will set him on high because he knoweth my name;
> He calleth upon me and I will answer him;
> I will be with him in trouble;
> I will deliver him and honor him;
> With long life will I satisfy him,
> And show him my salvation.

In obedience to the divine order, Dr. Benedict realized the divine promise; he was satisfied with his years; not one too long, not one too short; he moved with the years and renewed his youth; the present was his time and he was even with it at ninety-five as at

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twenty-five; in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as in the beginning of it. Until the last he worked with still some unfinished work at hand, believing that "perpetual work is the law of perpetual youth," yet to the last content, satisfied with the bounty of the years God had given him, holding the change we call death no matter of solicitude, itself an incident in his immortal life for which in early life he had made abundant provision by leaving it all to God, as in the changed words which he so often repeated, "for sudden death, good Lord prepare us." And thus through all his life he kept at his grateful service, in front of any duty saying "I'll try," and of every duty, "I just do as well as I can." He lived in a grand period of our country's history. He saw the nation in its infancy and its manhood, he shared in all its wonderful progress. He participated in the religious movements of the century, which are hardly paralleled in any other of the Christian centuries. A short time before his decease, the Warren Association, at its one hundred and eighth annual meeting, conveyed to him its appreciation of his labors in these words:

Resolved, That we desire to express our grateful recognition of the divine favor manifested in the long life and valuable services of one so identified with the interests and history of this Association, of the Baptists of Rhode Island and throughout the United States. We beg to convey to him by this action our hearty appreciation of his long-continued labors, so intimately associated with a large portion of our history; to offer our deepest sympathy with him in his illness, and our prayers for the blessing of God upon the venerable father, who now stands, to use his own words, "just on the verge of time," in the calm trust and resignation of his soul to the will of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The verge at length was reached. This world's long week was done. On Saturday afternoon, December 5, 1874, the Sabbath and rest drew nigh. He had reached the age of ninety-five years, one month and twenty-five days. He died as one might wish to die—those he loved near him, and ministering with filial devotion unto him. Appropriate notice of the event was given by the secular and religious press, extended biographical reviews were published, and sermons were preached in recognition of the abundant labors of this prince and father in our Israel. On the Wednesday following the day of his death, the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was filled with the friends and fellow-citizens of one who had so long dwelt among them, and to whose memory they desired to testify their respect and affection. Clergymen intimately associated with him and his family participated in the

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simple but impressive services. Scripture, hymns and prayer directed the thought and devotion of the solemn hour. Rev. Dr. Robinson, President of the University, in fitting eulogy reviewed the life and work of Dr. Benedict. Rev. Dr. Blodgett, pastor of the Congregational Church, spoke as the friend and neighbor of Dr. Benedict, and made tender allusion to his domestic life, sweetened as it was by the affection of his excellent wife and the love and honor of his devoted children. Rev. George Bullen, pastor of the First Church, described the closing scenes, and alluded to the last interviews he had with him, in one of which, on being asked of the prospect before him, he repeated the stanza which he had some time previous committed to memory:

> My heavenly home is bright and fair;
> Nor pain nor death can enter there;
> Its glittering towers the sun outshine;
> That heavenly mansion shall be mine.

Hundreds looked on the serene face when the service ended, and then the body was borne away to the quiet place prepared for it beside that of his life-long companion. An appropriate monument designates the place, with the inscription:

> REV. DAVID BENEDICT, D. D.
> Born October 10, 1779.
> Died December 5, 1874.
> A faithful steward of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Four sons and one daughter remain to honor his memory. By a singular providence the death of Dr. Benedict was almost immediately preceded by that of a sister to whom he was tenderly attached and also by that of his eldest daughter, who, with single devotion, had long ministered to his wants. Thus in one week the family passed away—the sister on Tuesday, the daughter on Wednesday, and the brother and father on Saturday. Another daughter, who had come from Illinois to bear her part in the burial of her father and sister, was suddenly overtaken with disease, and after a few days' illness followed them to the home of the blessed. There the majorities wait, but here they remain who, under the rod, cherish still the gentleness and kindness of the Heavenly Father's hand.

Here ends our grateful task; the life and the work of the good man have passed before the delighted vision. It is no hard thing now to look up and in faith to see him among the blessed, to believe that the

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earnest mind and the devout spirit have found satisfaction, and are forever to find delight in the contemplation and fellowship of him who is the beginning and the end of all history, in whom the eternities unite. It is easy to conceive of him already entered upon the reward of his patient toil for Christ and his cause, and to have already heard the words from the Saviour he loved, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord."

HENRY C. GRAVES.

FALL RIVER, MASS.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

History of the Donatists, with Notes. By Rev. David Benedict, D. D., author of the "History of the Baptists," etc. With a sketch of the life and work of Dr. Benedict, by Rev. Henry C. Graves, A. M. Memorial edition. Printed for Maria C. Benedict, Providence, R. I., by Nickerson, Sibley & Co., Pawtucket, R. I. 1875.

We cannot but be touched by the filial piety which prompts the publication of this memorial volume; and the volume itself is peculiarly interesting as the last work of its venerable author. But even after reading Dr. Benedict's book, we can see no very urgent reason why our sympathies should be with the Donatists rather than with the Catholics in the disputes that so long divided them, and that so greatly weakened the churches of Africa. In doctrine and practice the parties did not materially differ. Both baptized infants, and both practised immersion. When it was their interest to do so, both parties sought the aid of the secular authorities. They did not materially differ in the form of their church government; or in the number or power of their church officers. The great distinguishing peculiarity of the Donatists was that they rebaptized those who came to them from the Catholic party. This they did, not because they differed with their opponents as to the mode or subjects or efficacy of baptism, but because they maintained that the validity of the ordinance depended on the qualifications of the administrator. They contended that the Catholic bishop Cæcilian, having been consecrated by a *traditor*, an unworthy person, was, in truth, not

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bishop; and consequently, that all the rites, whether of ordination or baptism, performed by him, were invalid. The Catholic church of Africa was not a true church, because it was without bishops, and without valid ordinances. The Donatists were willing to admit that they were not the whole of the true church, but only the whole of the true church in Africa. They would, probably, not have refused association with any churches whose ordinances had been received through a pure and uncorrupted channel. It was, then, simply a question of ordination that divided the churches of Africa for nearly three hundred years. There was bigotry and persecution on both sides, and both sides were guilty of wrongs; but which was most to blame it is hard to say.

The Donatist schism may be called the first great schism in the Christian Church. It nearly equally divided the church of Africa; it lasted for three hundred years. It was the occasion of the first interference of a Christian emperor in ecclesiastical affairs. The first council called by Constantine was to judge between Donatists and Catholics. It was, too, the occasion of much, if not the first, persecution of Christians at the suggestion of Christians. A history which should explain how this schism arose, and why it continued so long; which should tell us how it affected the progress of Christianity; what effect it had on the doctrine and polity and morals of the church; what passions it excited, what sufferings it caused, and by what means it was finally healed, could not fail to be interesting and valuable. We regret that Dr. Benedict's history does not seriously and persistently attempt to do any of these things. It owes its origin to the anxiety so common among Protestants, to find their spiritual ancestry in the heretics and schismatics of antiquity; and this anxiety evidently biassed the judgment of the venerable and respected author. His book presents many and striking illustrations of how a man may believe just what he wishes to believe. In quoting his authorities he finds them just, sensible and impartial when they speak well of the Donatists, but partial and untrustworthy when they favor the other side. After giving a paragraph from Gibbon, in which the Donatist leaders are accused of bargain and intrigue, and of holding tumultuous assemblages, Dr. Benedict adds: "The above reproachful terms were evidently copied by Gibbon from Catholic history, *as were all his descriptions of this kind.*" When Gibbon says that Constantine's credulity "was abused by the insidious arts of his favorite Otius," a distinguished Catholic, we are told that "this is a candid and sensible remark!" When the great historian of the "Decline and Fall" deals out his censures to both parties, he is said to be "partial and impartial by turns"; that is, partial when he blames the Donatists, and impartial when he empties the vials of his wrath on the Catholics. In the same way our author deals with Neander, Mosheim, and other historians, praising or blaming them as they praise or blame the subjects of his history.

We may take this occasion to remark that there is room for beneficial change in the spirit in which church history is usually written. Much of what is called church history is partisan history. This is almost

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necessarily the case with Romanist histories; because their authors are burdened with the doctrine of the infallibility of the church. They must show that Popes and councils have never been in error; and that saints and church fathers have never taught heresy. They must find a justification for all that Rome has taught or done, for all her doctrines and all her assumptions. This necessity degrades the Catholic historian into an advocate or special pleader; it prevents his taking broad views of things, and incapacitates him as a searcher after truth. The case is often not at all better with Protestants. They feel that there is a necessity for their tracing a regular succession of gospel churches from apostolic times down to the present. The alternative in their minds is either that the church of Rome is the true church, or that the true church is to be found among the so-called heretics. They cannot accept the first of these alternatives; and they are, therefore, bound to make good the second. They set about seeking for a true church outside the Romish communion, with the conviction that they must find such a church. It is easy to see that such a conviction is not favorable to freedom and impartiality of investigation. As they may find what they are looking for in any anti-Catholic party, they become the natural friends and defenders of what Rome has called schism and heresy. They magnify Donatists, Melitians, Novatians, Paulicians, Petrobrussians, Arnoldists, Poor Men of Lyons, Hussites, and a great multitude besides. Some of these sects, of no very good standing in their own day, find themselves saints and martyrs in the pages of Protestant history. It has often happened that what was a Manichæan in the ninth century, has been translated into a good Baptist or Episcopalian in the nineteenth.

It would, we confess, be a comfortable thing to be able to trace our denominational history back to apostolic times; but we do not feel that we are under the slightest obligation to do so. We are not in the least compelled to find an unbroken succession of gospel churches, or else acknowledge that the church of Rome is the true church. Upon what compulsion must we do so? Is it because our Lord has said, Upon this rock I build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it? Let us see what this passage means. It does not say that there shall never be a time when the church shall not be pure and uncorrupted, or when there shall not be churches embodying the truth in its simplicity. It simply says that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church. Have they prevailed? In spite of all that has been done against her; in spite of the rage of kings, the folly and madness of popes, the opposition of science and the powers of the world, is she not stronger and more vigorous now than ever before since the days of her apostolic vigor? This being the case we need look for no other fulfillment of our Lord's promise; and we may free ourselves from the burden of seeking for the uninterrupted and uncontaminated stream of doctrine and practice; and having freed ourselves from this burden we may study the history of the past with the utmost impartiality. We have no errors to gloss over; no case to make out. The acknowledgment of any good that the church of Rome may have done does not at all weaken our

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cause; nor is our cause at all strengthened by magnifying the errors and crimes of Romanism. We need seek for no other spiritual ancestors than the apostles of Christ; and no other warrant for our denominational existence than such as we find in the New Testament.

We are by no means willing to give up our claim to a respectable antiquity; but Baptist histories are often both consequential and inconsequential. They weaken rather than strengthen our cause. They sometimes claim spiritual kinship with disreputable characters; they base or seem to base our right to denominational existence upon the fact that we have always existed. This is to take a weak if not an untenable ground. We ought rather to hold that given a new Testament, a living Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, and at any time and in any community a true church of Christ may begin to be. We justify our existence not by our antiquity but by our conformity to the teachings of Christ and his apostles. While we have been compelled to dissent from the conclusions of Dr. Benedict's history, we take pleasure in saying that it is the fruit of much research; that it contains material not usually accessible; and that it will enable the reader to have a better understanding of the position and character of the Donatists.

Bible Truth and Broad Church Error. By William Ritchie, D. D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 12mo, pp. 400.

A vigorous protest against the main principles of what in current language is termed Broad Church theology. The themes discussed are Inspiration, Incarnation, Atonement, the Fatherhood of God, Justification, Eternity of Punishment. The tone and tendency of the book are thoroughly evangelical, while there is nothing specially new or marked in the method of treatment. The objections to the views of Maurice and Robertson on the Fatherhood of God are thus stated:

(1) This theory of the divine Fatherhood, ignores other relations, in which God stands to men; and takes no adequate account of the supreme fact of their sin. God is a Lawgiver and Ruler, as well as a Father; the Fountain of righteousness, the Guardian of moral order among His creatures, and binding Himself, justly to administer law, by enacting it for obedience. Who does not perceive, that sin has come in to disturb the peaceful retations of the Almighty Father, to His human children? The hypothesis of Mr. Maurice completely breaks down, in failing to show any provision for repairing this breach. To say, as he does, that "Christ is in every man," that by original constitution, all men are really sons of God; so that Christ's justification is their justification, is to oppose the plainest Scripture teaching, and to claim faith for the bare word of man, instead of receiving the truth of the oracles of God. This is not what Paul teaches, about the regeneration and reconciliation of men to their offended, though loving Father; but the very opposite of the doctrine he everywhere exhibits, for our faith to accept. "When we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son" (Rom. v. 10). This is the revelation, of the union of God the Father and God the Ruler; and the grand provision of sovereign mercy for restoring our filial relation, which sin has disturbed, and reinstating us in true sonship to God.

(2) This theory of divine Fatherhood, ignores the Bible representation of God, in His present position and sentiments toward men. God is said to be "angry with the wicked every day" (Psa. vii. 11); an expression wholly inconsistent with the idea of His being at the same time their approving Father, or with alleging they are justified before Him, as His

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children. In direct opposition to this, they are said to be "by nature children of wrath" (Eph. ii. 3); a contrast is indicated between believers, who are called the sons of God, and the whole world that lieth in the wicked one; between those that are the children of God, and the children of the Devil (1 John iii. 1–10; v. 19). Who can reconcile such language as this, with the idea that they are children of God's Fatherly love, accepted of Him as His true sons; and that all that is needed is merely that they recognize or realize their filial relationship. Is it not clear, that it is not realizing an existing fact, but a revolution of a moral relation; an entire change of state toward God; which shall turn away His anger, and draw down on men His righteous, paternal love.

(3.) This theory ignores the teaching of Scripture, respecting what is required of men, for their enjoying the blessing of the Divine Fatherhood, and of true sonship to God. The Spirit of Inspiration teaches throughout Scripture, that a personal act is required of men; in order to God's coming into the gracious relationship of Father to them, or of manifesting Himself to them under this loving name. This appears in the passage already referred to; "How shall I put thee among the children; and I said thou shalt call me my Father, and shalt not turn away from me." Is it not manifest, further from this text, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate saith the Lord, and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you; and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty" (2 Cor. vi. 17, 18). The other side of this truth is no less conspicuous in Scripture light—that men enter into the relation of sons of God only by faith in Christ Jesus. "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins" (John viii. 24). "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever *believeth* in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16). "Being justified *by faith*, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand" (Rom. v. 1, 2). "Ye are all the children of God, *by faith* in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 26). "To as many as *received* Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name" (John i. 12).

(4.) Once more this theory of the Divine Fatherhood, rests on no solid ground of evidence or truth. F. W. Robertson urges, that the sonship of all men is a fact, *before* they believe it; and exists whether they believe it or not; faith he alleges, does not *create the fact*, it only receives it. Yet how palpably does his favorite illustration fail to furnish the shadow of a reason for the truth of his position. "*Made*," he says, "a child of God, as the Queen is made Queen at her coronation. She was Queen before. Nay, if she had not, coronation could not make her Queen." My reply is, the Queen *is made* Queen at her coronation; and she was *not Queen* before. She was before, simply the heir-apparent to the crown; the heir by rightful succession to the throne; but not till, by her *personal act*, she took the coronation oath, consenting to the constitution of the country, and to administer the laws according to that constitution—was she really Queen; and could not, without this, be made Queen. Precisely, in like manner, men are made, or become the adopted sons of God, through their *believing in Christ;* and they were not so before. They were before, simply offered the privilege; but not until, by their personal act, they consent to the terms of receiving mercy in Christ, and believe in His name according to the Law of the Gospel Kingdom,—are they His children, or can become so. Thus Robertson's illustration, instead of establishing his position, completely overthrows it; and confirms beyond all gainsaying, the opposite truth, that men are made the adopted children of God, only through faith in Christ Jesus. What he teaches further regarding baptism, revealing the fact of the sonship of all men, is, I venture to assert, alien to the whole doctrine of Christ and His apostles. Any man may be challenged to produce a single word from the teaching of our Lord, or his inspired servants, giving the least countenance to such an idea. It may be regarded a sure proof, that none such can be adduced; that the author of this single hypothesis never once attempts to bring a solitary text of Scripture, in support of it, in order to show that this is the doctrine of the word of God.

On the whole therefore it appears, this theory of the universal Fatherhood of God, and of the sonship of all men to Him in Christ, independent of faith in His name—is without foundation, in sound reason or in the divine word. But when rightly apprehended and accepted in faith of the gospel, the Fatherhood of God to believers in Christ, comes with endearing power to the human heart. What truth can possess our affections or penetrate our whole being

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like this. The mighty God is our everlasting Father. In the midst of all the mysteries of His procedure, and the trials of His Providence, we pass through in our earthly pilgrimage, what a relief is this to our oft disquieted soul—the God who moves in these high paths, which we cannot trace, is our Father. When want presses on the outward life, a loving voice falls on the ear, "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things" (Matt. vi. 32); and the assurance is given, He who cares for the birds of the air will feed His children. When the desire of the heart goes up for higher blessings for the spiritual nature, and the eye sees how readily an earthly parent bestows what affection prompts; this word is spoken to faith; "If ye being evil know how to give good things to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him" (Matt. vii. 11).

A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. GODET, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Neuchatel. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. Octavo, 2 vols., 441 pp.

A scholarly and evangelical commentary, written not merely for professed theologians, nor aimed directly at edification, but "addressed in general to those readers of culture, so numerous at the present day, who take a heart-felt interest in the religious and critical questions which are now under discussion." There is no better work on this Gospel accessible to the English student. We trust the publishers will soon give us the Gospel of John by the same author.

The closing paragraph of the commentary is as follows: "The ascension perfects in the person of the Son of Man God's design in regard to humanity. To make of sanctified believers a family of children of God, perfectly like that only Son who is the prototype of the whole race — such is God's plan, his eternal *πρόθεσις* (Romans viii. 28, 29), with a view to which he created the universe. As the plant is the unconscious agent of the life of nature, man was intended to become the free and intelligent organ of the holy life of the personal God. Now, to realize this plan, God thought good (*εὐδόκησε*) to accomplish it first in *one;* Eph. ii. 6; "He hath raised us up *in Christ*, and made us sit *in Him* in the heavenly places;" i. 10: "According to the purpose which he had to gather together all things under *one* head, Christ"; Heb. ii. 10: "Wishing to bring many sons to glory, He perfected the *Captain of Salvation*." Such was, according to the divine plan, the first act of salvation. The second was to unite to this *One* individual believers, and thus to make them partakers of the divine state to which the Son of Man had been raised (Rom. viii. 29). This assimilation of the faithful to his Son God accomplished by means of two things which are the necessary complement of the facts of the gospel history: Pentecost, whereby the Lord's moral being becomes that of the believer; and the Parousia, whereby the external condition of the sanctified believer is raised to the same elevation as that of our glorified Lord. First, holiness, then glory, for the body as for the head: the baptism of Jesus, which becomes ours by Pentecost; the ascension of Jesus, which becomes ours by the Parousia.

"Thus it is that each gospel, and not only that which we have just been explaining, has the Acts for its second volume, and for its third the Apocalypse."

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Ecclesiology. A Fresh Inquiry as to the Fundamental Idea and Constitution of the New Testament Church. By Rev. E. J. Fish, D. D. New York: The Authors' Publishing Company. Duodecimo, pp. 399.

Dr. Fish has evidently given much thought and study to the preparation of this work. He tells us in the preface that its "contents were framed with no original intention of making a book, and much less with any disposition to disagree with current opinions."

After the Introduction the discussion is arranged under three general heads: Part First—The Fundamental Idea of the Church; Part Second—The New Testament Church Constitution; Part Third—Application of Principles; and there is a Supplement on Ordination. There are three periods in the life of the church; the first extending from the birth of Christ to the Pentecost; the second from Pentecost to the close of the apostolic ministry; the third from the close of the apostolic ministry to the end of its career. There will necessarily be a growth in the organism, in spiritual gifts and official functions, in doctrines, and in spiritual power. This growth is a development under the impulse of the indwelling Holy Spirit, in which individual gifts and official distinctions, founded on them, are emphasized, in which external influences perform an important part, and in which everything is guided by divine law.

The church and the kingdom of heaven are not identical. They stand related to each other as the raw material and the wrought fabric. The kingdom can have no organization in the ordinary sense of the word; the church has a form of government, constitution, doctrines, ordinances and rules of discipline specifically given. The kingdom is to be preached; it may be spoken of as entering a man; in it apostles and private Christians may rule as kings in royal companionship with the King of glory, all of which is impossible to the church. Entrance to the kingdom is synonymous with being saved, entrance to the church depends on being saved.

In the New Testament the word church always signifies a local and individual society with a definite constitution. This is the primary sense and all others are its logical derivatives, such as its generic use by which the church is spoken of as an institution existing not separately from local churches, but in them, and the collective sense representing an ideal body, the collection of all local churches into one whole of the same model with each. In this latter sense the term would not include any person who did not belong to some local church. Examples of the generic use are: Matt xvi. 18; Eph. iii. 10; of the collective: Heb. xii. 23; Eph. iii. 21. There are ten places in which the word is used partly in a local, partly in a collective sense.

The government of the New Testament church is democratic. This is shown by the spirit of Christianity, by the meaning of ecclesia, by the New Testament precedents, confirmed by historic testimony. It is not a pure democracy in which all business is transacted in committee of

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the whole, but a government which divides deliberations and assigns duties on the basis of gifts, a feature which the wisdom of ages has approved and applied to almost every state and municipal organization from the days of the patriarchs to the present time. In the apostolic times there was a board of elders in every church, and all the larger churches in our own time tend to this method. The New Testament terms descriptive of the functions of the eldership, such as overseers, pastors, presidents, leaders and governments, and the precedents of the New Testament are all in accordance with this method of government. The permanent officers of the church are three, teachers, presbyters, deacons; teacher, evangelist, bishop, are one; the special functions of the office are preaching, teaching, superintendence, and a certain kind and degree of pastoral work. The functions of the eldership are teaching, pastoral work, ruling, leadership, governing, caring for the sick, imposition of hands, administration of ordinances. The teacher stands related to the elders as a *primus inter pares*, if he be ranked or denominated an elder or bishop, as a superior officer, if he be distinguished according to the apostolic schedule. The duties of the deacons respect temporalities, or what may be called the secular side of church affairs. The only creed essential to the church is that found in Eph. iv. 4, 6; those seven points are all that is vital to churchhood. A church fitly framed will have for its members, baptized believers; for its officers, a pastor-in-chief, elders, deacons; its government will be democratic, consisting of a senate and assembly; and its doctrines will be, one body, one spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.

In the Supplement, ordination is defined as an election made and solemnized by a church to an office over which the church has jurisdiction. It follows that there can be no ordination to the ministry at large, and whenever there is a pastoral change there should be an ordination.

We present these theories without discussing them at present, or suggesting any of the difficulties in the way of their adoption. The volume indicates an independent mind, and an honest and candid desire for the truth.

Nature and the Scriptures. A Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary and Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., by TAYLER LEWIS, LL. D., L. H. D., of Union College. Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America.

In 1873, Nicholas F. Vedder, of Utica, N. Y., gave $10,000 to the General Synod of the Reformed Church to found an annual course of lectures to be delivered before the students of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, and to the students of Rutgers College, on "*The Present Aspects of Modern Infidelity.*" The book whose title is given above comprises "THE VEDDER LECTURES FOR 1875."

All that Dr. Lewis has given to the public is worthy of close attention. This publication is full of clear, suggestive, profound, condensed thought. The author's acquaintance with the ancient languages and philosophies,

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his thorough understanding of modern scientific theories, and his deep experimental knowledge of the Scripture, combined with largeness of perception and honesty of purpose, eminently qualify him to vindicate the truth.

The central thought of the book is that in God's light we see light. It is claimed in the outset that "In the Holy Scriptures there is a grandeur of thought unknown to any scheme of science, and which puts the humblest believer above the proudest intellect that is a stranger to any such influence."

The subjects discussed are: 1. The Fearfulness of Atheism. 2. The Denial of the Supernatural. 3. The Cosmical Argument; Worlds in Space; Worlds in Time. 4. The Kingdom of God; or the Greatness of the Bible Theism, as compared with the Physical, Scientific and Philosophical. Each subject is discussed particularly, but there is a perceptible unity and regular advance in the reasoning.

Ancient and modern theories and arguments are analyzed, and what has been clearly established is candidly admitted, while the author demands that the Scripture shall have a fair hearing, and its advocates shall have opportunity to explain apparent discrepancies, and compare the weight of evidence for revealed truth with that adduced against it. The unreasonableness of limiting the inspired thought to the cramped literalness which appears in a language of few forms, is illustrated. Many examples of the far-reaching meaning of the divine oracles are mentioned. The "day" of Genesis, the ninetieth Psalm, portions of Isaiah, Job, and the "heavenly gradations" of the New Testament, are brought forward, and the examination of these witnesses results in an agreement with the records of the rock and sky concerning the proportion and progress of creation. Where there is lack of entire agreement the failure to convict the record of falsehood is clearly shown.

In lecture II the denial of the supernatural is seen to be "unreasonable, contrary to the universal innate thought common to all religions."

"The Cosmical Argument" is full of apt correspondences between nature and the Bible.

The closing lecture is a triumphant march by the light of the truth. The greatness and grandeur of the Bible Theism appear at every step.

One of the closing sentences in the last lecture is worthy of special consideration: "The Bible itself must be brought out as the best defence against infidelity — the Bible itself, not only as the great standing miracle of history, but as containing unearthly ideas for which no philosophy, no theory of development can ever account. To such study it will reveal itself as the power or healing virtue of God."

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, with a new Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL. D., T. C. D. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Octavo, pp. 694.

Many Biblical students who have used Dr. Murphy's valuable commentaries on the first three books of the Pentateuch will welcome the

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present volume of the same author. It exhibits, in another field of display, the same characteristics which have made his former works profitable — evident piety, cautious orthodoxy, and a fair competency of learning in the matters of which he treats.

We have, first, a general introduction to the Book of Psalms, discussing the topics generally noticed under that head, and dwelling especially on the Nature, and on the Theme of the Psalms. This last subject gives occasion for the treatment of the Messianic character of some, and the imprecatory character of other of the Psalms; matters which are handled at length, and, in the main, with sound and discriminating judgment.

The plan of the commentary is much as might be anticipated from the author's two later works on the Pentateuch. A title is given to each Psalm, expressing the writer's judgment of its significance; then an introduction designed to put the readers into a mental posture to appreciate its strain; next a translation metrically arranged, in which the author shows himself far less bound to the common version than in his previous books; after that, a clear but brief commentary, blending grammatico-historical exposition with dogmatic and practical suggestions; and, finally, a few notes on the Hebrew, at points which seem to require special comment.

The author, himself, disclaims the attempt at a full treatment of the Psalms, such as professional scholars may often require; and these must still have recourse to the works of Delitsch, Hupfeld, Moll and Perowne. In his reference to other helps on the study of the Psalms, we are surprised at the omission of Dr. Conant's translation, which, with its few foot-notes, certainly deserves to stand far above some of the works named by him, as an aid to the ready appreciation of the sense and spirit of these inspired lyrics.

In a work so well suited to be extensively and almost popularly useful, we could have wished that the theology prevalent in it had been more decidedly Biblico-theological, in the present use of that term, as distinguished from that of the dogmatic system. The retention of the word Lord, as a *translation* of the sacred *tetragrammaton* of the Hebrews, we regard, in the present state of scholarship, as a real sin against hermeneutical law. This is one of a few draw-backs to the educational as well as edifying value of this work, which we the more regret because of the general adaptedness of the book to be very widely useful.

St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By Christoph Ernst Luthardt. Revised, translated, and the literature much enlarged, by Caspar Rene Gregory. Edinburg: T. and T. Clark. Specially imported for sale in this country by Scribner, Armstrong and Company. Octavo, pp. 369.

The question concerning the authorship of the fourth Gospel has assumed such prominence, of late years, among the more advanced discussions in theology, that we rejoice to find it so exhaustively treated by one so learned, pious and orthodox as the author of the present work

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This is an expansion of a treatise first published in 1852, and now includes every topic of importance connected with the subject. The matter of the original is distributed through eleven chapters, occupying 280 pages of the volume before us. In these we have sketched the early tradition on which belief in the Johannine authorship of the Bible has ever rested, and an account of the objections of ancient heretics and modern skeptics to this belief. These objections are refuted by a more detailed exhibition of the testimonies of the early church writers on the subject, and of the early opposers and perverters of Christianity. All the particular questions involved in the controversy are fully and lucidly treated—John's residence at Ephesus, the date of the passover, the testimony of the Gospel itself, its relation to the synoptists, the comparison of the Gospel and the Revelation. The result of the whole is, as we think, a triumphant confirmation of the hereditary faith of Christians, through all their history, in the fourth Gospel as the writing of the beloved apostle.

The work is excellently translated by Mr. Gregory, an American scholar, now resident in Germany, who has besides enriched the exceedingly copious references appended by the author to the several chapters, and has added, at the end of the volume, a list of more than five hundred treatises on the disputed origin of John's Gospel, from 1792 to the present year. This constitutes the most nearly complete exhibition of the literature of the subject with which we are acquainted.

The Principles of Textual Criticism, with a List of all the known Greek Uncials, and a Table representing Graphically the parts of the Text of the New Testament contained in Each. By FREDERICK GARDINER, D. D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1876. Octavo, pp. 64.

This is a reprint from the Bibliotheca Sacra, for April, 1875, of a very comprehensive and useful article on the subject of which it treats. It is at the same time, avowedly, to a considerable extent, an abridgment of one of the most recent and valuable compends of information on the criticism of the text of the New Testament which have appeared in England, "Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament," by C. E. Hammond, M. A. 1872.",

The variety of readings in the original of the Scriptures, as we now have it, particularly of the New Testament, the fact that some copies omit what others contain, or give different words from others to express the same meaning, or different forms of the words, is sometimes a source of real perplexity to the uninstructed student, and to everybody makes clear and concise explanations of the difficulty welcome. In this little *brochure* we have just such explanations. How there might, and in fact, must be some variations in the copies of the Scriptures made by hand in early times, being briefly shown, the nature, kind, and special causes of these differences are fully illustrated. The principles and processes by

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which we must now proceed to restore, if possible, the exact form of the inspired autograph, are indicated, and an excellent account given of the early versions, which here play so important a part. A complete catalogue of the known Uncial manuscripts of the New Testament, some of them consisting of only a single leaf, and containing but a few verses, is then furnished. The whole concludes with a very ingenious and helpful attempt to show at a glance, by a series of tabulated lines, what manuscripts contain any given portion of the Greek text of the New Testament. We can warmly recommend the treatise to the student as a trustworthy and useful help in this province of research.

Monumental Christianity. Or, the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice. By JOHN P. LUNDY, Presbyter. New York: J. W. Bouton. Demy quarto, pp. 453.

This book contains 196 illustrations of the faith and practice of early Christian churches, drawn from paintings, sculpture, inscriptions in the Roman catacombs, and similar sources. The topics of some of the chapters are: The Mysteries—God the Father Almighty—Jesus Christ as Divine—The Good Shepherd—Jesus Christ as Human—Hades—The Tree of Life—The Holy Ghost—The Communion of Saints—Baptism and Absolution—Ressurrection—Life Everlasting. The Presbyter propounds a question which, so far as we know, has never been answered:

"The Greek Church retains the primitive and universal practice of communicating infants, while the Latin Church and all Protestantism are one in rejecting it. May it not be asked, in all reason, if infants are to receive one sacrament before they come to years of discretion, why may they not receive another? Shall the dogmatism of the Council of Trent always suspend and abolish this ancient practice in all the churches of the West?"

A work on the Baptismal Monuments of Christianity is now in course of preparation by a Baptist layman, one of the most accomplished architects of New York City. He has spent two years in visiting and examing all the Baptisteries and ancient Baptismal fonts in Europe, taking special pains to secure perfect accuracy in measurements and drawings, so that the work shall be trustworthy in every respect. It will not be a controversial treatise, but a collection of facts that may serve as the basis of arguments and conclusions by others.

The Baptist Question Book on International Bible Lessons, 1876. By REV. GRANVILLE S. ABBOTT. Philadelphia. The American Baptist Publication Society. 18mo, pp. 191.

The Question Book prepared by Mr. Abbott on the International Lessons for 1875, has taken rank as one of the best among the very many excellent books now in the hands of Sunday-school teachers. The author

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brings to his task habits of careful thought and a thorough acquaintance with what is needed by those for whom this volume is designed. The judicious notes at the end of the lessons increase the value of the book.

A Dictionary of Religious Knowledge for Popular and Professional Use; comprising full information on Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Subjects. With several hundred Maps and Illustrations. Edited by the Rev. Lyman Abbott, assisted by the Rev. T. J. Conant, D. D. 1875. Royal 8vo, pp. 1074.

To those who are unable to procure the larger and more expensive Bible Dictionaries this volume will be most welcome. The wide and accurate scholarship of Dr. Conant, his rare powers of application and acquisition eminently qualify him for any service in the cause of Biblical learning, and Mr. Abbott has shown in many ways special fitness in providing for popular wants. The work presents in compact form the information on all religious subjects which the ordinary reader will seek. It is free from sectarian bias.

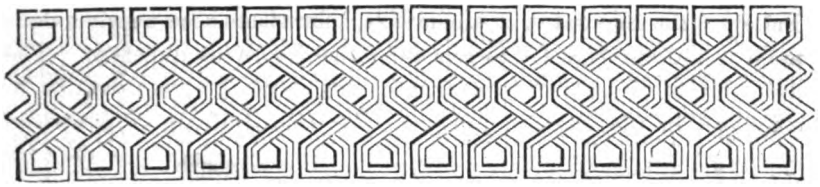
Two Lectures upon the Relations of Civil Law to Church Polity, Discipline and Property. By Hon. Wm. Strong, LL. D., Justice of the Supreme Court, U. S. New York: Dodd and Mead. Duodecimo, 141 pp.

These valuable lectures on the relations of civil law to church polity, discipline and property, were delivered before the Union Theological Seminary, in the city of New York. The first lecture discusses the relation of the state to religion, to Christianity, to the church, its membership, doctrine and acts. The second discusses religious gifts and property, and the internal organization and regulation of religious bodies. The subject of ecclesiastical law in this country merits far more attention than it has yet received.

Our Poetical Favorites. Second Series. A selection from the best minor poems of the English language. By Asahel C. Kendrick. New York: Sheldon and Company. Duodecimo, 540 pp.

Prof. Kendrick's First Series of poetical selections has become a universal favorite. In this volume there are fewer poets represented, and the passages chosen are longer. A rare taste has presided over the mechanical execution as well as the contents; in paper, typography and binding the book is perfect.

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THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY.

THE LOGOS.

IT is proposed to inquire into the origin and meaning of the term Logos, as used in the first fourteen verses of the Gospel according to John. Logos has for its English representative, WORD: "In the beginning was the Word;" "The Word was made flesh." The Greek language would have supplied another term—ῥῆμα; but it is clear that this was intentionally avoided. Luther, in his German Bible uses Wort; the Vulgate uses Verbum.

The question involved in the discussion is this: Does the term Logos imply personality? If it does not, the Introduction of John's Gospel furnishes no proof that Christ was pre-existent, and therefore no proof that he was equal with God; and it may be presumed, that if these cannot be proved by the Introduction, they cannot be proved at all. It will be seen, therefore, that the question is one of inexpressible importance. The faith of nearly all Christendom turns on the meaning of this little Greek term. If personality is expressed, the faith of millions respecting the nature and work of Jesus Christ may remain as it is; if it is not expressed, the faith of millions should be changed; and it may be added that on the same condition millions, upon entering heaven, must have found that their sentiments respecting Christ had been altogether too exalted.

It must not be supposed that the current view has been unchallenged. Some scholars of distinction, both in Germany and Great

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Britain, have rejected it. American scholars have been nearly unanimous that John intended to represent the Logos as a person. The literature of the subject is very extensive, most of it, as usual, being embodied in the German tongue. The contributions of American scholars have been small. One of the largest was made in the year 1828 by Charles W. Upham, then pastor of a Unitarian church in Salem, Mass.—the church of which Roger Williams had been pastor. It appeared in the form of letters addressed to Dr. Henry Ware, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University, and is embraced in two hundred and fifteen pages. Mr. Upham's interpretation of the Prologue shows how much depends upon the meaning of Logos. Having attempted to prove that Logos means *declaration of God's will,* he applies this meaning to each of the statements of the Introduction. We give his explanations greatly condensed:

> You object that Christianity was promulgated *too late* in the history of the world to make it reasonable that it was from God. But it is not just to charge us with maintaining that Jesus Christ was the first who ever conveyed to us God's will, for we do not believe that God spake to the world the first time by and through him. "In the beginning," in the very first of the world's history, God spoke to men. There was, therefore, a Word even at the creation. "And the Word was with God;" it came directly from God; there was no intermediate agent employed in producing it. The Word—the divine communications which were formerly made, proceeded not from inferior beings, but from the supreme Jehovah. I must almost remind you that "the Word was God;" Word is not the title of a being different from the one Jehovah, as many have erroneously supposed. It was no Aeon, or angel, or second divine person, that spoke to men in former times; it was God himself who spoke to them. The Word was God. "By him were all things made;" the work of creation was not, as some affirm, the work of angels or inferior spirits, but all things were made by the command, the Word, of God himself.

The fourteenth verse is well regarded by Mr. Upham as the most important part of the Prologue: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." Instead of being communicated, as in former times, through inanimate objects, as the burning bush, the cloud or the fire, the will of God has been now conveyed to us by the agency of a human being. A man has, in this instance, acted as the Word of God. Such a word has been as a Shekinah, has tabernacled among us.

We have spoken of Mr. Upham's *interpretation,* but there is little which is worthy to be called exegesis. In place of it we have a paraphrase, and this is preceeded by the assumption that the Introduction

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was written for the purpose of correcting prevalent errors growing out of Oriental, Egyptian, Greek and Jewish philosophy—the earlier philosophy and the eclectic. John, the fisherman, if this view is correct, must have been uncommonly well-versed in human wisdom. The philosophers conceived the idea of two or three divine beings, and, becoming acquainted with the Jews, found them using the phrase, Logos of the Lord, and, without inquiring into the Jewish use, were led into the erroneous belief that the Jewish *logos* and their *nous* meant the same thing—a divine person. At length, as Mr. Upham "conjectures"—a word which he often uses, showing his fondness for *a priori* reasoning—*logos* was adopted into the religions of all the surrounding nations, and was used, as it had not been used by the Jews, to signify a distinct, divine being. The Jews themselves, noticing this use of their own phrase by Pagan philosophers, abandoned the true, original sense—*communications or revelations of the supreme God*—and used it, like the heathen philosophers, to signify a separate, divine person.

Such, in brief, is Mr. Upham's theory of the origin of the term *logos* in John's Prologue. The method of investigation is wrong. A careful exegetical study of the Introduction is indispensable to the correct understanding of the term in question. Even the historical method would not itself be sufficient. Whatever the term might be proved to mean in the Septuagint, in the Apocrypha, in Plato or in Philo, the question would remain: In what sense does John use it? And though the history might throw some light upon John's use, yet there are several forms of expression which must be carefully examined before the answer is given. If exegesis, conducted partly in the light which the history of *logos* shall supply, and conducted, as it certainly ought to be, independently of theological creeds, shall lead us to the conclusion that Logos denotes not a person but a thing, not a revealer but a revelation, let us not hesitate to honor the Creator of the human mind by accepting it. The origin of the term is of less importance than the manner in which it was used by John. It is proposed, therefore, to examine, first, some of the principal propositions contained in the Introduction. Internal evidence may be found that Logos means a person, or it may be clear that it means a thing.

V. 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ (in the beginning). The Logos was ἐν ἀρχῇ. This by itself can scarcely be held as expressing eternity past. It conveys the idea of timelessness or pre-temporalness. As Dr. Schaff says, "before creation there was no time, for time itself is part of the world, and was created with it. (*Mundus factus est cum tempore,*

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not *in tempore*)." If ἐν ἀρχῇ represents pre-temporalness, it represents a state which was anterior to creation. The Logos, then, was pre-temporal, and therefore was not created. But creator and creation are exhaustive terms. No other can be inserted between them. If, therefore, the Logos is not embraced in the term creation, it must be embraced in the term creator. Thus even from the first proposition of the Prologue it may be inferred that the Logos is not a thing but a person, and a creative person.

Ἦν (was). John abstains from using that other Greek verb which would have implied beginning of existence. Ἐγένετο (became) would have made impossible the idea of pre-temporalness in ἐν ἀρχῇ. Of things (vs. 3) John says: "All things were made, became, came into existence, by him." In vs. 6 we read: "There was a man sent from God;" there became, arose (not ἦν but ἐγένετο) a man sent from God. The coming of John the Baptist was a historical fact; the existence of the Logos was a fact anterior to history. In vs. 14, instead of ἦν, ἐγένετο is again used, and in a very instructive manner: "And the Word was made flesh"—the Word *became* flesh. But John does not say: In the beginning *became* the Word, as if there were a point before which the Logos had no existence, but it is: "In the beginning *was* (ἦν) the Word." This precise use of two Greek verbs could not have been undesigned. The distinction is expressed in German by *war* (was) and *ward* (became). Students of Plato have been often struck with the distinction as made in some of his Dialogues. Referring to a passage in the Timaeus, Prof. Tayler Lewis says:

> From this passage alone, had there been no other, we are justified in saying that εἰμί, in its highest sense, expresses *essential, eternal, necessary, self-existent, independent, uncaused being, or essence, having no dependence on time and space.* The other, γιγνομαι, expresses *phenomenal, temporal, contingent, dependent being, generated in time and space.*

Such being the meaning, in John, of ἐν αρχῇ, and of ἦν, it follows that these, in connection, express the idea of eternity, and therefore it follows that Logos implies not a revealing thing, but a revealing person. Καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν (and the Word was with God). Πρὸς (with, toward). The entire force of the proposition is in the preposition, and though Mr. Upham himself admits this, yet his exegesis of the word is in violation of the *usus loquendi.* Indeed, he is self-contradictory, for he first supposes it to signify "immediate connection," then "local contact," and finally, as if it were παρὰ θεοῦ, as in vs. 6 (sent from God), instead of πρὸς θεόν, he interprets it as signifying that the Word *came forth from God!* But πρὸς τὸν θεόν expresses not space or local contact, but continual direction *toward*

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God, as if separation, substantial and ethical, were forever impossible. Had John intended to say that the Logos came forth from God, he would have used a preposition which expresses *source*.

Καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος (and *God* was the Word). *θεὸς* is put first for emphasis (*Meyer*). It is not the subject but the predicate. *The Word was God* is more accordant with the genius of the English tongue, and the emphasis expressed in the Greek by location should be expressed in English by the voice, and not be wholly lost, as it is in nearly all audible reading, by being put upon *was*. *θεὸς* has no article, and this saves the personality of the Logos from being merged in the personality of God. It is not *The Logos was the God*, but it is *The Logos was God*. The Logos and God are, therefore, not identical. There is a sense in which they are distinct beings. If the Logos was a thing, not a person, the terms of the proposition are remarkably wanting in the precision which is characteristic of John's style; nay, they lead us to an absurdity.

Vs. 3. *Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο.* (All things were made, became, by him.) The contrast between *ἦν* of vs. 1, and *ἐγένετο* of this verse, is very marked. The Logos *was*, but all things *became*. Things have an origin, a beginning; the Logos has not a beginning; therefore again the Logos is a person. *δι' αὐτοῦ* (through him) the Genitive of instrumentality, as in Col. i. 17. Hebrews i. 2 is important, *δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν* (by whom also he made the worlds). God made the worlds through the Son, says the writer, and as John says that all things were made by the Logos, it follows that Son and Logos refer to the same being; yet God did not create all things by the Logos as mere instrument, for Col. i. 16 says, that *in* him (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) all things were created.

Καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν (and without him was nothing made that has been made). Nothing; not even one thing, not even matter, not even spirits, were made without the Logos. Through the Logos God made literally everything. The Logos must have existed, therefore, before spirits and before matter. How, then, can Logos mean anything else than a person? *Not one thing that has been made was made except through a thing*, is a worse specimen of interpretation than that which attributes mere insanity to the man who dwelt among tombs, and then transfers it to three thousand swine.

Vs. 6. *Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ* (There became, arose, a man who was sent from God).

Vs. 8. *Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς* (he was not that light.) How could John have found it necessary to guard his readers against the suppo-

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sition that the Baptist, himself a person, was not that light, if the Logos were not a person?

Vs. 11. *Εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε* (he came unto his own). *τὰ ἴδια* (his own things), the Jews, as his own possession or inheritance. *ἴδιοι*, the Jews as his own people. "Communications from God" (*Upham*) may be very easily conceived as the possession of the Jews, but in what possible sense could the Jews be the possession of "the communications"? The possessor of the Jews was clearly a person, which person is denominated the Logos.

Vs. 14. *Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* (and the Word became flesh). The Logos *ἦν* (was) from the beginning, before time, but the Logos *ἐγένετο* (became) flesh. Upham: "The divine communication was borne by a man; a man, in this instance, was the Word:"—absurd! for Mr. Upham has already informed us that Word means divine communication, and now he informs us that the divine communication was borne by the divine communication! Besides, it would have been gratifying had Mr. Upham shown us how it is possible for *ἐγένετο* to mean *was borne*. His effort to wrest personality from Logos in this passage reflects little honor upon American scholarship. The *usus loquendi* of almost every word in the verse is totally disregarded. The verse teaches the incarnation, not of "a divine communication," which is a conception nowhere to be found either in John or any part of the Bible, but of a person. Besides, that "a divine communication" can become flesh is an impossible conception.

Μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρος (an only begotten of the Father). In accordance with the theory to which allusion has been so freely made, it was a "*divine communication*" which was begotten of the Father. The idea is so devoid of sense that it is not surprising that Mr. Upham seems loth to state it in definite words. *Μονογενοῦς* is slipped over as a word which deserves little consideration. It was not *flesh* which was the only begotten, for there was no "glory" in that; it was the Logos. But *only begotten* implies personality, for it is a brief form of expression for *only begotten Son*. It is applied to Christ by none of the sacred writers except John. The full form, *the only begotten Son*, is found in i. 18; iii. 16–18; 1 John iv. 9. Meyer insists that *μονογενής* is spoken of Christ's divine nature, and answers to the apostle's peculiar conception of the divine Sonship of Christ. He holds that Christ is Son through a metaphysical relation to the nature of God. He did not *become* Son through incarnation, but he *is* the only begotten as the Logos before all time, and appears as such through the incarnation; *παρὰ* (from), not *of*, as in the

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authorized version. The Logos was begotten from the Father. He was the same as the Father in essence or substance.

The chief propositions of the Prologue, then, make it evident that in using the term Logos, John had the conception of a person; not that of an attribute of God, or of the divine reason, or of "divine communication."

We must now consider the historical side of the question. Did John go to the Alexandrian Philosophy for the term Logos? Was he indebted to that or any other human philosophy for the Logos idea as developed in the introductory verses of his Gospel? The term itself is not synonomous with *ῥῆμα*, used for example in Heb. xi. 3: "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by *the word of God*" (*ῥήματι θεοῦ*). This is a general statement, while John's (i. 3) is a special one; *ῥῆμα* is used to signify the *mere word;* logos, *word, as the expression of thought;* *ῥῆμα* is neuter; that logos is masculine ought not to be pressed. Luther's *Wort* is neuter, and therefore he uses the neuter article *das;* yet even in the German Bible the context would show that a person must be meant; as Dr. Schaff has said, Ewald, breaking through all usage, retains the masculine article in his German translation—*der* (instead of *das*) Wort. As, then, a word is the expression of thought, Logos is an appropriate term for expressing the relation which the Messiah, before incarnation, held to the Supreme Being. The Logos is one who expresses, who reveals, God.

So far as the present subject is concerned, the Alexandrian philosophy is represented in Philo. This singular man, a Jew, an admirer of the idealism of Plato, the great allegorizer of the first century, was born twenty years before Christ and died about A. D. 50. He flourished, therefore, before John wrote his Gospel. His works might have supplied John with the word Logos, and with some part of the Logos doctrine. But, in the first place, no evidence has appeared that John ever saw Philo's works, or knew what they taught. Upon this, however, it is unnecessary to insist. It may be admitted, as not improbable, that writing his Gospel so many years after Philo, he knew, by report, what the Alexandrian had written, but he could not have been indebted to him for the mere word, for logos was in common use. To what extent John's ideas of the Logos were formed by what he may have heard of Philo, is a more serious question. Had the Alexandrian philosophy entered Palestine? In treating of the historical aspect of the Logos in his Commentary on John, Tholuck takes the negative. He combats Gfrörer's view that the Essenes were an offshoot of the Egyptian Therapeutæ, and that this

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fact supplies a date at which the Alexandrian Gnosis was transplanted to Palestine. He cites Neander as also opposed to Gfrörer's view. Neander (Vol. I, p. 61) has the following:

> The features of the resemblance between these societies, as well in the form of their association as in the circumstance of their repudiating slavery, as a thing contrary to nature, are yet by no means such as to warrant the theory of an outward connection. Analogous tendencies of the Jewish mind in Palestine, and of the Jewish-Alexandrian mind in Egypt, might have easily produced two such mystic fraternities, independently of one another, with a form adapted to the different countries.

A quotation by Gfrörer from a Karaite author, is examined by Tholuck, and is alleged as supplying no proof that what was introduced into Palestine from Egypt by a Rabbi, who had been banished from Palestine, was the *metaphysical speculations* of Alexandrian Jews.

Again, Philo's Logos and John's are very unlike. Philo (Paris ed., 1640), "De Mundi Opificio," p. 6, C, represents the Logos of God, "invisible and intelligible," as εἰκόνα θεοῦ (image of God). In the "De Profugis," p. 464, he calls the Logos σοφίας πηγὴ (fountain of wisdom). In the same treatise, p. 466, B., he calls him ἀρχιερεύς (high priest): "This is what we affirm, that by high priest is not meant *man*, but the divine Logos, who is without sin, both voluntary and involuntary." In the same place he calls God the πάπηρ (father) of the Logos. In the "Confusione Linguarum," p. 329, C, Philo calls the Logos πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν (eldest son), and πρωτόγονον (first begotten); p. 341, B, τόν ἄγγελον πρεσβύτατον (eldest angel); ἀρχάγγελον πολυώνυμον (arch-angel of many names); p. 341, C, ἄϊδιος εἰκών (eternal image). In the treatise "De Agricultura," p. 195, B, the Logos is called μεγάλου βασιλέως ὕπαρχος (the under-commander, or viceroy of the great King.) In "De Cherubim," p. 129, C, the Logos is the ὄργανος (instrument) by which the world was made. In an English translation of Fragments of Philo's Writings found in Eusebius, the Logos is called "second God." In the "De Somniis," p. 599, C, Philo represents the Logos as θεός (God), but insists that there is only one true God, the expression of which requires the Article, while as he also teaches, θεός, when applied to the Logos must be without the Article. In brief, Philo, as Meyer and others hold, makes the Logos not a person at all, but "the sum of the divine attributes." Philo's Logos, more briefly, is "image of God," "fountain of wisdom," "high priest," "son," "eldest son," "first begotten," "eldest angel," "arch-angel of many names," "eternal image," "sub com-

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mander," "organ" (*i. e.*, instrument), "second God," "God," not "the God." Philo's Logos never becomes flesh. "No one," says Mr. Wescott ("Int. to the Study of the Gospels," p. 267) "had dared to form such a sentence as that which, with almost awful simplicity, declares the central fact of redemption, in connection with time and eternity, with action and with being, '*The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.*'" It must be added that Philo is not consistent with himself. In the "Legis Allegoriarum," p. 52, B, allegorizing, according to his custom, he says: "that the river which flows out of Eden to water the paradise, is generic goodness; this flows out from the *wisdom of God*," and this wisdom of God he affirms to be the Logos of God. But in "De Profugis," p. 466, B, he makes *σοφία* (wisdom) the mother of the Logos. On one page wisdom and the Logos are identical, and on another the Logos is the *daughter* of wisdom. Philo's view of the Logos is complex and confused; John's is simple and clear. If Philo does not vacillate between personality and impersonality, he does vacillate between representations which are quite as inconsistent. John never contradicts himself. His view of the Logos is a marvel of unity and condensation. It is light from the beginning to the end. It is music caught up from eternity and poured grandly forth, as from a single instrument, upon the darkness of the world's night, while Philo, living in the earlier half of the same age, makes discord with his many-voiced philosophy. John no more took the music of the Prologue from Philo than Luther took his majestic Old Hundred from the clangerous notes of the old German barbarians.

If John was not indebted to Philo for his doctrine of the Logos, was he indebted to the Targums? Here the writer is under the necessity of relying upon quotations made by others. Says Tholuck: "The Chaldea paraphrasts never speak of God as operating immediately, but constantly represent him as acting through the mediation of the מֵימְרָא or דִבּוּר the word of God. In them we have (Gen. iii. 8; Deut. iv. 12), 'The voice of the *word* of God spake.' Gen. xlix. 18 the Jerusalem Targum translates: "I wait not for liberation through Samson or Gideon, but for salvation through thy word." Jonathan, in particular, in place of the מֵימְרָא frequently employs the term Shekinah, 'the habitation of the splendor, the glory;' corresponding to the 'glory' in which God revealed himself under the Old Testament (cf. the Septuagint, Deut. xii. 8, and see 2 Peter i. 17). The Memra is also employed in a sense parallel with the angel of the Lord. (Judges xi, seq.)" Prof. Stuart (Bib. Sac., Jan. 1850) speaks as follows:

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In Ex. xix. 17, the Hebrew runs thus: "And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to *meet with God*;" in the Targum, "To meet with *the word of the Lord*." Ps. ii. 4 (Heb.): "The Lord shall have them in derision," in the Targum, "*The word of the Lord* shall deride them." Gen. xxxix. 2 (Heb.): "The Lord was with Joseph;" Targum: "The *word* of the Lord was with Joseph."

That these and kindred forms of expression are proof that the Targumists believed in a personality distinct from that of the Supreme Jehovah, and mediating in the affairs of men, is extremely doubtful. Rhetorical personification may be all that was intended. Prof. D. S. Talcott, in an article on the Word, in the American edition of "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," says:

> Most, if not all the passages in which the expressions above cited [מֵימְרָא דַיְיָ, *Mêmrâ da-Yêyâ* (sometimes דִּבּוּרָא, Dibbûrâ), "*the word of Jehovah*"] occur, may be expressed by a reference to the principle suggested on p. 3404 *b* of this work (comp. pp. 3406 *b*, 3418 *a*), namely, the repugnance of the writers to bring the Divine Being into too close contact, as it were, with men.

The Targumists, according to others, must have used Memra (word of God) to denote a person, but it is admitted that they have nothing to say of an *incarnated* Memra. Of course it is possible that John knew something of the teachings of the Paraphrasts, but there is no evidence that he did; and in any case it is entirely unnecessary to suppose that he drew from them any part of his Logos doctrine.

In a discussion of this kind we ought to make careful examination of the apocryphal books, yet little else can now be done than to refer to the principal passages which bear upon the question before us: The Book of Wisdom vii. 22–30; ix. 1; xviii. 15, 16 (the last very striking); Baruch iii. 37, 38; Ecclesiasticus i. 1–10; xxiv. 5–47. With respect to these and many other similar passages in which is a description of wisdom (in one case, of the "almighty logos") the question is whether the writers are indulging in mere rhetorical personification, or whether they intend to teach the existence of an actual person; if the latter, whether they mean the supreme Jehovah or a being distinct from him. Opinions are divided. Though the evidence is wanting that John had read the Apocrypha, yet there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that writing his Gospel in Ephesus, between which and Alexandria there was considerable communication, he knew by report something of the beautiful descriptions of wisdom which they contained. Even if it be admitted that

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it was the intention to represent wisdom as a person, distinct from Jehovah, the doctrine of the Logos as taught by John is not to be found in any part of the Apocrypha.

Shall we find it then, it must be asked finally, in the Old Testament? This has never been pretended. In Proverbs, indeed, we also have beautiful descriptions of wisdom. See especially i. 20–33; viii. 1–9, 12. Chap. viii. 22–31 is as follows in the translation given by Prof. E. P. Barrows in the *Bib. Sac.*, 1858, p. 364:

> Jehovah possessed me (or, obtained me) as the beginning of his way, before his works, of old. From everlasting was I founded, from the beginning, before the earth was. When there were no deeps I was born; when there were no fountains laden with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I born; when he had not yet made the earth and the fields and the first of the clods of the world. When he prepared the heavens, there was I; when he set a circuit upon the face of the deep; when he established the clouds above; where the fountains of the deep were made strong; when he appointed to the sea its limit, that the waters should not pass its border (or, his command). And I was at his side as one brought up by him (or, as an artificer); and I was daily a delight [to him]; exulting before him all the time; exulting in the habitable abode of his earth; and my delight was with the sons of men.

As Prof. Barrows has said, the lowest view of this passage "is that which takes the term *wisdom* simply as a *poetic personification* of the lessons which are perpetually inculcated on man as well by the order of nature as by the course of divine providence, * * * and in sharp contrast with this view is the opposite extreme, which understands wisdom throughout these passages, directly and simply, of our Lord Jesus Christ in his personal presence and ministry." This latter, we are reminded, is the opinion of Dr. Gill. "In finding Christ in these passages," says Prof. Barrows, "Dr. Gill is right, but in finding in them only 'the personal ministry of Christ in the days of his flesh,' he is manifestly wrong." The reviewer rejects the theory of poetic personification, and holds that wisdom in Proverbs is the eternal Word himself, always present with his church, both before and since his incarnation, as the centre and source of her spiritual light and life." That the writer of Proverbs intended merely to *personify* wisdom seems to be more probable, yet it may be admitted that this very personification, taken in connection with the numerous representations of the Old Testament generally (Gen. i. "God *said*;" Psalm xxxiii. 6), that God accomplished his purposes in

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nature and among men by his word, prepared devout Jews for the sublime doctrine of John.

Our conclusion then, is this, that John was not indebted to Philo, or to the Targumists, or to the Apocrypha, or to Proverbs, or to any other part of the Old Testament for the Logos doctrine, for in not one of these quarters is the doctrine to be found; but that the term itself, which clearly was not *coined* by the evangelists, was already in existence, and therefore was not drawn directly and consciously from the Gnosticism of Alexandria. As *logos* had come to be well known, partly through the Septuagint and partly through Philo, John deemed it a suitable word for the expression of his views. But whence the doctrine? This we believe to have been suggested by the Old Testament, and to have been drawn directly in part from the teachings of Christ, and in part from what John saw of Christ himself. The illuminating influence of the Holy Spirit must, of course, be pre-supposed. That Jesus called himself the Logos is more than can be shown, but the Logos *idea* was clearly taught. The description found in the Prologue is to be found, also, in a scattered form in the body of the Gospel. In the Prologue John says: "In the beginning was the Word;" and Jesus himself had said, "Before Abraham became I am." John says, "And the Word was with God;" and Jesus himself had said, "With the glory which I had with thee before the world was." John says: "And the Word was God;" and Jesus had said: "I and my Father are one." John says: "All things were made by him;" and Jesus had said: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." John says: "In him was life;" and Jesus himself had said: "I am the bread of life." John says: "And the life was the light of men;" and Jesus had already said: "I am the light of the world." John, still speaking in the Prologue, says: "And the light shineth in darkness;" and Jesus had said, "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness." John says: "And the darkness comprehended it not;" and Jesus had said: "Men loved darkness rather than light." Thus it appears that instead of weaving out of his own intellect that sublime description of the pre-existing Son of God which we find in his Prologue, John took the thoughts and almost the very words from the Saviour himself. He arranged the thoughts; he gave them a compacter form; he threw over the whole a rich, truthful coloring, drawn from what has been called his *experience* of the Logos doctrine, and so we have the most unique composition and the most profound thought to be found in human language.

N. M. Williams.

Wickford R. I.

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THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

The Assyrian Eponym Canon; containing Translations of the Documents, and an Account of the Evidence, on the Comparative Chronology of the Assyrian and Jewish Kingdoms, from the Death of Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar. By GEORGE SMITH. London, [1875.]

EXACTLY two thousand five hundred years have passed since the grave of the Assyrian empire was dug at the capture of Nineveh. The earth covered it. Gigantic mounds, the fit tombs of imperial cities, revealed to the passing traveler no traces of departed greatness. Never were the records of a vast empire, of a long series of illustrious monarchs, and of six centuries of brilliant conquest, consigned to a more dense oblivion: never did a high civilization, an extensive literature, sculptures so noble, palaces so magnificent, pass away and leave so few, even ruined remains, to tell the story of national aspirations and of splendid achievements. The slender materials which composed the stock of our knowledge a single generation ago, did not suffice to restore the bare outline of Assyrian history. Beyond the incidental notices occurring in the Hebrew Scriptures, at points where the histories of the two nations intersected each other, there was but little authentic information to be gleaned from any source. The scanty statements of Greek and Roman writers, including as these did quotations from Babylonian sources, were unfortunately contradictory to such a degree, that their reconciliation was long ago abandoned as a hopeless task.

Until quite recently this was the extent of our Assyrian knowledge. Even the site of the renowned metropolis was not known with certainty. Local tradition placed it on the eastern bank of the

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Tigris, in the region opposite Mosul; and at this place the first successful efforts were made to dissipate the darkness that had so long enveloped Assyrian history. Excavations, begun by M. Botta, in 1842, and Mr. Layard, in 1845, led at once to a series of brilliant discoveries. The site of the ancient Nineveh, that "exceeding great city," was fixed at last with precision; its architectural remains, splendid even in their ruins, were unveiled to the gaze of a wondering world; the names and deeds of its conquering kings, which had gone like dreams of the night, like dreams came back from their long oblivion, into the glare and tumult of the present day.

After centuries of wild conjecture, the first real clew to the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was furnished by Dr. G. F. Grotefend, in 1802. There was no Rosetta stone to facilitate the recovery of the unknown languages hidden beneath these mysterious inscriptions. Not even a cartouch indicated, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the presence of a royal name. With incredible patience and ingenuity, Grotefend discovered and proved that certain combinations of wedges in the Persepolitan inscriptions stood for "Xerxes, [the son of] Darius, the Achæmenid." The clew thus given was followed up by other scholars, French and English, notably by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who published, in 1851, his great work on the trilingual Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspes. One of the languages contained in this inscription proved to be Semitic, and was conjectured to belong to the ancient Assyrians. This conjecture was abundantly verified in the almost simultaneous publications by Botta and by Layard of the inscriptions recovered from the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik mounds. These startling discoveries, following each other in providential order, placed in the hands of scholars a vast amount of new material with which to reconstruct the histories of the illustrious monarchies that rose and fell upon the plains of Shinar. Jeremiah's designation of the Chaldæans as "a mighty nation . . . an ancient nation,[1]" is justified by the inscriptions. As early as the twenty-first century B. C. Chaldæa conceived the sublime idea of a universal empire, and by a bold career of conquest established her dominion from the waters of the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea.[2] Assyria, too, has arisen from the grave to tell the story of her former greatness, while the histories of Babylon, of Media, and of Persia, have been supplemented by fresh and authentic materials, and established on firmer bases.

While the work of reconstructing the history of Western Asia was

[1] Jer v. 15.

[2] Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies. 3d Ed., Vol. I, p. 177.

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in progress, much difficulty was experienced, for a time, in devising a satisfactory arrangement of the chronological data furnished by the inscriptions. In the absence of a key to the peculiar chronological system of the Assyrians, some inexactness and uncertainty in the placing of events were unavoidable. A chronological scheme, approximately correct, was, indeed, derivable from the inscriptions themselves, but the degree of its correctness remained a mooted question. All attempts to eliminate uncertainties by comparison with the statements of Jewish, Chaldæan, or Greek writers, failed to give satisfactory results; the difficulty remained, and could be removed only by future discovery.

In 1862, Sir Henry Rawlinson announced an important Assyrian discovery.[1] During his early examination of the inscriptions in the British Museum, he found fragments of clay tablets, containing apparently only lists of Assyrian names. Their significance was not comprehended, and, after considerable fruitless labor spent on them, they were laid aside for more promising material. Subsequently his attention was called to these lists again, and this time with most unexpected results. The names proved to be those of annual Assyrian functionaries, or archons, whose archonships served to fix the dates of contemporaneous events. Here then was the document by means of which exactness might be introduced into the perplexing uncertainties of Assyrian chronology. The value of this discovery cannot well be over-estimated. This list of annual functionaries, which has by general consent been called the eponym canon, does for Assyrian chronology what the celebrated Parian Chronicle claims to do for early Greece. The latter, deciphered and published by John Selden, in his *Marmoria Arundelliana*, 1629, professes to give a tabular statement of the leading events in Greece, between B. C. 1582, and B. C. 264; its authority has been as warmly vindicated as it has been assailed. The former, a presumptively accurate state document, furnishes a key to the Assyrian chronological system for a space of above two hundred and fifty years, and covers the most important period of the empire. The honor of its discovery, usually given to Sir H. Rawlinson, has been disputed by the late Dr. Hincks,[2] and by Prof. Jules Oppert, of Paris.[3] The priority of publication undoubtedly belongs to Sir H. Rawlinson.

The aid of the canon in adjusting the dates obtained from the inscriptions would remove, it was thought, many difficulties which had

[1] Cf. Athenæum, May 31, 1862. No. 1805.
[2] Cf. Athenæum, July 5, and July 19, 1862. Nos. 1810 and 1812.
[3] Inscriptions des Sargonides, p. 15.

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embarrassed the construction of an exact chronological scheme. In respect to Assyrian history this anticipation has been fully realized. We possess now an accurate Assyrian chronology, extending from the tenth century before the Christian era almost to the overthrow of the empire. Compared with contemporaneous Jewish history, it begins shortly after the death of Solomon, stretches beyond the duration of the kingdom of Israel, and terminates about seventy years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. We find ourselves accordingly in possession of two independent, exact, and complete chronological schemes, the one obtained from the cuneiform inscriptions, the other from the Hebrew Scriptures. It might be supposed that these schemes ought to agree reasonably well, provided a point of departure, common to both, could be fixed from which to run the comparison. Such a synchronism is found in the capture and destruction of Samaria; but instead of plain sailing from this point we find ourselves, whether advancing or receding, obstructed by almost impassable difficulties. The two schemes do not synchronize throughout. As they recede from their common point, the fall of Samaria, they differ by a constantly increasing quantity, until, in the reign of Ahab, the Hebrew scheme is nearly fifty years ahead of the Assyrian in dating apparently the same event.

The publication of the eponym canon created in this manner graver difficulties than it contributed in removing. Such glaring discrepancies kindled at once the zeal of chronologists. A vigorous attack on the problem was begun by eminent scholars in England and on the continent, but without signal success.[1] Some have been compelled to pronounce all attempts at reconciliation futile; others, by a series of hypotheses more or less ingenious have contrived at least plausible adjustments of the divergent schemes. No solution yet proposed has received more than limited acceptance.

At this stage of the discussion Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, has rendered timely service by a republication of the canon

[1] Among the scholars who have discussed the question of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology within a few years may be mentioned Sir H. Rawlinson, at intervals in the *Athenæum;* Rev. D. H. Haigh in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1871; J. Bosanquet, Esq., in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1865; and in the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, 1874; Oppert in *Revue Archéologique*, 1868, and in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* Bd. 23, H. 1, 1869; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 1869; Lepsius in the *Abhandlungen d. Berl. Akad*, 1870; S. Sharpe, *Chronology of the Bible;* H. Brandes, *Abhandl. zur Geschichte des Orients*, 1874; Rev. A. H. Sayce and Dr. E. Schrader in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1871; Schrader in *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. 25, H. 3. Schrader's scholarly work *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1872, deals largely with the problems which arise in a comparison of Jewish with Assyrian chronology; G. Rösch in Stud. u. Krit, H. 1, 1876.

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side by side with the monumental evidence germane to the question at issue. Happily the work has fallen into competent hands. That extensive and critical scholarship which distinguishes the rising school of Assyriologists—Rev. A. H. Sayce, of Oxford, and Dr. Eberdard Schrader, of Giessen, for instance—Mr. Smith does not possess; but the marvelous facility with which he deciphers the fragmentary, and, at times, nearly effaced cuneiform inscriptions, places him as an interpreter fairly without a rival. Mr. Smith aims in the present volume to lay before students of Assyrian history not only the evidence with which they may test the validity of his own conclusions, and those of others, but also the necessary material with which any one sufficiently interested may investigate the problem for himself. In pursuance of this aim, an intimate and extensive acquaintance with the Assyrian texts is a prime requisite, and no one possesses this in a higher degree than Mr. Smith. With great labor he has examined the entire British collection of inscriptions, and gleaned and translated "every date and circumstance likely to be of use in these chronological inquiries."[1] Extracts from "more than three hundred Assyrian documents" are given, including a number of new and important texts.[2]

It is not proposed in the present article to enter upon a discussion of the merits or demerits of the various theories advanced by chronologists for the removal of the discrepancies which appear on comparing the dates furnished by the Jewish chronicles with those given in the cuneiform inscriptions. Rather let us confine our attention to a delineation of the nature, import, and scope of the eponym canon, and to an examination of its bearing upon the present chronological controversy.

The earliest reference to Assyrian history occurs in Gen. x. 11, where it is stated (if this interpretation be correct) that Nimrod proceeded out of the land of Shinar, or Babylon, into the land of Asshur, and there builded Nineveh. It is probable that Assyria remained for several centuries a province of Babylon, to which it was closely related both in its origin and in its subsequent history. How long Assyria remained under Babylonian viceroys cannot at present be determined with certainty. According to Smith, Assyria had thrown off the foreign yoke by the middle of the nineteenth century B. C., when Ismi Dagan's name appeared in the list of native kings.[3] Rawlinson places the beginning of Assyrian independence considerably

[1] The Assyrian Canon, p. vii.
[2] Ibid, p. viii.
[3] Assyrian Discoveries, pp. 91, 445. Anc. Hist. from the Monuments: Assyria, pp. 6, 22.

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later, and, with Schrader,[1] makes Ismi Dagan a Chaldæan king, holding sway in Assyria.[2] In a genealogical tablet of Vul-nirari III, B. C. 812, Bel-kap-kapu, read by Mr. Sayce Bel-sumili-capi, is designated as the founder of the monarchy, but his date is uncertain.[3] Beyond a few "shadows of mighty names" the history of Assyria is almost a blank until the middle of the fourteenth century B. C. Under Budil, about B. C. 1350, a career of conquest began, which was not checked till a hundred years later by the ascendant power of the rival Babylonian kingdom. During another century the spirit of conquest slumbered, until Assur-risilim, about B. C. 1150, undertook the subjugation of the revolted provinces. With his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser I, Assyria achieved an undisputed supremacy from Lower Mesopotamia to the Mediteranean Sea. From this time forth, until the final decay of the empire and the overthrow of Nineveh,[4] the history of Assyria is one of alternating eclipse and splendor. Intervals of decline and disorganization, occasioned by the defection of the heterogeneous elements acquired by conquest, but never fused into a homogeneous monarchy, are followed by intervals of recuperative energy, fierce struggles with rival kingdoms, extensive conquests, and a show of great magnificence and luxury.

While it is true that only a part of the duration of the empire, as just sketched, is covered by the eponym canon, yet, fortunately, its two hundred and seventy canonical years cover the part most important to the student of Assyrian history. The canon is the foundation of the Assyrian chronological system. Both the Assyrians and the Babylonians lacked such a fixed era from which to number their years as the first Olympiad, the hegira of Mohammed, or the nativity of Christ. They were compelled, therefore, to devise a wholly different basis for their calendar. They adopted the plan of reckoning by eponyms, a series of annual functionaries, who gave their names to the years in which they officiated. Not only was this method employed in dating historical documents, but in all the transactions of business as well.[5] The Assyrian word *limu*, commonly

[1] Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften, p. 135.

[2] Anc. Mon., Vol. 1, p. 352.

[3] Records of the Past, Vol. I, p. 4.

[4] The date of the destruction of Nineveh is a disputed point. That adopted by Mr. Smith, from evidence given by the inscriptions, is B. C. 607, and this agrees closely with the chronology of Herodotus, who, apparently, assigns this event to the year B. C. 603. Rev. Geo. Rawlinson, on the contrary, follows Berosus and the canon of Ptolemy, and places the fall of the Assyrian capital in the year B. C. 625, or 624. (Cf. Anc. Monarchies, Vol. II, p. 234.)

[5] The following contract tablets of the seventh century B. C. illustrate, beside the manner of dating documents, the exaction of interest, and the traffic in slaves.

"Ten shekels of the best silver, (being) chains for Istar of Nineveh, which Billu-baladh, in

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translated *eponym*, signifies "appertaining to"; thus *limu Bel-emur-a-ni salat 'ir Gargamis.* "[The year] appertaining to Bel-emur-a-ni, governor of Carchemish."[1] The line of officials to whom the honor of being eponym was assigned numbered about thirty. The king naturally claimed precedence. Following him in the order of rank came the *tartan*,[2] commander-in-chief of the army; the *niru-ekali*, chief the palace, and minister of state; the *rabbitur*, Pontifex Maximus of the Assyrian religion; and the *tukulu*, a military officer, possibly chief of the king's body-guard.[3] After these came in regular rotation the governors of the chief cities of the empire—Asshur (Kalah-Shergat), the ancient capital; Rezeph, Nisibin, etc. This rotation was maintained with some degree of order until the time of Sargon, after which irregularities became greater and more frequent. Sennacherib, his son, and the last of the royal eponyms, did not enter upon his eponymy until the eighteenth year of his reign. Subsequent monarchs surrendered the honor to other officials of the empire.

As to the manner of designating the eponym for his office, little is known with certainty. Mr. Smith finds intimations of his being "appointed," or "nominated." The propriety of some such measure is obvious. With the ancient restricted facilities for communication, it was clearly necessary that a civil appointment of such importance as the eponym should be announced so early as to give his name time to circulate to the remotest limits of the empire before the beginning of the year for which he was appointed. The expediency of an early appointment is illustrated in a tablet dated "in the eponymy *after* Nabu-sar-uzur, governor of Marquasi," which shows clearly that at the time of writing the inscriber had not yet learned the name of the eponym then officiating. Nor is it definitely known at what season of the year the eponym entered upon the functions of his office. An inscription of Sargon, referred to by Mr. Smith, indicates that the

the presence of Manu-ci-Arbela [here follow three seals], has lent on a loan; the silver is to have interest paid upon it at 4 per cent. On the third day of the month the silver has been given. (Dated) third day of the month Sebat, during the eponymy of Rimmon-sallim-ani. The witnesses (were)," etc.

"The seal of Ebed-Istar, the master of the men. The giving up of Hoshea, his two wives Mib'sa (and) Badia, 'Sigaba, Bel-kharran-cunucci, (and) his two daughters, in all seven persons, slaves, whom Ebed-Istar has sold; and 'Simadi for three manehs of silver has taken. The whole sum hast thou given. The exchange (and) the contract are finished: (there is) no withdrawal. The witnesses (are) Bel-nuri the *priest*, Amyatehu, 'Sangi, Kat-i'sa, (and) 'Sidur. The month Tisri; the Eponymy of Danau." Records of the Past, pp. 138-9.

[1] Die Keilin. u. d. A. T., 194, n.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xx. 1.

[3] Eponym Canon, p. 24.

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transfer from one to another occurred either on the first day of the twelfth month, Adar, or on the first day of the first month of the Assyrian year.[1] The latter alternative, making the beginning of each eponymy coincident with the new year, is in all likelihood correct.

In a number of instances an eponym gave his name to a year a second time. The case of Yahalu, who seems to have held the office three times, is remarkable. His name appears the first time in B. C. 834 as governor of an eponym city; again in B. C. 825 he follows the second eponymy of Shalmanezer II, and ranks as chief of the palace; after the accession of Samsi-vul IV, which possibly occurred during Yahalu's second eponymy, he appears to have been appointed *tartan*, and in this capacity serves a third term B. C. 822. Whenever the office was held more than once, the fact was carefully noted in the documents. We find, *e. g.*, an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II, dated, ". . . 8th day, eponym Bel-daan, in his second eponymy."

Before the time of Shalmanezer IV, B. C. 727, it was usual for the king to enter upon his own eponymy as soon as the nature of the case permitted. We have reason to believe that this was not until the expiration of one complete year in addition to the fragment belonging to the year of accession. This fragment, between the day of accession and the next new year's day, is called in the inscriptions "the beginning of the reign." The year immediately following is usually called "the first year of the reign." At the expiration of "the first year of the reign" the king entered upon his own eponymy. This receives illustration in several places, *e. g.*, in the great inscription of Assur-nazir-pal, where the following successive dates accur:

"In the beginning of my reign, in my first year," that is, B. C. 885.
"In the next eponymy, in the month Ab," " " 884.
"In the eponymy called after my own name," " " 883.

In treating of the Assyrian canon we must distinguish between its two component parts—the eponym canon proper, of which we have already spoken, and the so-called historical canon which supplements the former by references to synchronous Assyrian history. The historical canon, lithographed in the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of W. Asia," Vol. II, p. 52, is written on both sides of a clay tablet found among the inscriptions brought by Layard from Nineveh. Its sig-

[1] The Aramaic calendar, derived from the ancient Accadians, was adopted both by the Jews and by the Assyrians. The year, beginning normally with the vernal equinox, was divided nto twelve lunar months of thirty days each, having nearly the same names as in Hebrew The difference between twelve lunar months, and a year of three hundred and sixty five days, made it necessary, not unfrequently, to intercalate a second twelfth month, a Ve-Adar. "At the end of certain cycles there were also a second Nisan and a second Elul." (Sayce's Assyr. Gram. for Comparative Purposes, p. 140.)

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nificance was first divined by Mr. Smith.[1] As in the former canon, so in the latter, we have a list of epomyms. The adjustment of the one to the other is therefore an easy matter. The historical canon designates the rank of each eponym, gives in the case of municipal governors the names of the cities in which they acted, and records the most notable events of each year. Thus for B. C. 765 we read: "In the eponymy of Ninip-mukin-nisi, governor of Kirruri, expedition to Hataraki, pestilence." Again for B. C. 763: "In the eponymy of Esdu-sarabe, governor of Guzana, revolt in city of Asshur, in month Sivan, sun was eclipsed." It is evident that a trustworthy record of memorable events, such as we find in the historical canon, must be of inestimable value for determining the precise dates of the extensive military expeditions mentioned in the inscriptions either without date, or referred simply to a regnal year of the king to whom the campaign is asssigned.

The value of the canon does not terminate with the verbal statements contained in it. A glance reveals the existence of a number of well-marked straight lines drawn by the writer across the clay tablet at irregular intervals. A closer scrutiny shows that in the various copies of the canon these lines occur at almost invariably the same places. Clearly they indicate a purpose. Upon further examination we discover that, with one exception, these lines precede either a royal name, or the name of an eponym during whose term of office a change took place in the regency. The exception is noteworthy. The eponymy of Esdu-sarabe, B. C. 763, near the middle of the reign of Assur-daan, where no break occurs in the regular succession of eponyms, is marked in the historical canon by a heavy line drawn across the tablet. An explanation is found doubtless in the accompanying statement: "In the month Sivan the sun was eclipsed." A total eclipse like that of B. C. 763 was, not improbably, the most memorable event of the year, and worthy of the special prominence accorded to it in the canon.

Having explained the exception, we ask ourselves at once, what is the normal use of these lines found in both the eponym and the historical canons? Rawlinson, Oppert and others, have maintained that the space between two successive lines indicated the duration of the

[1] In the "Assyrian Discoveries," pp. 11, 12, Amer. Ed., Mr. Smith claims the honor of its discovery. "My next discovery," he says, "related to a tablet, . . . called a tablet of distribution of officers. This tablet I found to be a canon of Assyrian history, and ascertained that the eclipse mentioned in it corresponded with the one mentioned in 'L'Art de vérifier les dates' for 15th June B. C. 763. On pointing out my evidence to Sir Henry Rawlinson, he remembered an historical fragment which corresponded with this tablet, and by fitting it into the tablet he completed and proved the discovery."

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corresponding reign. Schrader, on the other hand, contends that to give the lines a signification other than the accession of a new king (Regentenwechsel) is manifestly wrong.[1] If now the different copies of the two canons be arranged side by side in chronological order, and compared with each other, it becomes apparent at once that neither of these assumptions is warranted by the facts in the case. True, there are four instances where a line in one or both canons is followed immediately by a statement that the king ascended the throne. On the other hand there are five instances where the year of accession is either not marked at all, or marked in some copies and not in others. Moreover, in five instances a line marks a royal eponymy, where we know either from the canon itself or from contemporaneous inscriptions, that the year of accession was anterior to the year of the eponymy. Take the case of Assur-nazir-pal, whose name in the canon stands next below a line, and it is clear from the dates already quoted on page 148 that it cannot possibly denote his accession to the throne. That a line immediately preceding a royal name in the eponym canon does not indicate the year of accession, but the king's eponymy, is corroborated by the fact that not an instance can be cited where the year of accession, so designated in the canon, is also the year of a royal eponymy. Wherever the canon distinctly asserts that a king ascended the throne in a given year, this statement invariably precedes his own eponymy by two or more years. This harmonizes perfectly with the assumption that the eponym was appointed a full year before the beginning of his term; and it explains why the king could not enter upon his eponymy until the second new year's day after his accession,[2] as in point of fact he never did. We conclude, therefore, that the utmost any one can say respecting these lines is that they are used simply by way of emphasis, calling the reader's attention to the name, or declaration immediately following.

There are, as already intimated, several copies of each of the canons. Sir Henry Rawlinson distinguishes four of the eponym canon which he designates I, II, III, and IV. The historical canon and its fragments are numbered V, VI, and VII. Each of these copies is sadly mutilated. Numbers I and V are the most complete. Fortunately the different copies in good measure supplement each other's deficiencies, so that by combining them all a canon may be constructed with only a few interruptions in the line of eponyms. The names corresponding to the years B. C. 657, 658, 893–897 and

[1] Studien und Kritiken. 1871, p. 685.
[2] The Assyrian Canon, p. 23.

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910, are missing. Ten names are in part effaced. Three names of eponyms who officiated between B. C. 911 and B. C. 1120, are read on broken obelisks. Three more Inai-liya-allik, B. C. 1120, Musipsi, B. C. 1310, and Salmanu-urris, B. C. 1330, are procured from early inscriptions. The eponymy of Salmanu-urris is the earliest known, yet there is ground for believing that this method of reckoning obtained at least seven centuries earlier, *i. e.*, before B. C. 2000. At its nearer extremity the canon terminates with the name of Ahi-ilai, B. C. 647. The names of thirty subsequent eponyms are read in the inscriptions, but their dates cannot be fixed with certainty. This leaves two hundred and sixty eponyms whose names, dates, and titles for the most part, are determined by the canon.

In constructing chronological schemes for times very remote, we are rarely able to fix our dates with more than approximate correctness. The history of Assyria is peculiar, however; for here, owing to the nature and the abundance of the materials placed in our hands, it is possible to arrange a chronological scheme with an unusual degree of exactness. It is true that for the period of Assyrian history anterior to the canon we must still content ourselves with approximations more or less close; nevertheless, in adjusting the dates of transactions which took place in the dim antiquity of ten to twenty centuries before the Christian era, we may accept without uneasiness approximations so near the truth as we believe those of early Assyrian history to be. Since the eponym canon is our chief dependence for securing accuracy in the later chronology of the great Assyrian empire, it may not be amiss to inquire into its reliableness. Is it a document worthy of implicit confidence? Are there any means by which its truthfulness may be brought to the test? The evidence in favor of its accuracy may be classified as astronomical, derived from the notice of an eclipse in the canon; monumental, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions; and historical, derived from the works of ancient writers containing incidental references to Assyrian affairs. This evidence we believe to be ample enough to remove all reasonable doubts.

The eclipse recorded in the eponymy of Esdu-sarabe has already been referred to. Its importance is indicated by the line drawn across the tablet. The insertion of this notice into the canon seems to have been prompted by an almost inspired prevision of the use to be made of such a fact by subsequent ages in vindicating the accuracy of the canon; for accuracy in this particular furnishes a strong presumption of accuracy in other particulars. We quote from Sir Henry Rawlinson's letter to the "Athenæum," No. 2064, May 18th, 1867, a statement with reference to this eclipse. He says:

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Here then we have a notice of a solar eclipse which was visible at Nineveh, which occurred within ninety days of the equinox (taking that as the normal commencement of the year), and which we may presume to have been total from the prominence given to the record; and these are conditions which a century before and after the commencement of the era of Nabonassar, are alone fulfilled by the eclipse which took place on the fifteenth of June, B. C. 763. I believe, indeed, that astronomers will entertain no doubt whatever of the identity of this eclipse of June, B. C. 763, which commenced before noon, which was total, and which was visible over all Western Asia, with that recorded in the cuneiform tablet; and, if that be so, we have then a mathematical pivot upon which the whole scheme of the canon can be made to turn; for we can count the lines without a single fault for one hundred and forty-six years before the eclipse, and for ninety-seven years after the eclipse, and can thus determine positively within that interval the date of any leading event in Assyrian history.

This eclipse furnishes, as we see, an infallible point of contact between the Assyrian method of reckoning time and the Gregorian calendar, thus making the transition from one to the other, for any previous or subsequent year, a matter of ease and certainty.

The monumental evidence does not, like the astronomical, substantiate the canon in point of absolute time, but restricts itself rather to an exhibition of the harmony subsisting between the dates given by the canon and the dates given by the inscriptions relatively to each other. The line of Assyrian kings, in so far as their names have been obtained from the records, corresponds accurately with a similar list obtained from the canon. For the reigns of Shalmanezer III, B. C. 783, and Assur-daan III, B. C. 773, we are compelled to rely wholly upon the evidence of the canon, since no inscriptions dated during these reigns have been found.[1] In the list of eponyms there are, in like manner, many names that would be wholly unknown, were we to depend on the inscriptions alone; nevertheless wherever the name of an eponym is found in the inscriptions, it occurs in such a place as to confirm the accuracy of the canon. Even where a date is found to be in conflict with the canon, another inscription may be at hand to prove the former inscription wrong and the canon right. An illustration occurs in the Black Obelisk inscription of Shalmanezer II, where the fourth year of his reign is assigned to the eponymy of Dayan-assur, whereas the canon places the eponymy of Dayan-assur in the sixth year of his reign. In the Kurkh monolith, an earlier and more reliable inscription, we see his fourth year placed in the eponymy of Assur-banai-uzur and the canon justified. Additional

[1] The Assyrian Canon, p. 83.

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evidence in its favor is deduced from the fact that military campaigns ascribed to certain reigns are narrated in contemporaneous inscriptions as following each other in canonical order. The nature and force of the monumental evidence can be seen most readily by placing a few extracts from the canon by the side of corroboratory extracts from the inscriptions. We select for this purpose the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser II, and Sennacherib.

REIGN OF TIGLATH-PILESER II.

THE ASSYRIAN CANON.	THE INSCRIPTIONS.
B. C.	
745. Nabu-bel-usur, governor of Arbaba. In the month Iyyar 13th day Tiglath-Pileser the throne ascended. In the month Tisri to the vicinity of the river he marched.	5. From the beginning of my reign to my seventeenth year. *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 254. 6. . . . , the Aramæans, all of them who are beside 7. the rivers of Tigris, Euphrates, and Surappu, 8. to the midst of the river Ukni. 9. . . . 9,000 men . . . thousand 500 oxen. . . 10. I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned. *Ib.*, p. 266.
744. Bel-daan, governor of Calah, expedition to Zimri.	29. The countries of Zimri, Bit-sangibuti, etc., etc. 32. the whole of them in hostility I overwhelmed. *Ib.*, p. 260.
743–740. Expeditions to Arpad [in Syria].	12. The tribute 13 of Kustaspi of Kummuhu, Rezon of Syria, . . Hiram 14. of Tyre, Uriakki of Que. 15. Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarhulara of Gangama, ... gold, silver, lead, 16. iron, skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes, blue . . . black . . . clothing of wool, and linen, the production of the countries, numerous. 17. instruments and weapons in the midst of the city of Arpad I received. *Ib.*, p. 274.
739. Sin-taggil, the tukulu, expedition to Ulluba, the city of Birtu built.	43. Ulluba, Kirhu, the whole of it I took, and to the boundaries of Assyria I added, —— in the midst of Ullubi a city I built. *Ib.*, p. 262
738. Vul-bel-ukin, the governor, city of Kullani [Calno, Is. x. 9] captured.	12. in their cities, and the city of Ku . . . I caused to take. *Ib.*, p. 277.
737. Bel-emur-anni, governor of Rezeph, expedition to Media.	36. In my ninth year Assur, my lord, protected me, and to the countries of Bit-kipsi, Bit-irangia, 37. Bit-tazakki, Media, Bit-zualzas, Bit-matti, and Umliyas I went. *Ib.*, p. 279.
736. Ninip-ilai, governor of Nisibin, expedition to the foot of Mount Naal.	Mount Naal is not mentioned in the inscriptions; but this expedition is mentioned, and was made preparatory to the following expedition to Ararat. *Anc. Hist. from the Monuments, Assyria*, p. 85.
735. Assur-sallim-ani, governor of Arbaba, expedition to Ararat.	22. For seventy kaspu [about 450 miles] the land of Ararat entirely 23. from top to bottom I destroyed, and marched through with no resistance. *Assyr. Dis.*, p. 272.
734–732. Expeditions to Palestine and Damascus.	6. He [Rezon of Syria] to save his life fled away alone, and 7. . . . like a deer, and into the great gate of his city he entered. 9. . . . Damascus his city I besieged, and like a caged bird I enclosed him. *Ib.*, p. 282. 18. . . . [of] his helpers, Samaria alone I left. Pekah their king. . . . *Ib.*, p. 282. 8. Hanun of Gasa 9. who before the face of my soldiers fled, and to Egypt got away; Gasa 10. I captured. *Ib.*, p. 284. 17. Pekah their king. . . . and Hoshea 18. to the kingdom over them I appointed, . . . their tribute of them I received and 19 to Assyria I sent. *Ib.*, p. 286.

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THE ASSYRIAN CANON.	THE INSCRIPTIONS.
B. C.	
731. Expedition to Sapiya.	
730. Peace in the land.	
729–728. The king took the hand of Bel.	[That is, engaged in some kind of religious ceremony.]
727. Bel-harran-bel-uzur, governor of Gozan. Expedition to . . . in the month . . . Shalmanezer the throne ascended.	The straight lines in the canon in these two places clearly indicate years of accession. Tiglath-Pilesér must have died shortly after completing the inscription from which the first extract is taken; B. C. 745–727, leaves just seventeen years for his reign.

REIGN OF SENNACHERIB.

705. Pahar-bel, governor of Amida, in the month Ab Sennacherib *the throne ascended.*	To the king my lord, thy servant Pahar-bel. [The beginning of a dispatch.] *Assyr. Dis.*, p. 309.
704. Nabu-deni-ipus, governor of Nineveh.	Month Adar, 22d day, eponym Nabu-deni-epus, governor of Nineveh, first year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.
700. Mitunu, governor of Isana.	Month Kisler, 11th day, eponym Mitunu, governor of Isana; 6th year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.
698. Salmu-sari. . . .	Month Kislev, . . . eponym Salumu, . . . 7th year of Senna. . . .
694. Il-ki-ya, governor of Damascus.	Month Adar, 23d day, eponym Ilkiya governor of Damascus, and 11th year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.
684. Mannu-sir-iie, governor of Kullani.	Month Tebet, 20th day, eponym Mazar. . . . governor of Kulla, . . . 22d year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

A few inscriptions belonging to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser are well preserved, others are more or less effaced, while with many more the

"innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum"

have dealt so hardly, that little else than mutilated fragments remain to hint at the former contents. To arrange these fragments in chronological order, in the absence of dates, is a task by no means easy, nor is the correctness of the result unquestionable. Such as they are, the inscriptions of this king furnish, nevertheless, a strong support to the accuracy of the historical canon. It will be seen that the dates quoted under the reign of Sennacherib refer wholly to the succession of eponyms. Mr. Smith has gathered together a great number of similar dates from a variety of Assyrian documents, and in all cases, with only a few unimportant orthographic differences, the names and titles are the same as in the canon.

In appealing to the testimony of contemporary or subsequent historians, we find much inexactness and confusion. Amid the chaff there is, nevertheless, a quantity of yellow grain, that pays for the winnowing, and which, if obtained, must enhance our appreciation of the canon as a reliable exponent of Assyrian chronology. Here, at the same time, we tread upon ground made memorable by a chronological strife which has been prolonged above two thousand years, and in which the *coupe de grâce* has been dealt only within the present

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century. The occasion of this strife was the relative credibility of two Greek writers, whose statements concerning Oriental history were contradictory and irreconcilable. Herodotus, in composing a history of the struggle for supremacy between the Greeks and the barbarians, weaves into his narrative, with remarkable skill, accounts of the various Eastern nations who were more or less directly involved in the struggle. This leads him to speak at some length of the Babylonians. Their neighbors, the northern Assyrians, receive only a few scanty notices, but Herodotus explains this by saying that he intended writing a separate history of the Assyrian empire. Whether this intention was ever realized is doubtful; if realized, every trace of the work has perished, and we must content ourselves with the few notices of Assyria included in his account of the Persian war. In Book I, ch. 95, Herodotus ascribes to the Assyrian empire a duration of five hundred and twenty years, and makes this period close with the revolt of the Medes. Some considerable time elapsed, probably a generation, before the Medes established a monarchy under Deïoces, and since Herodotus places this event two hundred and twenty-eight years before the battle of Marathon, it is manifest that he would have put the termination of the Assyrian empire in the middle of the eighth, and its foundation in the thirteenth century before Christ.[1] The Assyrian chronology of Herodotus agrees closely with that of the Chaldæan priest Berosus, who, in writing a history of his native country, represents its fifth historic dynasty as ruling in Babylon five hundred and twenty-six years. This period evidently corresponds with the five hundred and twenty years of Herodotus.

These representations are positively contradicted by Ctesias, in his *Persica*, where he ascribes a duration of one thousand, three hundred and six years to the Assyrian empire. Ctesias was a Greek physician, and spent seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. He not only challenges the veracity of Herodotus, with respect to his account of Eastern affairs, but even stigmatizes him as a liar. In view of his unequaled facilities for obtaining correct information, and in the absence of material with which to impeach his testimony, the bold assertions of Ctesias gained him almost universal credence. A comparison of his statements with the declarations of the Jewish Scriptures, and with the history of Berosus, was the first blow struck at the confidence which his audacity had inspired. The discovery finally of the original cuneiform records has convicted him of systematic mendacity, enormous and barefaced to an extent "whereto the history of literature scarcely presents a parallel."[2]

[1] Rawlinsons's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 371.

[2] Rawlinson's Herod. Vol. I, p. 68.

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While the inscriptions thus destroy the reputation of Ctesias, they show that Herodotus, in accumulating material for his narrative, suffered himself to be imposed upon by a ficticious history of Media, palmed off by one of its "mendacious patriots." The reign of Tiglath-Pileser, indicated by him as witnessing the dissolution of the empire through the Median revolt, proves to be its most aggressive and flourishing period; we see moreover that Media, so far from inaugurating a successful revolt, lay in abject submission to her Assyrian conquerer.[1] It illustrates how readily history is inverted in obedience to the dictates of national vanity.

The Chaldæan chronology of Berosus is much more reliable. The beginning of the Assyrian empire, placed at the close of the fourteenth century B. C., marks clearly the overthrow of the ancient Chaldæan monarchy by the rising dominion of her northern rival. His sixth dynasty, lasting five hundred and twenty-six years, indicates therefore a period of subjugation, when the government of Babylon was in the hands of Assyrian viceroys, or more probably native princes, who acknowledged an Assyrian suzerainty. At the close of this period of servitude, Babylon took advantage of Assyria's temporary decay, recovered her independence, and began that career toward imperial greatness, which, though several times interrupted, was destined to culminate in the triumphant and brilliant reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

The scheme of Berosus connects itself without break with the famous Babylonian canon of Ptolemy. This document is a register of the monarchs who reigned in Babylon from the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747, until the extinction of the empire by Cyrus. As the Ptolemaic canon gives not only the royal names, but the years of accession, its chronological importance is manifestly very great. After sustaining satifactorily the most rigid tests, it has commended itself as a thoroughly reliable framework for the later Babylonian chronology. Its value as a test for the Assyrian canon becomes apparent the moment we perceive that the two synchronize for more than a century. Owing to the Babylonian practice of reckoning the regnal years from the Thoth following the king's accession, it becomes necessary to raise all the dates of Ptolemy's canon one year, to bring them into harmony with the Assyrian computation. Between B. C. 747 and 625 Ptolemy gives sixteen dates, of which ten are confirmed by the Assyrian canon and by the inscriptions. The remaining six have not yet been discovered in the cuneiform records, but from the exact agreement, so far as these two documents are comparable, we

[1] Ancient Monarchies, Vol. II, p. 380.

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may assume a similar agreement throughout, were the materials at hand for a full comparison. The admirable harmony subsisting between the two canons, and their conformity with the inscriptions, are strong proofs of their general correctness. On reviewing the evidence bearing on the accuracy of the Assyrian canon, we see that the most critical examination has thus far failed to substantiate against it a single erroneous date.

If we turn for still further confirmation to the contemporaneous Biblical chronology, we find ourselves, as already remarked, involved in apparently inextricable difficulties. There are points at which the two systems synchronize perfectly, but this does not render the remaining divergencies any the less perplexing. Indeed, the very presence of the coincident dates seems at the first blush likely to lay the remainder of the Hebrew scheme in ruins. Every student of the Old Testament knows full well that at the present time no part of Scripture is so obscure, so much in need of thorough scientific elucidation, as the subject of Biblical chronology. The commonly received scheme of Archbishop Usher, printed in the margins of our Bibles, may possibly be a fair representation of the numbers in the Hebrew text, and it may not. At best it can be regarded as only a conventional arrangement, better than none to be sure, but subject to such modification, or reconstruction, as a better understanding of the text, or the progress of archæological discovery may demand.

We find in the books of Kings a series of numbers representing the synchronous history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. While the scrupulous accuracy of these books in matters of history have been abundantly verified, the inexplicable contradictions of their chronological details have been the dismay of commentators. As the kingdom of Israel lasted until the destruction of Samaria, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, it is clear that if we add the regnal years ascribed to the kings of Judah from the death of Solomon to the sixth of Hezekiah, and similarly add the regnal years of all the kings of Israel, the two sums should correspond. We find, however, an excess on the side of Judah of nineteen years, which have been variously disposed of by modern chronologists. In many other cases the difficulty is far more serious, involving not only gross inexactness on the part of the Jewish writer, but absolute self-contradictions. Some of the dates, for example that in 1 Kings, vi. 1, are so obviously out of joint with both Scriptural and Egyptian computations, that they are "in fact abandoned by almost all chronologists, to whatever school they belong, whether ancient or modern." So grave are the embarrassments which surround the chronological defi-

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nitions in the books of Kings, that some critics have not scrupled to reject them entirely as clumsy interpolations of a later hand. In these circumstances should even a radical modification of the received chronology be found necessary, which is by no means certain, it need awaken no feelings of alarm, let our theory of inspiration be what it may.

Another fact deserves notice. In the case of Assyrian history, we possess the original manuscripts containing the records of contemporaneous events. As the time of writing approximates to the actual dates recorded, so the probability of chronological errors decreases. There are furthermore in this case no errors chargeable to the inaccuracies of subsequent transcribers. Except so far as they have been mutilated or effaced by time, the manuscripts lie in our hands to-day in the precise condition in which they left the hands of their authors twenty-five or thirty centuries ago. The original Hebrew manuscripts, on the contrary, perished most likely before the Christian era. Notwithstanding the extraordinary scrupulousness with which the Jews abstained from amending even acknowledged imperfections in the texts of their sacred books, it is nevertheless possible that, before the period of the Talmudists, alterations and glosses might have been foisted into the text through inadvertance or design. And no part of Scripture would be so apt to suffer in the hands of early copyists as its chronological definitions.

It is to be regretted that the Jewish chronology disagrees not only with itself, but to some extent with all contemporary reckonings. For the period after the capture of Samaria, a means of comparing the numbers in the books of Kings with the Babylonian chronology is afforded in the canon of Ptolemy. They agree in part, but in the reign of Hezekiah a glaring discrepancy occurs. We are told, (2 Kings xviii. 13), that, "in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." Counting back from the destruction of Jerusalem, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the fourteenth of Hezekiah would fall about B. C. 713. Now we know from Ptolemy's canon, that Sennacherib did not ascend the Assyrian throne until B. C. 705. From his inscriptions we learn, furthermore, that the present expedition against Palestine could not have been undertaken earlier than B. C. 701, nor later than 700. Let us bear in mind, too, that at this point the Babylonian canon, the Assyrian canon, and the inscriptions stand in perfect accordance. A disaccordance of twelve years on the part of the Jewish chronologist is therefore something wholly inexplicable,[1] unless we assume an error in the text.

[1] Cf. Die Keilischriften, u. d., A. T., pp. 194 sq. and 295.

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Not a little singular is the palpable inconsistency between the Hebrew text and the inscription on the recently discovered Moabite stone. Mesa, King of Moab, records that "Omri seized upon [the region of] Medeba, and Israel occupied it in his days and in the days of his son, forty years." On the other hand we read in 1 Kings xvi. 15–29, that Omri, after being made king over Israel, was engaged for the space of four years in crushing a rival claimant to the throne who had the suffrages of half the people; afterwards he reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his son Ahab, who reigned twenty-two years. From the accession of Omri to the death of Ahab we have thus thirty-eight years. But Omri could not well have undertaken the subjugation of Moab while a civil war was raging at his own door. The occupation of Moab is therefore limited to thirty-four years at the utmost, instead of forty.

A serious difficulty arises the moment we try to adjust the Jewish notices of Assyria to the cuneiform records. The inscriptions fail to furnish the slightest clew to the identity of "Pul, King of Assyria," to whom Menahem gave "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand."[1] Canon Rawlinson was inclined at first to identify him with Vul-nirari III, but recently thinks it—

> Most probable . . . that he was a pretender to the Assyrian crown, never acknowledged at Nineveh, but established in the western (and southern) provinces so firmly that he could venture to conduct an expedition into Lower Sryia, and to claim there the fealty of Assyria's vassals.[2]

In the absence of inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Shalmanezer III and Assur-daan III, the supposition that Pul was a pretender will have to be regarded as a pure conjecture. Another view considers Pul really an Assyrian king, "whose name has been excluded from the eponym canon." But the internal structure of the canon does not warrant such a view. The theory which identifies Pul with Tiglath-Pileser, adopted by Sir Henry Rawlinson and by Professor Schrader, has much circumstantial evidence in its favor.[3] But it disregards the Hebrew chronology *in toto*, and "crowds all the events . . . of three successive reigns and forty-three years into the seventeen years of Tiglath-Pileser's annals."[4] For these reasons

[1] 2 Kings xv. 19.
[2] Ancient Monarchies, Vol. II, p. 123
[3] Die Keilinschriften, u. d., A. T., pp. 124–134.
[4] The Assyrian Canon, p. 184.

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Mr. Smith dissents from this theory, and, without materially disturbing the Biblical chronology, proposes to identify this mysterious Pul with Vul-nirari III, on the strength of certain intimations that Vul-nirari associated with himself in the government his son Shalmanezer, about B. C. 783, but continued to reign conjointly with him as late as B. C. 773.[1] This certainly accounts for the Biblical name Pul, for Mr. Smith tells us that it was not unusual among the Assyrians to curtail names in common use—for example, Agu-kak-rimi to Agu. In a similar manner the name of Vul-nirari, "which was probably Pul-nirari, was quite possibly shortened to Pul."[2] The chief difficulty lies in extending the reign of Vul-nirari ten or twelve years beyond the accession of his son, as given in the eponym canon. If the inscriptions warrant us in assuming that Shalmanezer came to the throne before the death of his father, and that the two were subsequently associated in the government, the problem seems to be solved.[3]

For the purpose of noticing other chronological difficulties than those to which specific reference has already been made, and for the purpose of exhibiting at a glance the extent of all these difficulties, we subjoin the following Hebrew and Assyrian dates, arranged side by side:

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.	B. C.	DISCREPANCIES.	HEBREW CHRONOLOGY (Usher's)	B. C.	
Shalmanezer II reigned . . .	860–825			918–898,	Reign of Ahab.
Defeats Ben-hadad of Syria and his allies, including "Ahab of Sirhala" (Israel), . .	854	44–50 yrs.			
Exacts tribute from "Jehu, son of Omri," . . .	842	about 20 "		884–856,	" Jehu.
Tiglath-Pileser II reigned . .	745–727				
Expeditions to Palestine against "Azariahof Judah," .	738–732	26–30 "		810–758,	" Azariah. (Uzziah.)
Receives tribute from "Menahem of Samaria," . . .	738	23–30 "		772–761,	" Menahem.
Pekah, in alliance with Resin of Syria, defeated and reduced to vassalage, . .	734	5–10 "		759–739,	" Pekah.
Hoshea confirmed as king of Israel by Tiglath-Pileser, .	729			730–720,	" Hoshea.
Capture of Samaria by Sargon,	720			720,	Capt. of Samaria.
Sennacherib reigned . . .	705–681			726–698,	Reign of Hezekiah.
Expedition to Palestine against Hezekiah, ...	701	12 "		713,	Sennacherib invades Judah.

[1] The Assyrian Canon, pp. 185–187.

[2] Ibid, p. 187.

[3] A writer in the last issue of the *Studien und Kritiken*, H. I. 1876, felicitates himself upon having dissipated the darkness which has so long enshrouded the identity of Pul. He supposes him to have been the eponym for B. C. 769, whose name, read by Schrader Bil-malik and translated Bil is King, might easily have been converted into the Hebrew Phul mēlēk-Asshur, Pul, King of Assyria. On turning to the canon, however, we see that Bil-malik,

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After the event last mentioned the Jewish dates seem to correspond with the Assyrian records. It will be noticed that the above Jewish dates are, with one exception, those adopted by Archbishop Usher. The date given by him for the destruction of Samaria is B. C. 721. But if with him we adopt 726 as the year of Hezekiah's accession, then the capture of the city, which took place in the sixth year of his reign, must be referred to 720, as above.

For the removal of these discrepancies between the Assyrian canon and the current Scriptural chronology a variety of schemes have been proposed, all of which, however, in their manner of procedure, are dependent on one or the other of the four following methods. According to the first, harmony is to be secured by assailing the integrity of the canon and retaining the Jewish dates. This method has been adopted by Professor Oppert, who entertains the opinion that the canon in its present form does not represent an unbroken line of eponyms, but that an interruption of forty-seven years occurred immediately after B. C. 792. Into this gap he inserts the reign of Pul, making him thus according to the Bible the contemporary of Menahem. To explain the recurrence of Menahem's name in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, he introduces into Usher's second interregnum, B. C. 739 to 730, the hypothetical reign of a second Menahem, which interrupted for several years the previous reign of Pekah; the latter, he supposes, regained the sceptre after a while, and held it till his death.

The second method reverses the first, in maintaining the integrity of the canon and ignoring the Jewish dates. It is employed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Professor Schrader, and others. The former has not propounded any definite chronological scheme, but thinks "that the numbers in the Hebrew text of the Bible will have to be altered so as to curtail the interval between Hezekiah and Ahab by about forty years."[1] The latter affirms that either the Assyrian or the Jewish computation must be rejected, and that in view of the extraordinary support which the eponym canon receives from the calculations of Ptolemy and from the Assyrian annals, "there can be no doubt as to the system upon which the verdict must pass."[2]

A third method seeks to reconcile the conflicting chronologies by

read by Smith Bel-ilai, was simply governor of Arbaba. It is highly improbable that the Jews, who at other times carefully distinguished the king from his subordinate officers (see 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xx. 1), would be deceived by a mere similarity of sound, so far as to honor the governor of a provincial city as the puissant king of Assyria.

[1] Athenæum, No. 2064, May 18, 1867.

[2] Die Keilinschriften, u. d., A. T., p. 296.

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altering, so far as may be necessary, both the Jewish and the canonical dates. Rev. D. H. Haigh, for example, not only modifies the biblical numbers to accommodate his views, but suggests also a break in the canon extending over the space of nineteen years. To the same class belong the schemes of J. Bosanquet, Esq., Rev. A. H. Sayce, Ernest de Bunsen, etc.

We notice finally the method adopted by Mr. Smith, and advocated at some length in the volume before us. It is peculiar to himself. He assumes the general correctness of both systems, with reference to their respective countries.[1] The divergence between them is apparent only. To substantiate this position, he maintains that the identity of several Hebrew kings, bearing names similar to those mentioned in the inscriptions, is by no means clearly established, and that in the matter of foreign names the inscriptions themselves are subject to occasional errors. Thus, for example, it seems extremely improbable that Ahab, whom the Bible represents as the persistent enemy of Ben-hadad, should be found among the friends and allies of the Syrian king, rendering him all possible aid against a foreign invasion. More likely is it that the "Ahab of Sirhala," defeated by Shalmanezer at the battle of Qarkar, was a vassal of Ben-hadad, ruling over the territory wrested from Israel by Syria. In the same manner it is difficult to conceive how the person called "Jehu, son of Omri," can be the same as "Jehu, son of Nimshi" king of Israel. "The country ruled by Jehu, son of Omri, is not mentioned in the inscriptions, and it appears unlikely that Jehu, king of Israel, who exterminated the family of Omri, should call himself a son of that king."[2] The "Azariah of Judah" mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser may prove to be Ahaz of Judah, also called Ahaziah, and this name in the hands of the Assyrian scribes may have assumed the form Azariah.[3] Furthermore, examples are not wanting where the names of tributary kings were retained in the Assyrian tribute-lists long after their decease; this may account for the recurrence of Menahem's name in the tribute-lists of Tiglath-Pileser.[4] The expedition against Hezekiah Mr. Smith is inclined to place in the year B. C. 711, and thinks that Sennacherib, who is called "the great royal son," may at that time have acted as his father's deputy.[5] By this process the Hebrew and Assyrian dates are brought into substantial agreement.

[1] The Assyrian Canon, p. 185.
[2] Ibid, p. 190.
[3] Ibid, p. 180.
[4] The Assyrian Canon, p. 179.
[5] Ibid, p. 173.

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From the number and diversity of the results obtained in the hands of the eminent scholars who have undertaken the reconciliation of the Assyrian dates with the current biblical reckoning, it will be seen that its accomplishment is no child's task. It is impossible to determine as yet the precise degree of credibility which attaches to the chronological definitions in the Jewish annals, or the extent to which they will have to be modified, if found not worthy of trust. Nothing can be more certain, than that the Assyrian materials now accessible are wholly insufficient for a rectification of these dates with anything like certainty. Nor on the other hand is it safe to pronounce dogmatically upon the infallibility of either the Assyrian records, or our interpretations of their obscure and fragmentary disclosures. There is much in Assyrian history which is only imperfectly known, or surmised; many chasms at best only bridged by the eponym canon; and, meanwhile, it is the part of wisdom not to be over sanguine, one way or the other, about a subject beset by so many difficulties. And here let us commend the refreshing candor with which Mr. Smith "holds himself ready to change all his conclusions, if satisfactory evidence should turn up against them."

With unfeigned admiration for the scholarship and ability expended during the last decade on the problem of the comparative chronology of Western Asia, it is, we submit, too early to find our way out of the woods. There is not light enough. No two schemes of reconciliation agree throughout, many differ from each other radically. Every scheme hitherto proposed is obnoxious to serious, if not fatal, objections. It is quite natural, therefore, that almost every chronologist should prepare the ground for his own work by razing the structures of his predecessors. This demands very little effort, as the foundations upon which they all rest are in many places exceedingly precarious. To-morrow's discovery may be fatal to the fairest schemes that can be constructed to-day.

It must not be supposed that the mounds from which Layard and Botta gathered such opulent harvests are exhausted ground. Systematic excavations at short intervals within a few years have made very gratifying returns. It is believed that some twenty thousand fragments of clay tablets and other inscriptions, by far the larger part of the royal library at Nineveh, remain unexcavated. The day is rapidly approaching, we hope, when the enterprise of the nineteenth century will no longer suffer these important records of early civilizations to slumber beneath the accumulated debris of ages. Indeed, while writing, we learn that Mr. Smith has obtained a firman from Constantinople authorizing renewed excavations, and that he is

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now in England, making preparations for more thorough work in the mounds than has been attempted since the brilliant discoveries of the early explorers. But the remains are so numerous, that many years of extensive and uninterrupted excavation will be required for their recovery. Excepting the Khorsabad and Nimroud mounds, the sites of the remaining famous cities of Assyria have not been disturbed. On the plains of Shinar, the very cradle of the human race, scarcely anything in the way of continuous excavation has been attempted. When patient research shall have more fully recovered the literary treasures of these buried empires, we may hope to see many historical chasms filled up, many contradictions removed, and the chronology of Western Asia established upon the immovable basis of truth.

P. A. Nordell.

Lee, Mass.

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THE CHURCH.

THE Church—what is it? Where is it to be found? Who are properly its members? What are the terms of admission to its privileges, and what are those privileges? What is its constitution, and where is it written? What is its form? Is it organic or associational in structure? Has it a definite pattern in the New Testament? If so, is the pattern unalterable, and without power of adjustment to the various circumstances of human society and Christian work? Is the model fixed forever; or may the institution take any form which the new development of an age may demand, and which is not at variance with its root-idea?

Such are some of the questions that have vexed Christendom for centuries, and are as keenly debated to-day as ever. "What is the true church?" is the question more interesting than any other in religion to the masses of Europe at the present hour. For to be in the true church, to be ministered to by the true priesthood, and to participate in the true ordinances of the church is, to them, to be in the way of salvation. "You make too much of the church," said a Baptist to a European churchman. "And you," was the ready retort, "make nothing of it."

Now if it be true, as churchmen of all classes assert, that Baptists, by being the champions of the idea of personality, and by insisting upon personal faith, do really make too little of the church as an

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organization; if we reverence the soul to the forgetfulness of the body; the jewel so much that we are careless of the casket, and so are likely to lose them both—that very fact puts us in a better position for judgment. For we are so simple in our form, or, as some assert, are nearly destitute of any, that, if wrong, we shall have nothing to unlearn. We have little to give up, if we are called by the results of careful examination to take a new departure. The tendency of the times, in many respects, is unfavorable to our Baptist position. For, though the grand current of human conviction is flowing towards republicanism in church and in state, few men care to look out far enough, or drop the line deep enough to find it. On the surface it is clear that the tendency is the other way. Individualism is throttled in the grip of organizations. If a man would do anything, he forms a society. Manliness is at a discount. In politics, the cry is to organize. Vast accessions are made to the ranks of Masons and Odd Fellows. The state and the church both run to ritualism; for ritualism is just organization about the outward rather than the inward. Meanwhile, our churches feel the tendency of the time. Men of loose convictions in our churches deem Episcopacy more respectable, and go the downward road. Ministers who are not appreciated slough off into rectors. And a third-rate Baptist has, more than once, made a first-rate Episcopalian clergyman. These tendencies make us look about us. We are free to survey Christendom, and learn from others. If republicanism among us is excessive, or, as some say, our fault and hindrance is lack of organization, we can see it the better because of our standing point, and more readily compare some of the prevalent ideas concerning the church with the teachings of the New Testament. Wrong, we can, if convinced of it, set ourselves right with less sacrifice than any other denomination.

This then is the great question governing all the others: "*What is the Church?*" Let us first gain answers from the lips of those who lay especial stress upon their claim to be members of the oldest communions. First of all we turn to the *Eastern or Greek Church.* If either of the great divisions claiming to be the "Catholic or Apostolical Church" can urge an exclusive right to that title, it would seem to be the Greek communion. Its territories are far wider than those of Rome. It has its patriarchs not only in Alexandria and Constantinople, but in Jerusalem itself. Rome boasts one of the apostles. But the Greek Church claims Peter and all the rest of them. It is geographically the legitimate descendant of the churches they planted. Nay more; its claims that it is the very church they founded, in which the mystic efficacy of priesthood and sacrament

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remains entire. The Greek communion is the most perfect exponent of the organic idea of the church that exists in the world to-day. Rome has the idea in a modified form. The Protestant churches of the continent retain it, though less prominently than Rome. All Pedobaptists necessarily, in their infant baptism, have more than a trace of it. But the idea comes out in its fullness only in the Greek communion. For while Rome holds that it has the priesthood culminating in the Papacy, and therefore is the church, the Greek communion claims that it has the church and therefore the priesthood. Its root-idea is the organic theory. And the relation of the parts of this mystical body to each other, and of all the members to Christ, the mystic head, is so perfect, that to be in the body is salvation.

As we have here in the Greek communion the realization of the *organic idea of a Christian church*, let us see how the theory appears when worked out as a veritable fact. Of the dogma itself it must be allowed that a good deal can be said in its favor. Its friends claim that in the absence of any new and special constitution in the "Acts of the Apostles" for a Christian church, the old form of the Hebrew Church is a model. That was organic. Its virtues were transmitted. Its membership was a birthright. Promises were made to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Children inherited promises precisely as other property. They were a patrimony. It is argued, and with some show of reason, that if the new society was a purely spiritual society, and was associational in idea rather than organic, there would be some definite constitution, some form of compact or covenant. The Lord Jesus said little about "the church." His first mention of it was in the words: "Tell it unto the church;" implying, it is said, an institution already in existence. No new organization had been made. It is urged that none was made afterward, so far as we have record in the Acts. None was needed, on this theory. For the old Hebrew Church was simply modified to accommodate Christian ideas. But there was, so say the friends of the organic view, no sudden change; no alteration in the root-idea, which was the organic idea. And, at the first look, there seems great force in the argument. And if it were not possible to explain satisfactorily the omission of our Lord to name a new constitutional basis, and also the omission of all record in the Acts of a specific constitution, the Greek churchman would have the better in the argument as against the Baptist Christian.

Then, too, the continued references to "the kingdom of God" which occur in the New Testament, are claimed as favoring the

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organic view. The constant reference to Christ as "the head," and so having a care over "the body"; the phrases "house of God," "peculiar people," "spiritual house," "chosen generation," "the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the corner-stone"—these phrases, which show the drift of the Epistles, are all held to favor the dogma of an organic relation. And here, too, it must be allowed that the first reading of these passages favors this view. And only when we remember that other verses distinctly describe the new society of the church as *not* organic, are we warranted in claiming that these constant allusions in the Epistles are simply *comparisons;* are figures of speech, vigorous, suggestive, "full to the overflow" of meaning, but still figures of speech. They are to be understood from the lips of the apostles precisely as are similar expressions from the lips of Christ. He spake not literally, nor yet mystically, but only figuratively, when he said "I am the door," "I am the head." He spoke as David, his sire and son, had spoken, when in rapturous Psalm he cried: "The Lord is my fortress and the rock of my salvation." And may not Paul, the writer from whom nearly every text urged for the organic view is taken, have the same liberty of human language? How he worked that preposition "*in!*" Christ *in* you," and "ye *in* him," is his favorite figure. And similarly, in his references to the church as "one body"—mark it, that it is never one church, which is a wholly different idea—to interpret the rhetorical figure mystically would be as bad as to understand it literally. To do it is to found a doctrine upon a metaphor, and an institution on a figure of speech. But perhaps the passage strongest for the organic view, in the jingle of the mere words, but weakest when the words are examined, is that which speaks of Christ as "Head over all things to the church, which is his body." In the immediate connection this headship of Christ is said to be over "*the things* in this world and in that to come." And the question immediately rises for those who understand this language about Christ to be used in any other than a simply figurative sense, as to whether this "headship," on which they insist so much, pertains to things as well as to men—to material objects as well as to holy souls. If understood exactly as we should understand such figurative language elsewhere, there is no trouble. We speak of England's sovereign as "the head of the body politic" in that nation. Precisely in the same way Livy uses the phrase of an ancient nation. Indeed the expression may have come to us from the Latin historian. But surely neither Livy nor any modern history can mean that in any literal, much less in any mystical sense, a king or a queen is the

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head of the state. That would be to press a simple and evident figure until its meaning is lost in obscurity. Such a mode of interpretation applied to any other book save the Bible would move alike the wrath and the indignation of every literary critic. To invest the commonest and most obvious of comparisons with a sort of double meaning, would be absurd anywhere outside a certain school of Biblical interpretation.

Nor is the organic claim any more successful when founded on certain parables which, it is claimed, assert that the church is to be composed of both good and bad men, and that at the sorting-time the bad are to be "cast away." But what if the parables of "the wheat and the tares," and "the net" are not directions to be followed by men in church building, but simply prophecies of what men would do in the visible kingdom? The Master is very careful not to use the word "*church.*" He says: "The kingdom of God is like a net," etc. And what if the phrases "kingdom of God," and "church of God," are not exact equivalents? Nor when Paul addresses Christians as "holy brethren," can the claim be made that this is true in the organic sense. For the term may refer to them as professors of a holy religion, and also as those in whom holiness has begun and is sure to be completed. Not a sentence can be found in Paul's letters intimating that any one known to be unconverted had been admitted to membership, or to its privileges. There are in every church unconverted men; but that is not to say that all churches admit those known and believed to be unregenerate when they apply for membership. Paul might have written every sentence in his Epistles on this point to a Baptist Church, had he lived to-day.

Let us turn now from the arguments which support the dogma to the results of it in the history of the Greek or Oriental Church. The experiment has been made under favorable circumstances. The Greek Church has the advantage of traditions coming directly from apostolic sources. Jerusalem, the seat of its early patriarchate, was the home of the first Christian Church. The whole force of this prestige was inherited by the Greek communion. Stamboul, the coveted city of the world, soon took the lead of Jerusalem as a religious centre. It was the great city, to the power and culture and glory of which two continents contributed. The northern shores of Africa, so famed in the second and fourth centuries for Christian scholarship, gravitated in their culture towards the orient rather than the occident. And thus it was that whatever was of prestige in the traditions of Palestine, in the wealth of Asia and the erudition of Northern Africa, fell naturally into the church of the East. And

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that which Rome gained only by centuries of toil, was the early patrimony of the patriarchate of Constantinople. If imperial Rome robbed Greece of many a monument of art to adorn the holy city, she left more than she took. Parnassus and Helicon, and the Acropolis could not be transported to the banks of the Tiber. Nor are the race-traits that minister especially to the religious advancement of mankind wanting to those who dwelt in the territories covered by the Greek Church. The Roman brain had more breadth of base—sure token of cruelty and of lust for power. But the Greek brain was finest in texture, and most prominent in those organs where reverence and worship, as well as subtilty and spiritual insight are said to be enthroned. It was the best suited for intellectual acumen and religious development that the world has ever known. It has given to the race the most copious, most incisive, most intellectual of languages; and the language has been in its turn the most fruitful source of culture for the nations. In every point of view—linguistical, ethnological, geographical and estherical—the Greek communion through the centuries, except perhaps the last four, has had the place of advantage. That we must except the last four centuries is one of the practical results which, in the end, always follow the wake of the religious institutions, whether they be pure or depraved.

And now for those results. What is the fruit of the organic idea, under fourteen centuries of the most favorable conditions of development? Do the nations, the religion of which is that of the orient, stand anywhere near the front rank? What is the moral force of the Greek Church to-day? On which side is it likely to be arrayed in the great moral questions which agitate the world? Or, if these inquiries are indirect, let it be asked, What is the Greek Church as a religious force in the world at this hour? The ignorance and debasement of that church are known of all men. Religion is little more than a round of absurd ceremonies. Many of the doctrines are well enough stated in the creed. But the creed is overlaid with such absurdities of belief and practice, that if there be to-day a thoroughly apostate church on earth, that church is the church of the orient. The organic theory has gone to seed, and the crop is not such as makes us in love with it.

Shall we look next at the *Romish idea of the church?* Her definition is this: "The true church is composed of those united in the confession of the Christian faith and ordinances, under the rule of legitimate pastors, and especially of the one vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff." The last clause is the dominating clause. It

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shows the root-idea of the Romish system. Rome is the exponent of the *hierarchial idea*, even as Constantinople is of the organic. The appeal to Scripture is indeed made. But the foundation for the church is in the hierarchy. Christ's words to Peter are, "On this rock I will build my church." The rock, says the Romanist, is Peter. The church rests on the priesthood. The hierarchy is the foundation of everything in the system. Peter before the church, and the church before the New Testament, is the historical and the moral order for the true Romanist. He holds to a church, but the hierarchy stands first; just as the Greek churchman holds to the priesthood, though to him the organic church is first. Now, that Peter was the recognized spokesman, the acknowledged leader in all public ministrations until Paul's conversion, is readily admitted by the whole Christian world. But that Peter ever claimed any primacy, that he ever exercised any, that he ever conferred any on the Roman Church at his death—these are pure assumptions. Used of God to open the gates of salvation to the Gentile world, he filled for a few years a large place as a public teacher, and then gave way to one who was not a whit behind the chiefest apostles. The Romish idea uses subordinately the organic theory. It talks of the "one body;" and it asks, "What were the body without the head?" Is "the body' visible? "The head" must also be visible. Was Christ the authority for doctrine and rite? The invisible Christ appoints the visible head in Peter and his successors. The sacerdotal dominates every other function. There must be somewhere substantial infallibility. It is in the Bible, say Protestants. It is in the church, say the Greek theologians; and it is expressed through "General Councils." It is in the church, and in the councils, both of which are under the headship of the Pope, says the true Romanist. The Vatician Council was true to the fundamental idea of the Romish Church. It could say nothing less nor else, if it said anything about infallibility, than to say what it did. Whence came the authority for the existence of such officials as the priests and prelates who made up that council? They derive all their power, not from the New Testament, but from the earthly and visible head of the church. The right to alter, amend and ordain both in polity and in dogma, rests naturally in the "head of the church." To say that she is infallible, is to say that she is so because of her visible head. So that the "Old Catholics," so called, are not Romanists at all. They gravitate not westward towards Protestantism, but eastward towards Constantinople.

And just here comes into view the mistake of not a little Protestant argument against Papal dogmas. On the matter, for instance, of

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the hierarchial orders: Protestants show that these had no existence in the New Testament times. They contrast the humble church on the Tiber with the modern pretensions of prelatical Rome. But the Romanist does not claim that the authority for his belief or practice is exclusively or even mainly in the Scriptures. The church ordains it, is his one answer. Scripture may buttress the building, or may not. The church was before the New Testament, and Peter before the church. But we tell him that the historic and the moral order are by no means the same thing; that, as the decrees of councils have been exactly the opposite of those of some of the Popes, both cannot be right; that since, on his own showing, the Scripture is inspired, that its record in the Acts of the Apostles cannot be in opposition to the root-idea of his church as to the primacy, and both of them be right; that he must not allow the jingle of Peter's keys to have more attention than the statements made before and after that to Peter, concerning the disciples as equals and brethren; that, in short, two inspirations, one of the Scripture and the other, as alleged by him, that of the Pope, cannot be antagonistic. Does he quote the text about "the church as the pillar and ground of the truth?" But the figure looks more to stability than to change, and is certainly no authority for altering or amending the church doctrine or ordinance. We are to show the Romanist, in the Acts and the Epistles, churches equal, independent, and doing each for themselves church acts. We are to show him, from the same authority, a church voting on questions of gravest importance, each man the peer of the rest. We are to show him the earliest Christian council, in which there was no claim of Roman superiority, but where the delegates of the churches discussed as equals and decided as brethren. And the results of the council are given, not as a command, not as authoritative, not as a yoke of bondage—this is expressly denied—but they are declared simply and only as advice. And if the Romanist shall yield the point as from the Scriptures, and still urge that the power of development is left in the church, and that its doctrinal and ritual and hierarchial form were only to be fully known after the Apostle's days, we must show him that this is simply his assumption—an assumption without proof.

The hierarchial idea has been thoroughly tested for centuries. Its fruit is before the world. The result is an edifice singularly beautiful and compact, when you get a certain point of view for your gaze. It is much to have one church, one vast and united organization. But when we remember that the union is all about a single point of no vital religious importance, viz., the Papal supremacy, the charm is dis-

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solved. Jesuit and Jansenist are as far apart doctrinally as Calvinist and Arminian; while in the rancor of hate, as it pursues each other unto the death, no Protestant denominations have ever equaled these two factions. And it may well be doubted whether, in the matter of diversity of doctrine, the Romish Church is not, in proportion to the freedom of discussion which is granted in lands where she has the sway, as much divided as any of the national churches of Europe; certainly far more so than any Protestant church in America. As an institution for a certain kind of propagandism, its efficiency is readily conceded. So, too, a monarchy is the best form of government for the uses of tyrannical rulers. But efficiency in religious life is another thing; and it is best secured by the freedom of the sons of God. If the tests of morality and religion are applied to the sacerdotal system of Rome, we cannot judge favorably of the tree which has borne such fruitage. It is sometimes thought that because, in America, Catholic churches are crowded on the Sabbath, there is more religiousness—not now to estimate its moral value—more religiousness than among Protestants. But it is forgotten that the church service is the gathering of those who are "strangers in the land." It is the spot where the race-affinity comes out. The feeling of nationality, and the cravings of friendship among those who are an alien race, are strong elements among the Irish Catholics who crowd the churches on sacred days. For, over the sea, the churches are anything but crowded. In 1870, just before the war in which the city of Rome came under the dominion of Victor Emanuel, the testimony of a no less distinguished visitor than Dean Alford is as follows:

Year by year, the old ceremonies are less attended, and less cared for by those who attend them. Whether it be Carnival or Christmas, or Easter, the remark of the Romans universally is, that it is nothing to what is used to be, a few years since. But yesterday I witnessed the processions of the confraternities coming to adore the Easter sepulchre in St. Peter's. There was lamentation round me that, where we saw ten or twenty members, there used to be hundreds. And the aspect of that vast building during the most solemn services I can never forget. It was thronged by thousands, come to hear the Miserere, and see the ceremonies. But general reverence there was none, and I speak not now of the behavior of *strangers*. While one *Roman* was kneeling, twenty men were walking, and talking aloud, even during the Miserere itself. Inquire wherever you will, and you find, beneath a fair semblance of religion and purity, a reeking mass of falsehood, oppression, impurity and selfishness, the details of which must be incredible except to those

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who, like myself, have had the means of substantiating them. It is not too much to say that the present moral and religious state of Rome is a foul blot on modern Christendom, and hardly to be paralleled even among the darkest passages in the history of our race.

If such was the state of the fountain-head, what must have been the condition of the people at a distance from this source of boasted holiness? Further proof or illustration is needless. However correct many an article of the creed, and however pure here and there a holy soul in that communion through the truth of that creed, for the great mass of her devotees, Rome has hidden the gospel completely from their sight by the rubbish of her forms and the almost blasphemous claims of her hierarchy. Tried by any more spiritual standards, she is found wanting; and that too mainly as the result of her root-idea of a hierarchial church. For it would not be difficult to show how the successive steps in her declension have been due to the progress of an idea which, beginning at the time of Constantine, has culminated at length, naturally and necessarily, in the proclamation of Papal infallibilty by the Vatican Council.

Leaving, then, both the organic and the hierarchial theories, we inquire next as to the *associational idea* of the church. And here, among Protestant Christians we find a singular distinction. The church is said to be "visible" and also "invisible." The one comprehends all professing Christians; the other, all persons who are truly converted, whether professing or not professing publicly their piety. This distinction, in its present shape, can be traced to the times of Luther; and it may have originated with the Reformer himself. Educated in the hierarchial theory, as modified by the organic, he clung to the idea that in some mystical sense the church was one; and this convenient fiction of an "invisible church," composed of all holy souls, met the remains of the old feeling in his heart. But the feeling was as wrong as the theory was false. There is no hint of such a distinction in the Bible. The words of Paul in Heb. xii. 23: "The general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven," cannot be quoted in defence of this view. For it is not said they are written on earth, but are "written in heaven." And the full verse names the "innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect." The passage is a representation, not of anything on earth, but of the glorious gathering at the consummation of all things. It is a description of heaven. Such is the view of some of the most eminent authorities in interpretation. Besides, the term "*general assembly*" is not the most approved translation. It should be rendered "solemn

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gathering." Moreover the word "written," in the phrase "written in heaven," should be given as "enrolled"—the figure being that of a registration of those who enter the gates of a city. Thus the only passage which has the least show of favoring the idea of an "invisible church" on earth, cannot be used for that purpose. It is one of those instances in which heavenly things are described by earthly institutions. The "church" as an institution is used to illustrate something pertaining to future felicity, exactly as is the "family," exactly as is the "fold." The passage will not bear the interpretation, and it may well be doubted whether the distinction between the "church visible" and the "church invisible on earth" has any existence in Scripture, or in any careful and definitive thought.

Perhaps the purest realization of the associational idea is found in a Baptist church. Other Protestant churches approach it, but none quite reach it. The organic and the hierarchial views both rejected, and entirely rejected, only one other idea is possible, viz., that a church is any company of true believers who through baptism profess the religion of Jesus Christ, and organize themselves, under his authority, into a body for the doing of those things which a church may and ought to do.[1] And here in the nature of the institution we see why there is no formal *definition* of the church as an institution in the New Testament. Such an omission is inexplicable on the Romish theory. The Greek Church explains it on the ground that the old Hebrew Church was only modified, and thus the old and the new church were really one, and no new basis was needed. But it is certain that there was a new basis. Nicodemus was told that he

[1] This article was written before the publication of the book of my esteemed friend, Rev. Dr. E. J. Fish, entitled "*Ecclesiology*." It will be seen that some of the premises in this paper are those for which Dr. Fish so ably contends. But from these premises the writer would draw almost opposite conclusions from those of Dr. Fish. Certainly, the independency of the church in its associational idea is no bar to general fellowship among those churches of the same faith and order. Nor does it follow that the function of the Christian ministry is necessarily a local one, conferred by a single church. To ordain a man to the ministry and to recognize him as the pastor of a local church, are by no means the same act. The theory of Dr. Fish would give us, in fewer churches—and those mainly metropolitan or provincial churches—a repetition in fact of a page of church history which needs no repetition. It is good work that is done in some pages of "*Ecclesiology*," in showing the mischievous as well as the unscriptural uses of the word "church" among Protestant Christians—the sad confounding of the "church" with the "kingdom of God," of church fellowship with Christian fellowship—whence comes an argument for an open communion, and more logically still, for an open church. But when seeking place for his three orders of "Teachers, Board of Elders and Board of Deacons," he certainly loses all democracy as among membership; and the generous idea of *growth* and development in the Acts, and its full fruitage in the Epistles, is lost in a forceful crushing of the simple root-idea of the church into a hard and stiff mould which Baptist Christians will hardly accept or practice. And yet, whatever may be thought of the conclusions, some of the premises will, sooner or later, gain recognition.

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"must be born again." The gospel had converts who actually left Judaism. They understood that Christ's kingdom (in which there were to be churches, as there are cities under earthly kingdoms) was not to be of this world.

The unit idea is conversion—a new birth. Each new-born man seeks another. They unite naturally as do two drops of water. It is the spiritual law. Like seeks like. "Ye are taught of God to love one another." Hearts are attached to each other in Christ. But Christ will have an outward organization. He bids these men of one heart to be baptized. That is the initial of the organization. There he leaves the plant to grow. The rest will follow. The germ is above the soil. The inspired apostles shall guide its development. The circumstances which followed the death and resurrection of our Lord gave something of shape to the new society. "The names were about one hundred and twenty," we are told. Names of whom? Names of men who were believers, and who had been with our Lord and his forerunner, and who look upon themselves in some general sense as associated to carry out his gospel. They have his spirit in their hearts. They have of course yielded to his initial rite. They are ready as a body to do his bidding. Was, then, the first Christian Church constituted at that hour? Or was it, as some say, constituted at the Day of Pentecost? Neither view is right. Nor is the question pertinent. It was growing at that hour. It was growing at Pentecost. The faintly spiritual ideas of the Old Testament, and the directly spiritual ideas of the New Testament, were crystalizing into an actual institution. Ideas always work out organizations. But who can tell exactly the moment when the crystals begin to organize into regular forms? Some might see the first faint point, when others would declare that no crystal was as yet visible. What some call a sapling, others would call an oak. Where is the sharp line between the rising ground and the hill? Where does the hill become a mountain? If no comprehensive definition of a church is to be found in the New Testament, it is not because the institution is of no importance; for it is named constantly in the Acts and in the Epistles. The reason is that we see it in the very act of growth. In the Acts we behold the formative process; only now it is further advanced than in the Gospels. In the Epistles the thing is accomplished, and the church is actually formed and is exercising its powers; there is no special honor for the first over the second church; no hint that the second was derived from the first; no organic connection which must be carefully maintained; no sacerdotal chain, every link of which must be kept intact or beyond

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all is vitiated. The right to found a church is like the right to establish a family—a direct right from the divine authority. It needed no inspired command. Given the conditions, the church and the family spring into being, and an organic constitution is an absurdity. A definition can be gathered only as men see the thing in actual working. For the church-idea is born in every convert's soul. He seeks another soul for fellowship. This heavenly tendency is guided by the Master, and the church entered by baptism is the outcome of the divine instinct in the renewed. It is the simplest of organizations, and therein, like the family, is both its power and importance. The necessity for the one institution is in our physical nature, and of the other in our renewed or spiritual nature. The disciples went everywhere preaching the word. Just as certainly they formed independent churches. Just as certainly were they careful to maintain the brotherly relation between the churches. Not that the churches were units of some higher form, as the individual believers were units in the church. For no higher form is known than the single separate church. We have it first inchoate, then perfected. And however it must necessarily be at first, as to the rites of baptism and the supper, and as to "the power of the keys" in the admitting and excluding of members by apostolical authority alone—afterwards, when the inchoate condition ended, we find the churches entrusted with the discipline and the rites. It is the church discipline, and the church rites. To the church they were exclusively entrusted, and by it exclusively they are to be done. The apostle who commanded one church to have "no fellowship" with certain persons, praised another church because they had "kept the ordinances" as he had delivered them to the church.

To guide the church in its early development there were needed inspired men as Apostles. It had them. Their office in time came to be no longer needed. They had no successors. None claimed their place in the first or second centuries. Their apostolic work of shaping the church mostly ceased before their lives ended. They had done their work, finished their course, and looked for their award.

The church needed financial agents. It made them, calling them deacons. The church will never outgrow the need of men to care for its temporalities—call them committees or deacons, as you will. The church needed pastors or overseers. It had them, though their powers were jealously guarded. The church needed teachers. It made them, precisely as it would have made superintendents for Sabbath-schools, had the church been first instituted in this century, and among a people having common schools for secular training.

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Two of these divisions naturally, and so permanently exist. There are therefore two classes of officers. They are pastors and deacons. Their work is the spiritual and the temporal. And while the root-idea is kept in the church, there can be no priesthood, no prelacy, no cardinals, no papacy.

The work of a church is to present truth to the world. It is to do it through its ordinances, its instructions, its example. It is to admit and reject; to discipline the unworthy, to counsel and comfort the weak, to represent and to glorify Christ.

More than one hundred times the inspired apostles speak of the church. It is Christ's church. Lavish are their words of love for it. They echo the feeling of their Master. Each man in it is more than an individual Christian. He has a peculiar relation as a representative man. He is a part of the church that Christ purchased with his blood, and with which the final triumph of his cause is connected.

The question here occurs: In what sense is the church on earth one church? I answer, in no sense at all. The churches may in some figurative sense make up "one body," of which in some figurative sense Christ is "head." But the idea of a universal church is a contradiction in terms. Who ever saw this church universal? Who ever attended its sittings? Who were its officers? What did it do? The New Testament indeed speaks of the church as an institution, and discusses its duties. But it has not in mind any great body composed of all who were ever members of churches. When we discuss the question of the power or right of the jury, we do not mean a vast jury, composed of all who ever sat in a jury-box. We either mean some particular jury empaneled at a particular time, or else we mean the jury considered as a legal institution for the trial of causes before courts. Precisely so the New Testament uses the word church. It has in mind a specific body duly organized; or, it has in mind the church as an institution. Possibly, also, in one or two texts, it has in mind the church as an ideal. As such she is the purchased of Christ's blood, as such she is dear to him on earth, and is to be his bride in heaven. The prayer of the Lord for the oneness of all his followers is to be answered, not while they dwell on earth, but when they are gathered in glory. It was not a prayer that they might be one church, but that they might be one in preparation for the "one fold" in heaven. Meanwhile, there is a larger Christian unity in which we rejoice—the unity of holy love in regenerate hearts. Such hearts love more and better for the honest differences they cherish. Thrown together in church unity, Christian unity would

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perish. Many men make noble patriots, standing well together in the state in all times of national peril, who would not dwell comfortably together under the same family roof. Yet the family is a fact as well as the state. And family unity, in its place, is as much needed as national unity. Had it been the design in this essay to show the oneness of Christian hearts, that could have been done. But the oneness of the church can never be shown, because it is untrue alike in conception and fact, alike in theory and practice.

The church is a simple, independent institution, having in itself wonderful powers of adaptation. It is an organization that can never be outgrown. Like the human family, the Christian church is of God. The glory of both is not their grandeur of combination, nor their adaptation to strike the senses, and impress men by their splendor. The glory of family and church alike is their absolute simplicity—a simplicity exactly meeting the needs which the two institutions were ordained to supply.

D. W. Faunce.

Lynn, Mass.

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THE PIONEER BAPTIST STATESMAN.

THE reformation in the sixteenth century attempted to adjust the proper relations of churchism and individualism, but the failure of this attempt is the most conspicuous and permanent defect of Protestantism. It was no wonder that men trained in veneration for a Catholic magisterial church should be bewildered in the maze of problems arising in a society surging with the forces of political revolutions. Therefore there were three classes among the reformers.

One class saw the church as a personality endowed with the duties of magistracy. They may be called Churchists. A second class were the opposite extremists, to whom individual personal obligations and rights appeared so supreme that a divinely ordained church was to be denied. They were Individualists. The third class sought to combine individualism and churchism as of equal divine ordinance. To them a church was a divinely ordered society, yet was a voluntary association, having no other rights or duties than those aggregating in the persons joined in it. They would establish and obey magistracies for civil affairs, but not for churchly purposes. We will here call them Congregational Libertists.

Another triple division of men needs recognition. One class embraces those who move with the great currents of the world. While exhibiting vigor and originality in special efforts, they are yet drifters; and drifters we will call them. A second class consists of those who

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resist currents, but not because of impulse from great universal principles. They are men of denials and protests, but not organizers. They are iconoclasts, but not builders. As compared with the drifters, they may be called buffeters. The third class consists of the rare men who can lead and carry others by the discovery, or the application, of principles not previously tested. They make circumstances, and turn currents, or move against them. We will call them navigators.

We may now apply these two modes of triple classification in a survey of early New England history.

The oldest colony, Plymouth, had been settled in 1620 by men influenced by many of the best impulses of the reformation. But in them the diverse forces of the times were too evenly balanced for great demonstrations. Although they had broken from the Church of England into independency, their individualism was rather churchly than personal. They were tolerant, but not liberators. We may classify them as moderate churchists, and as drifters caught in an eddy.

The Massachusetts or Bay Colony, settled in 1628, with Boston, two years younger, as its principal town, was controlled by men who in England had chafed against the national church, but had not moved out of it. With their innovations remained traditions and convictions of churchism. They saw all questions of statecraft through church windows, and in the confusion of their inexperience put criminals and heretics in like positions before the law. But the little company of church-members who were trying to make a state for themselves struggled against drowning in a flood. In 1631 a law had been passed that,[1] "No man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Nevertheless in one year, when only one hundred and forty-five were admitted as freemen,[2] nearly three thousand others, of very diverse sentiments, had entered the colony. If then the churchmen in their flurry struck some blows at valuable friends, we may let the shadow of charity's mantle obscure the memory of their error. But we must classify them as churchists, of a new but intense order, and as drifters.

The Boston of those days was a feverish little town. Its choleric English blood was stirred by a multitude of restive spirits,[3] with a genius and mission for agitation. Among these was a Welshman,

[1] Arnold's Hist. of R. I., p. 17. And in 1636 this law was declared applicable to members of churches gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the majority of the other churches. Backus, Vol. I, p. 61. Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II, p. 67.

[2] Arnold, Vol. I, p. 68.

[3] Ibid, Vol. I, p. 25.

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Roger Williams, a Congregational minister, who came in 1631. Of this man criticism and praise have been alike extravagant. It is his misfortune to have been denied the praise that justly belongs to him, for he was philanthropic, generous, affectionate, brave, conscientious and learned. He aimed to be a[1] missionary to the colonists and the Indians. He[2] gave freely to all comers his lands and stores. He dared to rebuke all sinners, and to encounter all perils. He won the esteem[3] of the savages, and saved the colonies from massacres. He made conscience his king, but it was almost like a morbid sensitiveness of the nerves at his finger tips. And yet his life was passed in bitter contentions, and under[4] obloquy that wrung from him wails of agony.

And it may prove to have been really as unfortunate that a reputation not earned by him has been attached to him by writers who sought a central figure for portraiture as the standard-bearer of a revolution.

All of Roger Williams's public acts, most of which we shall mention, place him in the second class in each of our triple divisions of the reformers. He was an individualist and a buffeter. In religious life he was an intense churchist in theory, but of so impracticable a nature that he drove himself out of church relations into entire isolation.

In England he[5] had broken from communion with the Established Church. Coming to Massachusetts, where the leaders were still in union with the English Church, but so disposed that the skill of Cotton and Hooker,[6] two years later, led them to the formation of independent churches, Mr. Williams provoked their wrath by his denunciation of their communion in England. He refused them fellowship, and thus hazarded either his own position as pastor, or the political rights of his church-members under the law of 1631. The governor and council,[7] therefore, opposed his settlement at Salem as pastor. Afterwards he so[8] denied the propriety of royal patents for Indian lands as to impute falsehood to King James, and blasphemy to King

[1] Knowles's Life of Roger Williams, pp. 108 and 109.

[2] Ibid, pp. 109 and 113.

[3] Knowles, pp. 128 and 395. Bancroft, I, 398. Backus, I, 60. R. I. Colonial Records Vol. I, p. 457.

[4] Knowles, pp. 266 and 307. Backus, Vol. I, pp. 53, 89, 353. Hubbard, ch 30.

[5] Backus, Vol. I, pp. 41 and 359. Arnold's Hist. of R. I., Vol. I, p. 21. Knowles's Life of Williams, p. 47.

[6] Backus, I, 33. Knowles, pp. 42 and 43.

[7] Arnold's Hist. of R. I., Vol. I, p. 21. Knowles, p. 46. Backus, Vol. I, p. 41. Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 63.

[8] Backus, Vol. I, p. 45. Arnold, Vol. I, 27. Knowles, p. 57.

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Charles. He [1] resisted a special oath required of freemen. The [2] final charges urged against him, and for which he was tried, were the writing of two letters, one on behalf of the Salem church to other churches, urging them to remonstrate with the magistrates and deputies who refused some land to Salem on account of Mr. Williams' pastorate; the other a letter to his own church, refusing communion with the churches of "The Bay." On these charges he was, in the autumn of 1635, ordered to leave the colony within six weeks. Other [3] charges had previously been entered before the General Court, viz., that he held the opinions—

1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such case as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, children, etc. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after sacrament, nor after meals.

The action of Massachusetts on such grounds need not be here discussed, but the time has come for admitting that Roger Williams was banished for specific acts, and not for any advocacy of the broad principle of the universal right of liberty of conscience. Up to a time considerably later than this it does not appear that Mr. Williams had yet affirmed any such principle. His acts and words were those of a man buffeting specific difficulties as they came singly. He was carried forward by pursuing foes, and reached positive positions by force of negations.

The historian of Rhode Island, whose elegant and candid pen has with most care and judgment praised Mr. Williams, says: [4] "It is a memorable fact that of the many singular and bitter controversies which raged at this time, in most of which Roger Williams bore a conspicuous part, only one was initiated by him save that which has become his crowning glory." These [5] last two should not have been excepted.

Mr. Williams left Massachusetts in January, 1636, and settled on the east side of Narragansett Bay. In June, 1636, he removed to the site of Providence. In this movement he was almost alone, being [6] accompanied only by two men, possibly with their families, and two

[1] Arnold, Vol. I, p. 31. Backus, Vol. I, pp. 46–51.

[2] Winthrop, I, pp. 166–171. Backus, I, 52, 53, 54. Arnold, I, 35 and 37.

[3] Arnold, I, 35. Backus, I, 53. Winthrop, I, 162, 163.

[4] Arnold, Vol. I, p. 25.

[5] Ibid, Vol. I, p. 292. One was the duty of purchasing titles from the Indians. The other the right of soul-liberty.

[6] Backus, Vol. I, p. 58, note 2. Arnold, Vol. I, p. 97, and note. Knowles, p. 111.

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youths who were servants. Of the two men one, named John Smith, soon disappeared; the other, then poor and destitute, became a thorn in the side of Mr. Williams, engaging him in broils that embittered many years. This man, William Harris, was a troublesome citizen, but a staunch advocate of liberty of conscience. Mr. Smith's place was taken by Joshua Verin and his wife. Almost in solitude these few persons passed the year 1636. In 1637 they were visited by a few other persons, three of whom, Messrs.[1] Greene, Throckmorton and Arnold,[2] remained and received lands from Williams, Harris, and Verin, and with them constituted the first six landholders. These six persons, excluding a number of young men to whom no lands were given nor voice conceded, called themselves a town, but made no laws and appointed no officers. Roger Williams says,[3] in a letter to Mr. Winthrop, that it was their custom to meet once a fortnight and consult, and "mutual consent have finished all matters with speed and peace." In this half-dozen municipality mutual concessions were much needed, and formal government was impossible. Roger Williams, who apparently was the only man of property, was jealous of all comers, and wrote[3] to Governor Winthrop to ask of the propriety of his requiring all landholders to sign a contract to submit to the majority, and to ask also of his personal right to refuse lands to new comers. Mr. Verin[4] would not attend preaching, and forbade his wife to. Mr. Harris[5] was opposed to all laws and magistracies. Mr. Greene[6] refused to live in Boston, because he could not have liberty of his conscience, but was married to an [7]undivorced wife of another man. He went afterwards with the Gortonists to Warwick. Mr. Arnold was affiliated[8] with Verin. That such a company should agree to tolerate each other's consciences was essential to any union; but they made no laws extending toleration beyond themselves, because they made no laws respecting anything. And yet a misunderstanding of a reference in Winthrop's Journal to this agreement, has for a long time given to Roger Williams the credit of enacting the first statute to protect liberty of conscience. Governor Winthrop

[1] Mr. Greene was fined in Boston in Sept., 1637, for speaking disrespectfully of magistrates. Mass. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 203. Also letter of Roger Williams to Winthrop, in Vol. VI, p. 52, of publications of the Narragansett Club.

[2] R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 17.

[3] Publications of Narragansett Club, Vol. VI, p. 3.

[4] Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 94. Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 244.

[5] Backus, I, 241. Arnold, I, 262.

[6] Letter of Williams to Winthrop. Narr. Club, Vol. VI, p. 52. Mass. Hist. Col., 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 212.

[7] Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 340 (1st Ed., p. 282). Knowles, p. 139. R. I. Coll. Rec., Vol. I, p. 16.

[8] See as in note 7. Also Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d Ser., I, 173. Knowles, p. 160.

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wrote:[1] "At their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience." In fact this order had a very narrow application, was a negative agreement, which grew out of jealousies, was based on necessity rather than principle, and was made by "the rest" as much as by Mr. Williams. It is also uncertain what date Mr. Winthrop indicates in his reference to "their first coming." The passage in his Journal containing these words could not have been written earlier than the end of 1638, and may have been written[2] much later. If "the rest" means Williams, Verin, Arnold, Greene, Harris and Throckmorton, which is quite probable, since the first four are the only names mentioned in the narrative by Winthrop in this connection, the so-called order could not have been made earlier than the spring of 1637. If any larger number of persons were concerned in it, it was not made till near the middle of 1638, after the settlement of Aquedneck.

But Mr. Williams' own share in the matter must be viewed in the light of the fact that he affirmed[3] that until the granting of the patent, in 1643, his little colony "*had no authority for civil government.*" Mr. Winthrop's whole conception of the affair is confused, for in narrating it he speaks of the Providence community as a church.

Such was the aspect of affairs in the spring of 1638. The history of the colonies thus far reads like a story of a boyish play of statecraft. But we turn to survey events in which manliness, wisdom and principle were conspicuous.

English Baptists early demonstrated their title to a place in the third class of our first division, with the name of Congregational Libertists. We need not for our present purposes trace the date of their origin. Churches of the order of "General Baptists" existed in England[4] in 1608, and of English in [5]Amsterdam in 1611. A church[6] of the order of "Particular Baptists" existed in London in 1633. A printed confession of 1611, of the church in Amsterdam, is extant. It affirms the[7] necessity of laws and officers, saying: "Magis-

[1] See note 7, on preceding page.

[2] One just preceding it was written in 1646, a blank having been left in the MSS. at the first writing. The original has been burned.

[3] Letter of Williams to Major Mason. Knowles, p. 396. R. I. Coll. Rec, Vol. I, p. 458.

[4] Taylor's Hist., Vol. I, p. 97.

[5] Backus, I, 43 and 88. Editor's notes. Crosby, Vol. I, pp. 90-99, 265-268.

[6] Crosby's Hist, Vol. 1, 148, 149. Cramp, p. 302. Backus, Vol. I, p. 87, note.

[7] Crosby's Hist, Appendix to Vol. II. Also in Tract of Hanserd Knollys Society. Mr. Cramp says (p. 281) that Bishop Whitgift, in Queen Elizabeth's time, says of the Baptists that they taught that "The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters, and that he ought not to meddle in cases of religion and faith."

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tracy is a holy ordinance of God. Every soul ought to be subject to it, not for fear only, but for conscience sake." But it also says: "We believe that the magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience." A treatise,[1] entitled "Religion's Peace, or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience," was printed in 1614 by a Baptist, Leonard Busher, in which he said: "It may be lawful for every person or persons, yea, Jews, Turks, Pagans and Papists, to write, dispute, confer and reason, print and publish any matter touching any religion, either for or against whomsoever." In 1620 was [2]published in England an address to the king, arguing for liberty in religion. It is said to have been written in prison, and was entitled, "A most humble supplication of many of the king's majesty's loyal subjects, ready to testify all civil obedience, by the oath of allegiance or otherwise, and that of conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in religion) contrary to divine and human testimonies." It was signed: "We are your majesty's loyal subjects, not for fear only, but for conscience sake, unjustly called Anabaptists." This tract was cited in 1647 by Mr. Cotton,[3] who said that Roger Williams wrote portions of it to him about a dozen years before. If Mr. Williams had been satisfied with this, he would have been credited with advocacy of liberty of conscience before he went to Providence, but appearances would have indicated Baptists as his tutors. But he with heat denied Mr. Cotton's statement, though he admitted in 1652 that he had seen the arguments in print some years before this last date.

[4]In 1643 or 1644 was printed a confession of faith "Of seven congregations, or churches of Christ in London, which are commonly but unjustly called Anabaptists," which asserted both the duty of subjection to magistrates, and the right of liberty of conscience.

Valuable evidence of customary Baptist advocacy of religious liberty, appears in the early error of enemies of toleration in mistaking for Baptists some persons who only opposed magistracies on various grounds. In 1634, ten years before the publication of Roger Williams's treatise on religious liberty, Rev. Mr. Brewster[5] expressed a fear that Mr. Williams would run a course of anabaptistry because he denied the right of magistrates to punish breaches of the first

[1] Cramp, pp. 291–293. Tracts of Hanserd Knollys Society.

[2] Cramp, 297, 298. Backus, Vol. I, 132, note. Crosby, Vol. II, Appendix. Tract of Hanserd Knollys Society.

[3] Backus, I, 132, 133.

[4] Cramp, p. 306. Cutting's Historical Vindications. Tracts of Hanserd Knollys Society.

[5] Backus, Vol. I, p. 43.

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table of the law. In 1641 Governor Winthrop[1] wrote: "Those of Providence, being all Anabaptists"—this description was almost as erroneous as possible. Very few were Baptists, many were of other views, and many were without religious character. But Governor Winthrop proceeds to write—"were divided in judgment; some were only against baptizing of infants; others denied all magistracies and churches, etc., of which Gorton was their instructor and captain."

In a law of Massachusetts of 1644, it was[2] said:

> Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved that, since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into any breach of the first table, etc.

These statements are errors, but significant.

[3] In November, 1637, an English Baptist minister, twenty-eight years of age, by name John Clarke, arrived in Boston. He was in secular life a physician, and a man of some property. By contemporary and early authorities he was called "a[4] man bred to learning," "a[5] scholar bred," "a[6] learned physician." By late writers he is spoken of as "a[7] man of liberal education, and of bland and courtly manners"—"one[8] of the ablest men of the seventeenth century." He was an advanced student of Hebrew and Greek, and at his death had nearly completed a[9] Biblical Concordance and Lexicon, which he said was the fruit of many year's study, and was probably in one of these languages. There are reasons for believing that he had also some legal education.

That Mr. Clarke brought with him the doctrines of the English "Particular Baptist" churches, is probable from many indications.

[1] Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 59. Knowles, p. 184, note. Similar is Winthrop's statement (in Vol. II, 38, 41), "Mrs. Hutchinson and those of Aquiday Island broached new heresies every year. Divers of them turned professed Anabaptists, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among Christians." This party, he elsewhere says, embraced "some three or four families." Vol. I [293 or 294].

[2] Backus. Vol. I, p. 126. Knowles, p. 201.

[3] Clarke's Narrative in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II., p 22.

[4] Hubbard, in Backus, I, 93.

[5] Gov. Jencks, in Backus. I, 193 note.

[6] Backus I, 70. Knowles, p. 143.

[7] Dr. Gammell's Life of Roger Williams, ch. xi. p. 141.

[8] Gov. Arnold, Vol. I, p. 235 note.

[9] See his last will. Backus I, 348 note.

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He[1] was a preacher on Rhode Island in 1638, but was never a preacher except according to the early Baptist[2] practice of Eldership. No change in his views is known to have occurred. His doctrinal writings preserved[3] were very clear, and are in[4] accord with Baptist confessions of faith. The church which he established on Rhode Island was early in[5] correspondence with Mr. Spilsbury's church in London.

That Mr. Clarke brought with him the views of these Congregational Libertists respecting magistracy and religious liberty, is evident from his first acts. No claim of originality in them can be advanced for him. No truly great universal ideas are born of single minds. Such claims as have been advanced for Roger Williams as a solitary discoverer of a great principle, are not only opposed by facts, but are in the teeth of all the analogy of history. No solitary men are great in the domain of grand universal principles except the rare men who *systematize* ideas, or those who advance principles to regal *sway* in human life. Such a man was John Clarke—a man ranking in the third or highest class of each of our triple divisions—a Congregational Libertist, a navigator and organizer.

For such a man an opportunity had ripened. In Massachusetts, laws of uniformity had not prevented the ingress of theological dissent, nor secured its silence. The air and soil of Old and New England seemed to beget theological controversy. When the state made membership in one of the authorized churches necessary to citizenship, it invited contentions about the qualifications for membership, and made political questions of religious dogmas and the acts of the ministers. With natural sequence, arguments respecting the right or duty of church membership ended in discussion of the evidences of being in a saved state, and men's chafing against unjust human laws led to exaggerated declarations of Christian freedom from the law of God.

Dissensions[6] involving these, with other causes of dispute, became sharp in 1636. The name of "Antimonians" was given to a large and growing party, but it is doubtful if any considerable number of persons held the extreme doctrines supposed to be indicated by that

[1] Winthrop I, [271] 326. II, 38–40. Lechford in Backus, 1, p. 125. note. Backus, I, 86, 97. Hubbard, p. 343.

[2] Clarke's Narrative, in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II, pp. 26 and 94. Backus II, 15.

[3] Ibid, Vol. II., pp. 36, 37. Backus, Vol. I, pp. 182, 183, 206, notes.

[4] Ed's note in Backus, p. 349.

[5] Clarke's Narrative, as above (called Ill Newes from New England), p 45.

[6] On the Antinomian Controversy, see Backus I. pp. 63 to 69, and 84, 85. Also Winthrop, Hubbard, and particularly Gov. Arnold's Hist. of R. I, Vol. I, ch. ii.

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name. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a gifted but unwise lady, became very influential in the party, but it also included the young Governor, Sir Henry Vane, and many of the more educated and wealthy citizens. In 1637 the parties were nearly balanced; but in the fall, after an active struggle, the Antinomians were overborne, and Sir Henry Vane lost his Governorship. The party in power then passed a law to prevent strangers buying homes, or even remaining in any town more than three weeks without consent of one of the council, or of two other magistrates. A remonstrance against this and other measures was signed by above sixty men, some of whom had been magistrates, and was presented to the Assembly, or General Court, Nov. 2, 1637. The Court[1] called it a seditious libel, and proceeded to decree punishments. Many persons were disfranchised, and a number ordered into banishment.

At this juncture Dr. Clarke arrived in Boston, and at once a guiding hand seized the helm. A leader who could both gather and organize men stepped forward. A clearly defined purpose was put in execution. In his own narrative[2] Mr. Clarke says:

> I was no sooner on shore but there appeared to me differences among them touching the covenants; and in point of evidencing a man's good estate, some pressed hard for the covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence; others pressed as hard for the covenant of grace that was established upon better promises, and for the evidence of the Spirit. . . . Whereupon I moved the latter, forasmuch as the land was before us and wide enough, . . . for peace sake, to turn aside to the right hand or to the left. The motion was readily accepted, and I was requested, with some others, to seek out a place.

Affairs moved fast. Dr. Clarke's three weeks of quiet residence were lapsing, and winter was close at hand. Before he could leave, however, the Court (*i. e.*, the government) of Massachusetts ordered[3] the disarming of seventy-six persons, among whom was Mr. Clarke. He hastened with two others to[4] New Hampshire, to test the country, but the winter began with great severity, and they returned, advising to seek a more southern location. The remnant of the winter was well and wisely used. A choice company was gathered and organized. Mr. William Coddington, a wealthy merchant, had been a deputy and assistant Governor of Massachusetts. Three others had been deputies, viz., Messrs. Coggeshall, Aspinwall and Hutchinson.

[1] Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 295.
[2] Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II, p. 23.
[3] Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 295. Backus, I. 69. Arnold, I, 64. Mass. Col. Rec. I, 208.
[4] Clarke's Narrative, Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser. Vol. II, p. 24. Backus, I, 71.

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Plans were perfected for the emigration of an incorporated body politic, with its officers installed, and its principles of government agreed upon. In[1] Boston, March 7th, 1638, a compact was signed by eighteen men, among whom were those named above. William Coddington's name leads, and John Clarke's is second. This compact reads as follows:[2]

The 7th day of the first month, 1638.

We, whose names are underwritten, do here solemnly in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.

[3] Exod. xxiv. 3. 2 Chron. xi. 3, 4. 2 Kings, xi. 17.

The Scripture references affixed are significant of far more than a religious spirit. They are as follows:

Exodus xxiv. 3. And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments. And all the people answered with one voice and said, All the words which the Lord hath said will we do.

2 *Chronicles xi.* 3, 4. Speak unto Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren. Return every man to his house, for this thing is done of me. And they obeyed the words of the Lord, and returned from going against Jeroboam.

2 *Kings xi.* 17. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord's people; between the king also and the people.

The first text indicates reception of divine law as the basis of civil government. The second indicates the principle that religious differences are not to be occasions of civil strife. The third affirms the two principles of the Baptist declaration of 1611, viz., (1) "The magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and of conscience."

[1] The common assertion that this act was performed in Providence, is indefensible.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 52. Printed incorrectly in Backus I, 77 and 427, and Knowles, 143, correctly in Arnold I, 124. The compact is in German or Old English text, with the references in common writing in the upper right hand margin.

[3] Mr. Backus, Vol. I, p. 427, has incorrectly given Ex. xxxiv, and the editor's foot-note is still more in error. The editor misapprehended a letter written to him by my father. The Secretary of State of Rhode Island certified that the references were correctly printed in the R. I. Colonial Records, but not by Backus. I have, however, dropped the figure 4 from the first line to the second, in the belief that the evidences of displacement are plain to every reader of the texts.

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(2) "Magistracy is a holy ordinance of God. Every soul ought to be subject to it, not for fear only, but for conscience sake."

The probabilities of Mr. Clarke's authorship of the documents are conspicuous. By all accounts he was the chief religious teacher of the company, and in the signatures his name precedes those of wealthy and distinguished persons. The texts correspond with his advice—"For peace sake, and to enjoy the freedom of their consciences, to remove out of that jurisdiction." They agree with a sentence in his address, twenty-five years later, to King Charles II, viz.,[1] "For the aforesaid causes of conscience and for peace's sake, they were necessitated to travail further among the barbarians." They are conformed to other indications of his spirit, for in his book, "Ill News from New England," he thrice[2] quotes 2 Tim. ii. 24: "The servant of the Lord must not strive."[3]

The organization was further effected by the election of William Coddington to the chief executive office—for which he was pre-eminently qualified by his wealth, social standing and experience in government—and of William Aspinwall as Secretary, and William Dyre as Clerk.

The compact of incorporation—the real first charter of Rhode Island—was accompanied by two written engagements, as follows:[4]

The 7th of the first month, 1638.

We that are Freeman Incorporate of this Bodie Politick do Elect and Constitute William Coddington, Esquire, a Judge amongst us, and so covenant to yield all due honor unto him according to the laws of God, and so far as in us lyes to maintaine the honour and privileges of his place which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do.

WILLIAM ASPINWALL, *Secretary.*

I, William Coddington, Esquire, being called and chosen by the Freemen Incorporate of this Bodie Politick, to be a Judge amongst them, do covenant to do justice and judgment impartially, according to the laws of God, and to maintain the Fundamental Rights and privileges of this Bodie Politick, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do. WILLIAM CODDINGTON.

Some of the persons so incorporating themselves asked and obtained

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 486.

[2] Clarke's Narrative, pp. 7, 15, 107. Many similar texts are also given on p. 108.

[3] The religious character of the organization is conspicuous, but I have not found anything to justify Gov. Arnold's comments implying that they sought liberty only for all *who bore the Christian name*, and that the principles of Roger Williams went further. Arnold, Vol. I, pp. 125–6. The assertion of Mr. Backus that "It is evident that the planters of Rhode Island did not at first see into the true nature and grounds of liberty of conscience," (Backus, Vol. I, p. 97), is unfounded, though not ill-meant.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 52, 53.

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license to leave Massachusetts; but a suspicion arose in the minds of the Assembly that the withdrawal would be temporary, and without their families. Therefore, on the 12th of March it was decreed[1] respecting ten of them that they must also remove their families before the next term of the court, or then appear and abide further order.

The men of the company[2] probably left Boston about the middle of March, aiming to effect a settlement near Delaware Bay before planting season. Reaching the plantation of Roger Williams and his five companions, they do not seem to have received from him any proposal for remaining; but he suggested to them a settlement on the island of Aquedneck, in Narragansett Bay. Mr. Clarke and two others were sent to Plymouth, to inquire if that colony claimed the island. Mr. Williams at their request accompanied them. The authorities of Plymouth disclaimed the island, and on the return of the committee with this report, the emigrants decided to purchase the island from the Indians and occupy it. Mr. Coddington[3] and some others went to the island and the Narragansett country, and a purchase was effected and a deed signed on the 24th of March, 1638. The deed was made to[4] Mr. Coddington, but for the whole company.

Twenty years later, Roger Williams[5] claimed that the island was not purchased, but given from favor to him and Sir Henry Vane. Very probably, the influence of Sir Henry Vane assisted the antinomian colonists, but Mr. Coddington had his own influence with them, having, as[6] he says, when magistrate of Massachusetts, been one of the persons that made a treaty of peace with the same Indians. No one confirms Mr. Williams's claim, and he wrote[7] to Governor Winthrop as follows: "The sachems have ever conceived that myself and Mr. Coddington, whom they know so many years a sachem at Boston, were far from being rejected by yourselves, for if the Lord had not hid it from their eyes, I am sure you had not been thus troubled by myself at present." Mr. Williams said[8] that what was given to the Indians was not a payment but a gratuity; but the deed says[9] the lands were *sold;* and the payers of the gratuities, whom

[1] Backus I, 77, note. Arnold 1. 127. Mass. Col. Rec., I, 223.

[2] Clarke's Narrative (p. 24) shows that the movement southward was not first made by a committee, but by the whole body, a vessel taking their freight.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 51.

[4] *Ibid*, pp 45 and 50.

[5] Backus, I, 73. Knowles, 146. Arnold, I, 70.

[6] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 51.

[7] Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st Ser., Vol.— Knowles, 149-152.

[8] Backus, I, 73. Knowles, 146.

[9] R. I. Col. Rec. I, 45, 50, 51.

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Mr. Williams[1] writes of as being others than himself, claimed that they paid the largest price ever given for an Indian title.[2]

Mr. Williams had his own interest in the negotiations. He had bought of these sachems previously[3] the lands of Providence, north of the head of Narragansett Bay, but had no deed. He had also obtained, in partnership with Governor Winthrop, the island of Prudence,[4] lying north of Aquedneck. He now obtained a deed for the purchase of Providence, and in it was included title to a new gift of lands on the west side of the bay, on the Pawtuxet River, by which his territory was greatly enlarged, and the security of Providence itself, as against Plymouth and Massachusetts, materially strengthened.

The Indian deed for the lands of Aquedneck, and that for Providence Plantations, including Pawtuxet, were both signed on the same[5] day—March 24, 1638. This is the birthday of the state; for on this day a territory of respectable dimensions was acquired, and a somewhat numerous company, with an organized government, entered into possession of Aquedneck.

The first settlement on the island was made in its northern half, at Portsmouth. The same spirit and habits that had characterized the company continued to distinguish it. In an orderly way[6] provision was soon made for distribution of the lands, military defence, the erection of a meeting-house, opening of highways, holding assemblies, collection of moneys, etc. After a little a marshal was appointed, and two assistants for the judge, with the title of elders; and afterwards a constable and sargeant. In the ordinances[7] creating the offices, it is prescribed that laws and actions shall be conformed to the "General Rule of the Word of God," but with distinct limitation to "The Good and Welfare of the Common weal;" and the authority of the constable and sargeant is limited to "Breaches of the laws of God that tend to civil disturbance." No religious tests were provided, nor any special privileges given to Christians, actual or nominal. All must conform to laws "According[8] unto God," but no one at this day will say that this was a restriction of liberty of conscience. So free were the institutions both in form and spirit, and so cordial the welcome given to strangers, that great numbers flocked

[1] Backus I, 73.

[2] Callender's Century Sermon. Knowles, 147. See also the receipts in R. I. Col. Rec. Vol. I, pp. 46-49.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 18, 19, 22.

[4] Ibid, I, 26.

[5] Ibid, I, 18, 44. Backus, I, 73.

[6] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 53, etc. Arnold I, 126-132.

[7] Ibid, 63, 65.

[8] Ibid, 53, 64.

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to the island. Of these the larger part were valuable citizens, but some were troublesome, and a few were vicious.

The Aquedneck colonists were of diverse theological and churchly convictions. Most of the leaders had been Independents, and were not yet dismissed from their churches. A number afterwards became Quakers. Governor Winthrop[1] records that Mr. Clarke was a preacher on the island in 1638, but does not call him a pastor, although in another reference he calls him their minister. Governor Winthrop also says[2] that a church was formed at Newport, in 1639, in a disorderly way, of persons excommunicated or not dismissed by other churches. But Governor Winthrop's reports of such matters often lacked precision. He called the Providence colony a[3] church while referring to an act of the town. A Mr. Lechford[4] records that there was a church on the island in 1640, but he had heard that it was dissolved. Whether there was any organized church at first, or whether Mr. Clarke preached without a church, or whether he had a small Baptist church apart from the general congregation, are questions which probably cannot now be solved. At a later date, Mr. Clarke refused to worship under compulsion with a Congregational church, but of course he would gladly preach to all comers. And he probably preached effectively, for Governor Winthrop wrote[5] that in 1641, "Divers of those at Aquedneck turned professed Anabaptists." The date 1644, commonly assigned for the formation of the First Baptist Church in Newport, is entirely untrustworthy, being based[6] on a mere tradition found by a pastor of the church in 1728, there being[7] then no records. It is not unlikely that the same customs existed at first which prevailed afterward. In 1680 the Governor[8] wrote: "Those people that go under the denomination of Baptists and Quakers are the most that publicly congregate together, but there are others of divers persuasions and principles, all which, together with them enjoy their liberties;" and yet all mentions of the churches give small numbers of actual members.

Before the end of the year, probably[9] a hundred families had set-

[1] Winthrop, I, 271; II, 38–40.

[2] Ibid, I, 297. Knowles, 177. Backus, I, 125, note. Arnold, 139, note, 140.

[3] In narrating the affair of Verin, Winthrop's Journal, Dec., 1638. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 16.

[4] His knowledge of the existence of the church was from personal acquaintance. His idea of its dissolution was from some report.

[5] Winthrop, II, 38–40. Backus, I, 126, note.

[6] Backus, I, 125, note of Ed.

[7] Backus, II, 18, 19.

[8] Arnold, I, 490.

[9] R. I. Col. Rec., I, pp. 54–60, 91, 92. Mr. Lechford said that there were two hundred families on this island in 1640. Knowles, p. 183, note. Arnold, I, 137, 140. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d Ser., III, 96, 97.

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tled on the island. In the spring of 1639, Newport was occupied, and very soon became a larger town than Portsmouth, which, however, continued then and long after to have more population than Providence.

The records of the government at Portsmouth are partially destroyed, and it is highly probable that we have lost the record of the first statute providing for religious liberty. It is therefore fortunate for history that the separation of Portsmouth and Newport ended in a somewhat formal re-union in 1640, and that the theory[1] prevailed that laws of the Assembly must be re-enacted at each session. At the re-union of the two towns, in March, 1640, they ordered[2] an examination of the laws; and the revision was ratified by the court in May, 1640; but unfortunately, no copy is preserved. In March, 1641, the following record was made by the Assembly, viz.:

> It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the government which this Bodie Politick doth attend unto in this Island, and the Jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a Democratic or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the power of the Body of Freemen, orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute just laws, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such Ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man.
>
> It was farther ordered, by the authority of this present court, that none be accounted a Delinquent for Doctrine, Provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government or Laws established.[3]

It was also ordered by this Assembly that the seal of the colony should exhibit a sheaf of arrows bound up, and the motto "*Amor vincet omnia*"—Love will conquer all things. This again is a reiteration of the Baptist idea of liberty defended by law.

At the next session of the court, September, 1641, we have the [4]record, "It is ordered, that the law of the last Court, made concerning Libertie of Conscience, in point of Doctrine, is perpetuated."

But the colonists were not satisfied even with their orderly government and guarantee of liberty. In November, 1639, the Assembly at Newport[5] voted that Mr. Easton and Mr. John Clarke should write to Sir Henry Vane, and to Mr. Thomas Burwood, brother of Mr. Easton, desiring them to "Treat about the obtaining a patent of the island from his Majesty." They thus indicated their desire

[1] Arnold, I, 354.
[2] R. I. Col. Rec. I, 102.
[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 112, 113. Arnold, 149, 150.
[4] Ibid, 118.
[5] Ibid, 94.

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to constitute by themselves a distinct state, without connection with Providence.

We have now seen established on an enduring basis, in Aquedneck, a political government in which liberty of conscience was a ruling principle. We have seen that the colonists were early known as Baptist, and took no other sectarian name until at a later date some became Quakers. We have seen that their distinctive principles bore the stamp of previous Baptist utterances. We have seen, what will be more apparent as we proceed, that the mind of John Clarke, balanced, constructive, persuasive, was in the front rank at least, if not foremost of the leaders.

We will now compare with this record the contemporary history of the settlement of Providence.

We have already seen[1] that there were at Providence, when the Aquedneck colonists passed by, in March, 1638, but six men of family, landholders, and two young men. These were of very diverse minds, and all jealous of their own liberties. They were living as neighbors, with an understanding of mutual toleration, but without laws or officers. The same political combinations in Massachusetts which drove off the colony to Aquedneck, caused numbers of other[2] excellent citizens to follow in their footsteps. Some of these on reaching Providence desired to remain there. Four men who were[3] banished March 12, 1638, left Massachusetts in April. Three[4] of these, with four other men who followed them, received,[5] June 10, 1638, from the first six landholders, lots of land in Providence. The thirteen persons thus enumerated, with the omission of Joshua Verin and the addition of Mr. Westcott, constituted the whole[6] body of proprietors as late as October, 1638, and two of these, Messrs. Harris and Arnold, probably before this time, removed their principal residence to Pawtucket, where for a long time they maintained an active and bitter hostility to Roger Williams. [7] Joshua

[1] Page 184.

[2] Backus, I, 78, note.

[3] Ibid, 74, note; 78, note. These were Messrs. Weston, Westcott, Waterman, and Olney, all from Salem. Knowles, 114, note. Arnold, I, 101.

[4] These were Messrs. Weston, Waterman and Olney. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 17. The other four were Messrs. Cole, Holiman, James and Carpenter. Of these, Mr. Holiman, also from Salem, left Massachusetts in April, 1638. Backus, I, 74 and 86, note. As to Mr. James, in 1638, see Winthrop, I, 323.

[5] R. I. Col. Rec. I, 17.

[6] Ibid, 20.

[7] R. Williams' letter to Winthrop, May 22, 1638. Pub. of Narragansett Club, Vol. VI, p. 94. Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 244. See 3d Ser., Vol. I, pp. 173–7. Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p, 340 [282]. Knowles, p. 139. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 16, 17.

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Verin returned in 1638 to Massachusetts, because the rest annulled his right of voting.

As the fact that Roger Williams at some time in his life advocated liberty of conscience has given him honor in controversies in which that matter was not involved, so the fact that a free state afterwards embraced Providence, has been the cause of a belief that he designed the erection of a state,[1] with liberty of conscience as its fundamental principle. This belief has been confirmed by words[2] of Mr. Williams, written in 1661, in which, after reciting his contract with the Indians and his obtaining a deed in 1638, he says, "I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed of conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends," etc. But of this language Roger Williams is his own interpreter. In 1677, he[3] wrote: "It is not true that I desired any to come with me into these parts. My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to learn their language; and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company." In May, 1637, he[4] wrote: "I never made any other covenant with any person, but that if I got a place he should *plant* there with me." But the year 1637 has been supposed to be that in which Mr. Williams says he communicated, *i. e.*, shared or transferred his purchase, because in the same document he[5] said, "Whereas, in the year one thousand, six hundred and thirty-seven, so-called, I delivered the deed unto the whole number of purchasers." Mr. Williams, however, did not obtain a deed till the 24th of March, which was the last day of the year 1637 in old style, but 1638 in new style. This deed he did not at once share,[6] unless verbally, and half the persons to whom he first gave anything like a legal title had not then left Massachusetts.

[1] Gov. Arnold says, (Vol. I, p. 97), "That it was not the intention of Roger Williams, in seeking a refuge in the wilderness, to become the founder of a state, his own declaration proves."

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I, p. 22. Knowles, 113. Backus, I, 75. Persons "distressed of conscience" were a great number in New England, and Mr. Williams' language here does not imply the broad right of universal liberty of conscience.

[3] Arnold, I, 97, note. Knowles, 108 To the above words he adds, "Out of pity I gave leave to William Harris, then poor and destitute, to come along in my company. I consented to John Smith, miller at Dorchester, (banished also), to go with me, and, at John Smith's desire, to a poor young fellow, Francis Wickes, as also to a lad of Richard Waterman's. These are all I remember."

[4] Letter to Winthrop, in Pub. of Narr. Club., Vol. VI, p. 3, etc.

[5] R. I. Col. Rec., I, p. 23. Knowles, 114.

[6] Mr. Knowles, p. 114, says: "Mr. Williams probably meant that he delivered the deed signed by the sachems in 1637, to the purchasers." He may mean that when he received the deed, he considered it shared with his five associates of that time.

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He first gave a deed without date to his twelve colleagues,[1] whose initials alone were written; but twenty-eight years later he gave a [2] duplicate, in which the names were written fully, and after a careful attempt at correctness[3] fixed the date at 8th of 8th month, (*i. e.*, October), 1638, on which date also the Pawtuxet lands were divided to the same[4] persons. Roger Williams thus testifies that it was not until some months after a vigorous colony and an organized government were established in Aquedneck, that he allowed the way to open for the free advent of settlers. In 1637, he had consulted[5] Governor Winthrop about refusing settlement to persons not acceptable to himself; and to this disposition, or to some fault either in his policy or his capacity, must be ascribed the imperfection of his transfers of titles. Certain it is that these titles were long fruitful in disputes[6] and bitterness.

A complete misconception of the date and nature of another record has given to Roger Williams one of his most celebrated items of undeserved praise. It is easily made clear. In 1637 Roger Williams, having then with him in Providence four men and two youths nearly of age, consulted a [5] friend about his right to require the former, to whom he yielded lands, to sign a document which he submitted, promising active and passive obedience to the agreements of the majority. He further wrote that, "Concerning those few young men, and any who shall hereafter desire to plant with us, (he proposed) this:"

> We, whose names are hereunto written, being desirous to inhabit in this town of New Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements as shall be made from time to time by the greater number of the present *householders* of this Town, and such whom they shall admit into the same fellowship and privilege.

A document has been [7] preserved which bears thirteen signatures, and reads as follows:

> We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 19.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, I, 20.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Letter to Winthrop in Pub. of Narr. Club, Vol. VI, p. 3.
[6] Arnold, I, 100, 430. Knowles, 111, note, and 409. Gammell's Life of Williams, ch. XI. Dr. Gammell says, "It must be admitted that they reflect but little credit on the legal education which the founder of Rhode Island is said to have pursued." Gov. Arnold says, "This deed, or memorandum, which does no credit to his legal acquirements."
[7] R. I. Col. Rec. I, 14. Backus, I, 74. Knowles, 120. Arnold, I, 103.

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Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families—incorporated together in a Towne fellowship, and others whom they shall admit unto them only in civil things.

This document has been lauded as a covenant for liberty of conscience among the first settlers. In fact, none of the first thirteen proprietors[1] signed it. Nor was it signed by any of the first comers except the two[2] youths. It was a formal submission of new comers, exacted by those who were proprietors. Its probable date is August 20, 1639. The final four words, by their clumsy connection with the document, show, what is well enough demonstrated by their absence from Mr. Williams's original draft, that instead of being a concession of the freemen, they are the appended words of reservation and self-protection of the new comers, without which they would not sign. The closing words of reservation, on common principle of interpretation, are scarcely laudatory of those persons against whom they erect a guard.[3]

Early in 1639 occurred Roger Williams's brief and irregular assumption of the Baptist name. Governor Winthrop records[4] that Mr. Williams was baptized by Mr. Holiman, and that he then baptized Mr. Holiman and some ten others. Who those ten were, is entirely[5] unknown. Governor Winthrop's record plainly shows that Williams and his associates deliberately rejected connection with English Baptists.

Mr. Scott, who was probably one of those baptized by Mr. Williams, records[6] that after three or four months, Mr. Williams broke

[1] Compare the two lists. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 14 and 20.

[2] Perhaps these two now became "of age."

[3] There are no indications that this form of agreement was signed by later comers. A somewhat similar petition and pledge, without the final four significant words, was signed Jan. 19 1646, by twenty-eight persons. It promises not to claim a vote until the signers are admitted as freemen. Staples' Annals of Providence, p. 60.

[4] Winthrop's story of this baptism seems to be of the date of March 12th, 1639. It follows a narrative of a tempest and freshet, probably in the spring of 1639. Winthrop, Vol. I, 352 [293]. Backus, I, 86, 87. Arnold, I, 107. Knowles, 165.

[5] No records of their society or church remain. Mr. Benedict gave twelve names, (Vol. I, p. 473), and his error has been widely copied without questioning. (Arnold, I, 107. Knowles, 165). Mr. Benedict gives the names of twelve of the thirteen first proprietors, as named in Williams's deed, (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 20), omitting, however, Mr. Throckmorton, who was an undoubted Baptist. Mr. Backus is against Benedict as to Waterman and Weston; and Roger Williams sets aside Arnold and Carpenter, (Backus, I, 87, and Ed.'s note. Knowles, 286.) Probably the first twelve were among the following names, viz., Messrs. Brown, Olney, Scott, Throckmorton, Westcott, Holiman, Williams, and their wives and the widow Reeves. See Backus, I, 88, 89, 405; and Knowles, 177 note.

[6] Backus, I, 89; II, 490. Winthrop confirms this as occurring before July, 1639, but represents that Williams was abandoned by his followers. Knowles, 170. Winthrop, I, [307]

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from the society, denied that there was any one authorized to administer the ordinances, and abjured all church connection.

If Mr. Williams formed a Baptist church, no clear evidence of such an act remains. Whatever church he did first form is said by Cotton Mather[1] to have come to nothing. A Mr. Lechford, having visited Providence about 1640,[2] wrote: "At Providence lives Master Williams and his company of divers opinions; most are Anabaptists. They hold there is no true, visible church in the Bay, nor in the world, nor any true ministry." A hundred years later, the oldest residents of Providence were ignorant of any tradition that Roger Williams was the founder or a member[3] of the Baptist church there.

In his baptism Roger Williams seems to have followed the usual course of his individualism. John Clarke could have been summoned from Newport to baptize, as Mr. Williams testifies that he did ten years later. Hanserd Knollys was at Piscataqua. Mr. Williams appears to have yielded rather to doubt than to conviction, and the result was a complete unsettlement of his ideas respecting the constitution and functions of a church. This is exhibited in his book, written in 1652, entitled "The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's." His later opinion of Baptists appears in a letter to John Winthrop, Nov. 10, 1649, in which he says:[4]

> At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism, and the manner by dipping. And Mr. John Clarke hath been there lately (and Mr. Lucar,[5]) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great founder Christ Jesus than other practices of religion do, and yet I have not satisfaction, neither in the authority by which it is done, nor in the manner.

Harmony in Providence does not seem to have been promoted by the advent of more settlers. The settlers at Pawtucket put a liberal construction on the vague definition[6] of the bounds of their territory

[1] Knowles, 176. Magnalia, B., VII, Sec. 7. Backus, I, 90. Crosby, I, 117.

[2] Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d Ser., Vol. III.

[3] Callender's Century Sermon, p. 56, says: "The most ancient inhabitants now alive, some of them above eighty years old, who personally knew Mr. Williams, and were well acquainted with many of the original settlers, never heard that Mr. Williams formed a Baptist church there, but always understood that Mr. Browne, etc., were the first founders of the church." Mr. Callender never retracted this, although he may have deferred to the tradition on the other side, (Backus, I, 357. Knowles, 170.) Knowles, (p. 174, note), also gives an old authority for the statement that Brown University was located on its present site, "Because it was the home lot of Chad Brown, the first minister of the Baptist church."

[4] Pubs of Narr. Club, Vol. VI, p. 188. Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 274.

[5] An Elder in Mr. Clarke's church at Newport.

[6] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 18. Knowles, 180. Gammell's Life of Williams, Ch. VII.

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in their Indian deed. And their construction seems to have been necessary and to have prevailed; but Roger Williams bitterly[1] opposed it, and favored the discontented Indians. In 1640 new disputes were fomented by Samuel Gorton. This person,[2] a man of abilities, but of marked peculiarity of manners and of theological and political opinions, had been banished from Plymouth, and imprisoned and whipped in Aquedneck for disorderly conduct. Roger Williams, finding himself unable to quell the storms, contemplated removing[3] to the small island of Patience. A curious[4] document which appears in the records of this time, bearing testimony to the pitiable anarchy and dissension which prevailed, has been by misapprehension made a part of the basis of the eulogy of Roger Williams. This document is very imperfect in its structure, beginning with a report of a committee of arbitrators, then assuming the character of records of a meeting, and closing with the signatures of thirty-nine persons, of whom two were females, as if the whole was but a voluntary contract of a portion of the citizens. The report first proposes a settlement of the vexed question of the boundaries of Providence and Pawtuxet. Then it proposes the appointment of five referees, called "Disposers," to dispose of the public lands, stocks, "and all general things," and notify the citizens of applications for admission to citizenship. Then it provides for the appointment of one or more persons to keep records. Then follow these two clauses:

We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so still to hold forth liberty of conscience.

III. Agreed, that after many considerations and consultations of our own state, and also of states abroad in way of government, we apprehend no way so suitable to our condition as government by way of arbitration, etc.

This document, like the miscalled "covenant" of 1639, has the tone of a compromise and protest. It is negative, and grows out of conflicts. It shows the absence in Providence of legislation, statesmanship, or institutions.[5] And this refusal of all law, either

[1] Knowles, Appendix, pp. 408, 409, 410, gives very intemperate language from Mr. Williams even in 1677, when the contention became violent. See also Arnold, I, 429–436.

[2] Backus, I, 98. 99, 104–117. Knowles, 182–9. Arnold, I, Ch. VI.

[3] Arnold, I, 173.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 27-30. Knowles, 180, 412. Arnold, I, 108.

[5] This is confirmed by Winthrop's language. After mentioning the baptism of eleven persons by Mr. Williams, he immediately adds, "They also denied the baptising of infants, and would have no magistrates." Winthrop, March, 1639. Knowles, 165. Immediately after these words, Winthrop wrote, "At Aquiday also, Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publicly, and she and her party, (*some three or four families*), would have no magistrates." Mr. Winthrop thus shows that he was pretty well informed as to the different prevailing spirits of the two places.

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constitutional or statute, with the custom of settling disputes by arbitration, continued the only semblance of government in Providence until 1647, except the transaction of business in general town-meeting.

In Newport and Portsmouth, meanwhile, the course of good legislation, the organization of militia, the enforcement of law, and the cultivation of respect for government, went steadily forward. But these towns desired better guarantees of their liberties. In their Assembly, Sept. 19, 1642, they[1] renewed the proposal made three years before for seeking a charter. The officers of the government, with Dr. Clarke, were appointed "to consult about the procurement of a patent for this island and islands, and the lands adjacent, and to send a letter or letters for the same end to Sir Henry Vane." We do not know what further steps were taken in the next Assembly (of which records are not preserved), nor otherwise, by the islanders towards this end. They had good reason to expect success in their application; but a shadow crept between them and the government, and in 1644 covered them with its gloom. It was the shadow of Roger Williams.

Troubles had thickened around Providence. Mr. Gorton, after thoroughly stirring the town, removed with some friends, in the fall of 1642, to Pawtuxet, the home of the liveliest quarrelers in the colony, where he was as welcome as a hornet in a wasp's nest. Some of the Pawtuxet men, preferring Massachusetts to the Gortonists, asked the protection of "the Bay." That colony accepted them as subjects, and took measures against the Gortonists, who thereupon removed a little south to Warwick. Then both parties sought to obtain an Indian title to Warwick lands. The result was a fierce contention, the initiation of a claim by Massachusetts to Warwick territory, and the establishment at Warwick of a colony embittered towards the other towns. At this juncture, in the summer of 1643, Roger Williams went to England. Whether he went of his own motion, or was sent by Providence, or Newport, or both, is entirely unknown.[2]

Mr. Williams' opportunity was a grand one. The Long Parlia-

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 125.

[2] The common assertions that Mr. Williams was commissioned by Aquedneck are positive enough but modern, and seem to be only inferences from the fact that Aquedneck had voted to seek a charter by writing, and from the assumption that Roger Williams could do no wrong. Mr. Williams, in his letter to Major Mason, assigns as his reason for going, "Considering upon frequent exceptions against *Providence men*, that we had no authority for civil government." (R. I. Col. Rec., I, 458. Knowles, 194, 396.) Providence and Warwick claimed that they paid his expenses. (Arnold, I, 313.)

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ment was in conflict with King Charles I. Dissent had claimed freedom. Catholics and Episcopalians were overmastered. Presbyterians and Independents were competing for popular favor. Bitter experiences of the results of a union of church and state rankled in the public memory. Parliament was well disposed to the colonies.

Mr. Williams in England at this time published an essay, on which a large share of his repute is based. It was styled, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience," and argued for religious liberty. It was a good work, though tardy, and spoke the sentiments of many besides its writer. But if Mr. Williams was full of this great subject, if he was a founder, a statesman, why did he not ask some guarantees for liberty?

From the commissioners appointed by Parliament for the control of colonial affairs, Roger Williams obtained, March 14, 1644, a charter, of which the provisions[1] were as follows: First. It defined the boundaries of the state, and so blindly as to entail a half century of quarrels. Second. It included Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, under the name of "Providence Plantations," in one government, in which a majority should rule. Third. It gave liberty to make and execute laws, "Provided that the said laws, constitutions and punishments be conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place will admit." But the laws of England sanctioned imprisonments, hangings and burnings for religious opinions, and under the charter a majority could enact these in Rhode Island.

The careful and candid, but still warm and imaginative pen of the historian of Rhode Island glows with enthusiastic praise of the patent, as establishing religious liberty, because it only mentions civil laws and government, and because "Beyond[2] this, a silence more significant than language proclaimed the triumph of soul-liberty." This enthusiasm is admirable, but not contagious. We remember other charters pervaded by the same "expressive silence;" and we remember that under English laws religion was a matter of civil laws and government. Like the defences of religious liberty in the charter, let the praises of its procurer be—an "expressive silence."

The faults of the charter were especially apparent to the people of Portsmouth and Newport. These island towns possessed four times the population and wealth of Providence.[3] They were jealous of their

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 143–146.

[2] Arnold, I, 201.

[3] "President Styles, in his diary, says that (in 1645–6) there were in Providence and its vicinity one hundred and one men fit to bear arms." Arnold, I, 121, Aquedneck had the number of men registered as accepted "Inhabitants" six years earlier. R. I. Col. Rec., I 91, 92. Arnold, I, 137, note.

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history and institutions, for which they owed nothing to Providence. But Mr. Williams's charter insulted them by fixing on them the name "Providence Plantations." Worst of all, however, the charter subjected each of the towns to a government, yet unformed, which should embrace Providence. To the islanders this was a catastrophe like an earthquake. It put an end to their organization, discharged their officers, and abrogated their laws. The government that was working so admirably was blotted out.

Mr. Williams, on his return, was[1] received with an ovation in Providence, but there is a significant silence of praise from the islanders. The record-books of the island fell closed[2] from the paralyzed hand of the secretary, and were opened no more for three years. The shadow of a pretended friend had spread out to the breadth of the power of England, and in its gloom the people wandered and waited. The records announce the selection of the name "Rhode Island," for Aquedneck, on the thirteenth of March, 1644, the day before the charter was signed, and then they cease, as if the name was but selected for a banner to be captured, and to hang below the flaunting flag of Providence, emblematic in wrongful captivity of the later manifest destiny.

JOHN C. C. CLARKE.

UPPER ALTON, ILL.

[1] Backus, I, 89. Knowles, 202, note. From Richard Scott.
[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 128. Arnold, 1, 159.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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MORTAL OR IMMORTAL?

Immortality; the last chapter of *Letters and Social Aims*. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. 1876.

TWELVE centuries ago, Paulinus, a Christian bishop, stood in the presence of Edwin, the Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria, and pleaded with him to abandon the Pagan faith of his forefathers, and adopt the religion so beautifully illustrated in the life of his Christian queen Ethelberga. The king was a man of generous impulses, frank, courageous, and disciplined by manifold and severe trials. He had tested the unsatisfying pleasures of kingly honors, and longed to attain some sure resting place for the tried and troubled spirit which so keenly felt its helplessness, but which knew not whither to look for strength and light. Paulinus prevailed so far as to receive the royal promise, that, the subject being worthy of the most careful consideration, the king would request his counselors to meet the bishop at the royal residence, to hear his words of instruction; to discuss the claims of the new religion; and then to decide for himself and his people.

The council convened, eagerly listened to the facts presented, admitted their reasonableness and importance, and, like earnest men, whose hearts were athirst for truths which would yield them solid ground of comfort during the storms of life, decided to adopt the new religion. During the discussion of the question, one of the king's counselors urged the propriety of receiving the new faith, upon the ground that it poured so copious a light upon the terrible darkness

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of the grave, and pictured in such plain language the destiny of the soul. He closed his plea in the following impressive words:

> The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison with the time which is unknown to us, like the swift flight of a sparrow through the room where you sit at the feast in winter with your counselors and commanders, and a cheerful fire in the midst, while the storms of rain and snow prevail without. The sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and out at another, whilst he is within, is, for the moment, safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.[1]

Mr. Emerson opens his brief, but exceedingly interesting, chapter on "Immortality," with a reference to this scene enacted in the council chamber of the old Anglo-Saxon king, and quotes it as the starting point in his plea for the future life.

In times like these, when the same truths which Paulinus presented are either doubted, or disparaged, or denied by many of the descendants of those sincere and earnest questioners—although they are the more highly favored heirs of twelve long centuries of Christian learning, civilization and refinement—it is interesting to know what one who has been proclaimed to be "a seer of the interior realities," and whose influence is widely felt over cultured minds, thinks of this momentous question which "gives such grandeur to the passing hour."

In its spirit the Emersonian argument is Platonic, although it is entirely destitute of the logical forms which are constantly presented in the Phaedo. It is a kind of lyric prose-poem, pulsating in every sentence with a belief so buoyant that the most flexible syllogistic forms could not restrain it.

The thesis is not, according to Mr. Emerson's view, susceptible of proof. "There is a drawback to the value of all statements of the doctrine; and I think that one abstains from writing or printing on the immortality of the soul, because when he comes to the end of his statement, the hungry eyes that run through it will close disappointed." So sure is he of the incompetency of logic to deal with this high theme, that he says: "I am a better believer, and all serious souls are better believers in the immortality, than we can give

[1] "Talis mihi videtur, rex, vita hominum præsens in terris," etc. See Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Omnia; Vol. II, B. 2, C. 13, Edidit J. A Giles, LL. D. London: 1843.

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grounds for"; and he assures us that "Wordsworth's 'Ode' is the best modern essay on the subject."

Emerson's statements are, we are inclined to think, more positive and emphatic than those of Plato, not so much, perhaps, because the modern seer holds the intuition more tenaciously, as that, living in an age in many respects far in advance of that of the Greek, he is enabled to collect his proofs from more extended fields of knowledge and experience; and, what is especially not to be lost sight of, these proofs have absorbed a subtle yet certain strength from their growth under the vitalizing sunshine of a divine revelation. There is no halting or misgiving in the jubilant faith of Emerson in any single sentence of his chapter. His position is that, as soon as a man begins to think seriously, he finds in his soul some belief "in the life beyond life"; that "there never was a time when the doctrine of a future life was not held"; that in the minds of those men whose depraved moral lives engender skepticism on this question, "there is a slaughter-house style of thinking"; that the belief in immortality is "elemental"; and that the "Master of the universe" has built it into the "structure of our minds." Furthermore, that "everything is prospective, and man is to live hereafter"; that "the soul does not age with the body, but on the borders of the grave the wise man looks forward with equal elasticity of mind or hope"; that "life is rather a state of embryo, a preparation for life. A man is not completely born until he has passed through death." And so the lyric sentences of this "seer" roll on until they culminate in the grand affirmation that our "intellectual action not promises, but bestows a feeling of absolute existence," so that "we may feel the immortality of the mind, as it were, by touching."

Mr. Emerson lays, as the foundation of his proofs for the future life, the common consensus of the race. Savage and civilized; ignorant and learned; polytheist and monotheist, have alike believed it. It is true that most men shudder at the thought of death; but this is due rather to the dimness of their spiritual vision than to a want of confidence in the doctrine. It is "the fear of the young bird to trust its wings." The robust and healthy sentiment of the soul is, rather, that uttered so exultingly by Montesquieu: "*Je suis charmé de me croire immortel comme Dieu même.*"[1]

On this common belief of men everywhere in the personal after-life, Mr. Emerson rears the superstructure of his proofs. There is, for example, our delight in the permanent. Day and night; seed-time and harvest; the ebb and flow of seas; the waxings and wanings of

[1] Pensées Diverses: De la Religion.

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the moon; the far-reaching stellar, solar, and cometary revolutions, all sing the song of their divinely appointed stability. All great natures love this permanent feature of the universe. To them it is "a type of the Eternal." But if this mark of permanence is written upon all objects in the universe, surely the soul which can investigate these objects, their qualities and relations, must itself be dowered with the gift of permanence. Mr. Emerson insists upon it with the utmost earnestness, that this delight in the vast, the permanent and the strong, is an unmistakable proof of the soul's immortality; that "these long-lived and long-enduring objects are to us as we see them, only symbols of somewhat in us far longer-lived"; and "that our passions and endeavors have something ridiculous and mocking if we come to so hasty an end." To suppose that these intellectual and emotional and moral faculties which we possess, trained by so many wonderful appliances, capable of accomplishing so much, yet under the present arrangement of affairs accomplishing comparatively so little, find their issue in the eternal silence of the grave, is about as reasonable as to affirm that parents, who at vast cost and pains have educated their children to be adepts in the different arts, would, as soon as they had become ready to produce a master-piece, "call out a file of soldiers to shoot them down." Indeed, all the experiences which men so carefully and laboriously garner up, indicate a conviction which any thoughtful mind must yield its assent to, that there are in the universe "immense resources and possibilities proper to us on which we have never drawn."

And yet, admirable as this chapter is in many respects, its closing paragraphs detract somewhat from its worth, inasmuch as they leave a doubt in the mind of the reader whether Mr. Emerson, after all that he has so emphatically uttered, really holds the doctrine of a *personal* immortality, at least in the sense in which the ordinary mind supposes it to be taught in the New Testament Scriptures. His language is: "It is strange that Jesus is esteemed by mankind the bringer of the doctrine of immortality. He is never once weak or sentimental; he is very abstemious of explanation, he never preaches the *personal immortality.*" It is barely possible that Mr. Emerson wishes us to understand from the former part of this quotation, that the doctrine of a future life was believed long before Christ began his ministration; and by the latter, that he did not teach the resurrection of the identical body that is placed away in the grave. But so consummate a master of language would hardly express these two facts in words like those which we have quoted. Yet, if they really signify what, upon their very face they clearly seem to mean, then

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it is evident that they are in direct conflict, not only with all the teachings of Christ and the apostles touching the immortality of the soul, but also with that fundamental consensus of the race upon which Mr. Emerson has built up his admirable proofs in favor of the future life. The vast majority of men who believe in the life to come, believe in it as a life for each individual being, essential to its personal identity, and necessarily so in order to receive its due reward or punishment. This was clearly the belief of the representative men whose names he mentions, and whose words he cites as confirmatory of the positions which he assumes and illustrates. It was evidently the view of Schiller, of Michæl Angelo, of Bacon, of Montesquieu, of Franklin, of Van Helmont, and of Ruskin—all of whom he presents as strenuous advocates of the truth of immortality. If our personality is not immortal; if this being which we call ourself, and which, through its peculiar experiences, we know to be distinct from every other being in the universe, does not continue such throughout all the future ages, then, when Mr. Emerson asks us in such glowing words that—

> *I* have a house, a closet which holds *my* books, a table, a garden, a field; are these, any or all, a reason for refusing the angel who beckons *me* away, as if there were no room or skill elsewhere that could reproduce for *me* as *my* like or *my* enlarging wants may require?—

he is simply taking advantage of our absorbing interest in his theme to deceive us by a jugglery of words. To be absorbed into the Infinite Spirit, as the falling raindrop is swallowed up in the far-stretching sea, is not to be possessed of a personal immortal life; and is, therefore, as the plain understanding looks at it, no immortality at all. To ask us to believe that the soul is immortal; to press the statement home on the understanding by argument, by satire, by illustration, by the golden sayings of poet, painter, critic and philosopher; and then, while the whole nature thrills responsive to the proofs, to attempt to win us to an acceptance of the *post scriptum* that He who was the LIFE never taught a personal immortality, is simply to ask us to assent to the dogma of a spiritualistic pantheism; and especially when the demand is accompanied by the statement, that the growing spiritual man is—

> Rising to greater heights, but also rising to realities; the outer relation and circumstances dying out, he enters deeper into God, God into him, until the last garment of egotism falls, and he is with God, shares the will and immensity of God. . . . It is not immortality, but eternity; not duration, but a state of abandonment to the Highest, and so the sharing of his perfection.

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It is possible that we do Mr. Emerson injustice in the view which we have taken of his language. If so, most gladly would we acknowledge our error. But the language seems too plain to be mistaken.

And yet, notwithstanding the protest which we make against the closing paragraphs of the chapter on "Immortality," we are inclined to think that a special value attaches to it, apart from its mere argumentative force. As a man of intellectual power and clear insight, Mr. Emerson ranks high in the estimation, not only of many cultured minds in this country, but also of a large number in England. Dr. Tyndall and Mr. Conway place him among the foremost of living thinkers, and attribute to his opinions somewhat of oracular prescience. It is not too much to hope, therefore, that what is really valuable in this chapter of his on the future life will exert a salutary influence on the rapidly developing doctrines of some of the most influential leaders in the fields of literature and science, in the direction of a horrid materialism. Better even a spiritualistic pantheism, if that really be the doctrine hinted at in the concluding portion of this chapter, than the repulsive alternative of pure materialism, and the dust and corruption of the grave, as the final abyss of all the race's aspirations and prayers for something better than this life can give us.

Mr. Conway, in a lecture recently delivered in the City of New York, on the "Relations of Literature and Science to Revealed Truth," made the statement, that he was intimate with all the leaders of "free thought" in England; that he had frequently discussed with them the great problems of life; and that scarcely one of them held, as certain, the doctrine of a personal immortality. According to their view, the natural proofs in its favor furnish but slight foundation for its support; and the most they seem to hope for, if they really *hope* for that, is a remembrance of longer or shorter duration in the minds and hearts of those with whom they have been intimately associated; or, at best, in the case of a select few who have won a national and an international distinction by great literary works or scientific discoveries, a somewhat longer tenure of fame in the memories of scholars. These men, sad as it is to contemplate, like a former generation of French materialists to whom Fénelon refers, are so infatuated with the thoughts of their mental frailty, that, "*Ils sont charmés de cette doctrine pleine d'horreur; ils ont un goût de désespoir.*"[1] The number of those who thus disparage or deny the natural proofs in favor of a future life, and who attach less authority to the teachings of Christ and the

[1] Traités Divers: L'âme de l'homme est immortelle.

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apostles on this vital question than they do to the opinions of Mr. Emerson or of Mr. Huxley, is, it is true, small, compared with the host of competent scholars who firmly believe and earnestly inculcate the doctrine. Yet it cannot be denied that some of that small number are influential leaders of a restless and ever aggressive public opinion, which finds its highest intellectual and spiritual nourishment in the discussions of Sunday free-thinking Lyceums, and in the fascinating but fatal pages of the Westminster, and other less scholarly Reviews. To affirm by Mr. Emerson is quite as much the fashion with many enthusiastic minds, as to affirm by the Messrs. Arnold and Huxley; while the more thoughtful of the coterie would, doubtless, listen more reverently to the seer-like sayings of the former, than to those of the latter. For these considerations, therefore, we indulge the hope that this brief monograph upon "Immortality" will, at least, bring a pause to the headlong haste with which many have thrown from them their early hopes of the future life, if it does not win them to a more rational consideration of those natural proofs which, to the clear insight of Mr. Emerson, are so amply confirmatory of the doctrine.

But it is evident to any mind that has maturely considered the subject, that a completely satisfying trust in the reality of a personal immortality—such a trust as will stand proof against the shocks of the most dogmatic materialistic teachings of these times, as well as against the piercings of those keener shafts which smite us amid the gloom, and coldness, and corruption of the dear ones of our homes and hearts as we tearfully bury them out of our sight—must rest upon something more cogent and overpowering than any mere natural proofs, however numerous, and logically deduced, and skillfully wrought into the most attractive forms of human speech. The best equipped minds of all the generations have reverently and persistently struggled with the question. In that memorable prison-house at Athens, where the westering sunbeams fell through the grated window on the brow of him who was so royally putting off the mortal to be clothed with the immortal garb; in the Tusculan gardens, near Rome, where the great orator, almost broken in heart, mourned the sudden taking from him of his idolized daughter, Tullia; in the blood-stained cells of the Concergerie, where Vergniaud and his Girondist brethren reviewed, in the cold, gray twilight of the fatal dawning which beckoned them to the guillotine, the proofs upon which they might stay their souls for a desired rest beyond the clouds; in the lecture-rooms of Germany and France; as well as in the universities of England, and the seminaries of our own country,

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this one momentous question, which men cannot put away from them and forever shut out from thought, has been earnestly discussed.

Yet the metaphysics of Plato, basing the hope of immortality upon the doctrine of Contraries, as well as the recently published and remarkable argument of those distinguished physicists, Professors Tait and Stuart, reared on the physical foundation called the principle of Continuity, alike fail in satisfying the understanding, and in dismissing its grim spectral doubts. And if the reason yield its feeble assent while under the phosphorescent light of the subtle arguments, it comes back from the wearying labors of the outward life, still burdened with the anxious misgivings of one seeking rest, yet finding none. The natural proofs are to most men, in the hours of their keenest agony, only what they were to that Roman who frankly opened his soul to the gaze of his friend and said: "*Nescio quo modo, dum lego, assentior, quum posui librum et mecum ipse de immortalitate animorum cœpi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabitur.*" [1]

Let then the natural argument have its force, such as it may be. The common consensus of the race; the stimulating ideas of vastness, of permanence, and of strength, as symbols of the Eternal Mind, and subordinately as symbols of our own; the clear want of adequacy in the present exquisite arrangement of things to completely satisfy the longings of the spirit; with whatever else the ingenuity of men may devise in favor of the truth—are all well enough as far as they go. Yet they lead us but a little way into the dark valley; and they enable us to discover no clear light beyond. To make the valley luminous, and to empower us to behold with an unwavering confidence the radiant home on the farther side, a light "that never shone on land or sea" must come to us. The opened heavens alone can give it. The truth must be revealed, not argued out. He, who is the Resurrection and the Life, must break the awful silence, and speak the word, and furnish the proof which shall assure us of our destiny. This is the "something more certain" which king Edwin's judicious counselor so eagerly desired, and which assures us in majestic words, and with equally majestic proofs, that the human soul, so brief in its sojourn here, and so like the sparrow resting for a moment on the dim border-line between the darkness from which it suddenly came, and the darkness into which it quickly went, is "of the immortal race of God," and destined by a power which ever makes good its pledges to an immortal career of weal or woe. From the tomb of Lazarus, and from the sepulchre of Christ,

[1] Cicero: Tusculanæ Disputationes.

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we hear the completely satisfying words—"I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish"; "In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." And in the inspired vision which fell upon the soul of the apostle in Patmos, the Holy Ghost assures us that, in that new home which awaits the believing spirit, "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

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FORGIVENESS AND LAW.

"*Forgiveness and Law grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies.*" By HORACE BUSHNELL. Scribner and Company. New York. 1874.

A NEW significance is given to the book above named, by the death of its venerable and distinguished author so shortly after its publication. While a man lives, his opinions, even though published, cannot fairly be regarded as final. They are not so far severed from his personality as to stand or be criticised alone, or to be incapable of enlargement, qualification or withdrawal by him. They remain fluid and plastic, as it were, in the warm currents of his life and feeling, and are tempered therein, so that they cannot be judged apart from the man himself. But the same touch that stops the flowing life of the man, fixes them into permanent and independent form. They will no longer get help or interpretation from him, but must stand for themselves. The proportions of his work, too, can then only be justly judged when the outline is complete, and its net drift determined when the last bearing is set.

Dr. Bushnell was a strong and adventurous thinker, and eminently courageous and candid in uttering his thoughts. More than most writers, he infused his words with his own fervid and earnest personality, establishing a kind of mutual confidence, even though involuntary, between himself and his reader, and enlisting a sympathy

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which commended the views advocated to the feelings, even where they were not accepted definitely by the intellect.

It is a significant illustration of the conservative power of Scripture upon a devout spirit, as well as a corroborative of the radical and permanent truth involved in that form of the doctrine of atonement commonly called orthodox, that this last volume should contain a complete retraction of the earnest denials heretofore put forth of one of the essential elements of that doctrine. At the same time the eagerness of protest that this retraction does not affect materially the peculiar theory heretofore advocated by the author, shows the tenacity and ingenuity with which a strong mind seeks to preserve its cherished system, while refusing to be disloyal to further convictions of truth, seemingly at first incongruous. Theodore Parker took as his fixed point for all measurements, human and divine, conscience, as the "voice of God in the soul of man." Refusing all limitations by Scripture or the outward universe, he swung away into an open and shoreless sea. Dr. Bushnell, accepting in like manner as his point of departure, the notion of an analogy of the human and Divine, so complete that the former may absolutely interpret the latter, was stayed by the Scripture which he trusted and the Spirit he had received from so perilous a departure; and by his last utterances, practically, though not consentingly, confessed the uncertainty of that method, which, taking its central thought outside of Scripture, builds its symmetrical system speculatively, and then seeks to reconcile nature and the word of God to it and through it. If he himself has seen no shore in that direction, who was the pioneer, but at the last has set his course backward, there is little argument in his career for those who have followed him to venture further.

Before proceeding to examine the work in question, it is worth while to refer to some of the peculiarities of Dr. Bushnell's writing. Both his language and method were eccentric, so that one cannot always with confidence attempt to restate him, not being sure that his words are rightly interpreted. His own theory of language, long since stated in the introduction to his work entitled "God in Christ," in fact seems to make language itself, for practical ends, almost valueless.

He there says:

> I cannot sympathize at all with the abundant protesting of the Unitarians against creeds. So far from suffering even the least consciousness of restraint or oppression under any creed, I have been the readier to accept as great a number as came in my way; for when they are subjected to the *deepest chemistry of thought*, that which descends to the

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point of *relationship* between the *form of the truth* and its *interior formless nature* they become thereupon *so elastic* and *run so freely into each other*, that one seldom need have any difficulty in accepting as many as are offered him.

Now, certainly, whoever reads, seeks the innermost thought of the writer, or ought to do so. The "deepest chemistry of thought" should, therefore, always be applied. But if thereupon the words become so "elastic" and "formless" as to bound and define nothing, or shift and glide, losing all constancy of meaning, they cease to be a fit vehicle for communication. There can be no intelligent exchange where there is no current coin, but only a kind of fairy money, that shrinks and swells at the touch of fancy. The reader must then get the writer's meaning, not through the comprehension of words and sentences definitely and in detail, but by a sympathetic intuition—by touch, as insects understand each other by rubbing their antennæ. Analysis or review, therefore, seems as little likely to bring satisfactory results as the attempt to explore the secret of a rose garden by stripping the petals apart, or counting the bushes. The aroma, which is the real secret, is too subtle for such processes.

Of course no man would apply or claim the benefit of this theory in its extreme form. Dr. Bushnell did not. But it unquestionably led him to the disparagement of what he called, contemptuously, "dictionary law," and to the use of familiar words in unfamiliar senses—a use so fantastic as to seem at times almost perverse. For example: his former book, entitled "The Vicarious Sacrifice," was written to prove that the transaction it described was *not* "vicarious" and *not* a "sacrifice" in any ordinary sense of the term; and the present volume on "Forgiveness and Law" is based on the assumption that "forgiveness of sins" is *not* of "sins," but of "*persons*" only, and that "law" is not "law" in any "dictionary" or earthly sense, but a kind of ethical "phlogiston," a hypothetical substratum of that which men call law, in which God and man are alike held. The difficulty and danger arising from the use of ordinary words in a transcendental sense, would not be so great if, having been clearly so defined, they were uniformly and consistently so applied. When a subject has been defined out of this sublunary sphere into a region where there are "no obstructions but space and time," no latitude of language can be refused. In the discussion of the Infinite and the Ideal, gauges and calipers are out of order. But when the matter considered lies at the border line of the Infinite and Finite, the crossing that line without notice, and the alternate and capricious

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use of words in a sense ordinary or extraordinary, becomes confusing and perilous.

It seems at first strangely inconsistent that one who values word-meanings so lightly, should, as in this volume, so anxiously and laboriously seek to fix new definitions upon current phrases, and in effect to let the whole argument rest on success in this. But it will be found that the assumed redefinition so broadens and ethereal-izes the terms in question as to leave them at last undefined. The whole treatise, in like manner, though logical in form, is essentially rhetorical; precision and sequence of argument being overflowed with exuberance of metaphor and melted down in heat of feeling. In the introduction[1] it is distinctly assumed "that nothing *can* be true of God or of Christ which is not true in some sense, *more humano*, and made intelligible by human analogies." Here is a denial of the measure of Deity as outgoing human limitations, radical enough, if left alone, to constitute the boniest rationalism. Later,[2] however, we read of man as passing "into God, so to speak, and being hid and covered and charactered in all action by his righteousness." This "charactering" being not declarative, as in the ordinary sense of justification, nor actual, as in sanctification, but (to quote again[3]) "to be so joined by faith to the righteousness of God as to be rather invested by it, or enveloped in it, than to be transformed all through in its own inherent quality." Here then is a new character which is neither nominal nor real, neither imputed nor wrought out, but literally put upon a man by Divine power. Surely, this is mysticism of the most tropical luxuriance.

The justice of the author's interpretation of others, and of Scripture, is often marred by attributing to them his own rhetorical fervor while using the passages, quoted under that view, for the purposes of his argument. For instance, referring to the statement of Paul in Gal. iii. 13: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, for it is written, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree,'" he declares[4] that the passage cited by the apostle "only occurs to him as a verbal coincidence, though a little out of line as to any precise accord of meaning;" and adds, "the rhetoric of his gratitude scorns detention by any over-nice exactness." Now these words are no part of an apostolic rhapsody, but of a calm and careful argument, and have an exactness and force of application to the apostle's purpose as complete as it is destructive to the theory here advanced. So it is sublimated into rhetoric by a sentence.

[1] "Forgiveness and Law," p. 13.
[2] Ibid, p. 199.
[3] Ibid, p. 211.
[4] Ibid, p. 166.

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There is a remarkable conclusion, reached by the same process, concerning Luther. If there was ever any man who knew what he believed, and whose belief went to the roots of him, it was Martin Luther. If there was ever a man who knew how to obey Falstaff's injunction to Pistol, "to deliver himself like a man of this world," it was he. He was ruggedly, curtly, unmistakably clear in his words. If there was ever any one doctrine upon which he had a mature and clear-cut opinion, and on which his opinion was thoroughly and unequivocally uttered, it was the doctrine of "Justification by Faith"; and yet it is precisely of Luther and of his *articulus stantis, vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, that Dr. Bushnell says[1]:

> This he thought he believed, but we are not obliged to believe that he did. The truth, indeed, appears to be that his heart sailed over his theology, and did not come down to see it. . . . But this is not the first time that the head of a great man has not been equal to the understanding or true interpretation of his heart.

With these preliminary words, I proceed to a brief resumé of the work in hand, and, as far as possible, in the words of the author.

The book, it is stated in the Introduction, has come into being through "the unexpected arrival of fresh light," "requiring a large revision of his former work on the Vicarious Sacrifice;" and this is intended to be substituted for parts three and four of that work.

The titles of the two works ("The Vicarious Sacrifice grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation," and "Forgiveness and Law grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies"), reveal the underlying conception of both. They are an effort to construct and define a theory of the atonement from materials supplied by human experience and thought, and include also the attempt to justify this theory by Scripture. The effort issues in the so-called "Moral Theory" of the Atonement, denying the *objective* reality of redemption, and urging instead that "Christ, by his suffering, life and ministry, becomes a reconciling power *in character*, the power of God unto salvation."

For the more comprehensive understanding of the whole discussion I advert to the first two parts (not now withdrawn) of the former work.

In the *First* Part he maintains that:

> Love is essentially vicarious, and must suffer for others; that the principle of vicarious suffering is of universal obligation; that Christ,

[1] Forgiveness and Law, p. 208.

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therefore, was under obligation to suffer for man, and can have no peculiar merit thereby; that the Father, the Spirit, good angels, and all souls redeemed, share with him in it.

Upon reading this chapter, I think the following impressions would naturally arise:

1. That it is a mistake to argue because of the experience of love in a *broken* world, that its *nature necessitates* pain, and that in all worlds its thermometer must be marked by blood. Our instincts are not satisfied that love should be always uncrowned. This was the condemnation of the world's sin—an abnormal experience—that love was crucified.

2. It is hazardous and unscriptural to speak of obligation upon God as parallel with that on us. "If salvation be of debt, it is no more of grace."

3. If all beings are our redeemers, there is no fitness in Christ's peculiar name. It is no longer true that "There is none other name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved."

In the *Second* Part, he insists that —

> Christ comes to earth not to die, but dies because he is here; that in healing men he symbolizes his mission to renew souls, and that without penal substitution; that he earns power for this by his life and ministry; that this culminates in his resurrection, and increases by natural law thenceforth.

Commenting on this, I observe:

1. That if Christ did not anticipate his death, but only incidentally met it, the pith is gone out of the prophecies, and the prominence of the cross in Scripture unaccountable.

2. That if healing symbolized that there were no obstructions to be removed before the entrance of souls into life, it is singular that he should speak of forgiveness of sins, release from demons, and the certainty of perishing of the unsaved, in connection with such healing.

3. If the power of Christ began and grew by natural methods, the predicted necessity and marvelousness of the Spirit's work are incomprehensible.

We now reach the *Third* and *Fourth* Parts, of which, as they are replaced by the treatise under discussion, it is only necessary to say that they maintain in general the proposition that "in Christ's work the reconciliation is of man to God only, and not of God to man."

This last proposition the author, in this work, withdraws, admitting that the propitiation on God's part is real, but qualifying the admission as hereafter stated.

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The book is divided into four chapters, carrying forward the following train of thought:

CHAP. I. Forgiveness and Propitiation, Without Expiation.

Maintains, 1. That forgiveness by God and man are the same.

2. That man's forgiveness involves necessarily: *first*, thorough identification by sympathy with the forgive; *second*, "making cost" for him by suffering.

3. That this is true of God in Christ, and supposed objections are answered.

4. Turning to Scripture for confirmation, all is rested on the meaning of sacrifice, which is proved to be "appeasing indignation," which *is* "propitiation."

5. It is admitted that, in the Greek classics, the sacrificial words involve "expiation" (which differs from propitiation in having reference to acts or things, while that refers to persons) but denies any such use in Scripture.

II. Law and Commandment.

The author proceeds from forgiveness, which he styles a "purely personal matter," to consider the "impersonal wrongs of law and their settlement."

1. He insists that there can be no satisfaction whatever for broken law, and that all notions of that sort are inventions.

2. He makes a line between *law* and *commandment* (νομος and εντολη). The *former* is the self-asserting *idea* of *right*—"the law before government." Out of this, for special applications, follow statutes, moral, civil, ritual, etc. The latter, *i. e.*, "commandment," is "all that is commended to man's life and feeling by Christ's life and death;" no "syllables and statutory dictations," but "a gently guiding power."

3. These supplement each other—one working by "penal sanctions" and "negative statutes," the other by inspirations.

4. One is a factor in *nature*, the other in the *supernatural*; but the latter does not counteract the former.

5. Both make up a "penally coercive discipline" for us, in which is not justice—that comes hereafter—but *corrective* work.

6. Into this discipline—already existing—Christ is incarnated, and consecrates it by dying in it and for it.

7. This is called "being under the curse"; which is not a "state of doom or punition," but one of discipline, ordained for spiritual recovery.

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8. He examines passages in which Christ is said to have "redeemed us"; "borne our sins"; "given his life a ransom," and the language of Is. liii, and finds "penal sanction suffering," but no word of *judicial substitution.*

III. Justification by Faith.

1. He insists on the distinction between "just," "justify," on the one hand, and "righteous," "make righteous" on the other; because the former are forensic, the latter moral, and right Scripture words.

2. He objects to forensic justification: (*a*) that no faith in a fact can transform; (*b*) that it justifies the unjust; (*c*) that the righteousness furnished is negative; (*d*) and that it is ignoble, being only "jail delivery."

3. He insists that true justification "makes righteous," which means *perfect.*

4. This is done by God's new "charactering" men.

5. This on faith, which is *trust.*

6. Sanctification distinguished, as being *infused,* while this is *invested* righteousness.

IV. Three-fold Doctrine of Christ concerning Himself in John xvi. 7-15.

He says, "This is Christ's final statement of results of his life's work."

1. His life and death will raise new sensibility to sin—not in individuals only, but in the world—of sin, not sins only—involving sense of guiltiness, chronic, and self-incurable.

2. After he is gone his righteousness, though no *greater,* will be better *appreciated*—"great revisions of memory" will come. This passage, he says, yields an inference conclusive against the paymaster scheme, for this is quickened sensibility for righteousness and nothing more.

3. *Of judgment;* means laying "stunning blows on the idols of this world;" not final judgments, nor by force, but moral.

He concludes that—

Christ conceives himself to be the righteousness of God charactered in outward figure in human life, whereupon the guilty world coming to him by faith, are to have it in them by divine assimilation, or a certain divine contagion, having it not from themselves, but only as being *acted consentingly* into it.

I think *three* radical errors will be found to underlie this whole scheme.

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1. The unauthorized assumption of the human as the final interpreter and measure of the Divine.

2. The practical ignoring of the objective universe as a factor in the discussion, (which results from the assumption that forgiveness is a purely personal transaction in which the individual and God are alone concerned), and the reduction of law from actuality in the constitution of things to an ideal in the individual mind, human or Divine.

3. The obliteration of the distinction, so carefully maintained in Scripture, between justification, the work of Christ for us, and sanctification, the work of the Spirit in us.

Let us refer to these points in their order:

I. It is a favorite assertion here, and radical to the system, that "there is a grand analogy, or almost identity," "between our moral nature and that of God," "so that nothing can be true of him which is not true in some sense *more humano* and is not made intelligible by human analogies." So that man may, by self-scrutiny, not only predict what may be expected, but may determine what *cannot be true* of Deity. He may not only by self-illumination determine the nature, but gauge the contents and assign the limitations of the Infinite.

But, to constitute analogy, there must be not only a *likeness* of things, which is *similarity*, but of things in their *relations*. Even admitting for a moment that man in free-will is "above causes," and so "supernatural," (as Dr. Bushnell has elsewhere argued), and in that respect like God, it does not follow that there is an analogy in motive, method, or conditions of activity or of will. Admitting, as here claimed, that the idea of the obligation of right, in the abstract, being self-evident necessary and universal, must be attributed to every conceivable being, and therefore to God, it does not follow that we can, from human conditions, construct a canon of *practical* right for the Divine. To feel that one ought to do right in the abstract is one thing; to determine what is right in a particular case is another thing. And here, from lack of premises broad enough, all *a priori* arguments concerning the alleged necessities of the Divine administration must fail. "We see but parts of His ways."

But the analogy, to measure the nature and predict the ways of Deity, is here found, not in will and conscience—the elements in us most stable and nearest Divine; but in the lower and more fickle realm of feeling. The terms "moral pathology," "moral instincts," are used indeed; but the "pathologies" vouched are moral only in the sense that all affectional phenomena are so; and that they are not instincts at all is plain, since he admits they are not universal;

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and indeed insists that they act in no man except "when in the highest key of supernatural life and exaltation." It must be apparent that by "analogy" from this lighthouse-taper, revolving and flickering, we can hardly predict the *sun*.

Two Scripture texts are cited as proving that (as the marginal title reads), "Forgiveness by God and man are the same." In both, the argument rests on the word "as." In the first (Eph. iv. 32) we are exhorted to forgive "as" (καθως) "God for Christ's sake has forgiven us." But the word here is a connective of the two sentences, and being argumentative, and not comparative, has no force as explaining the relative nature, but simply enforces the duty of forgiveness. The same is true of the other passage (Matt vi. 12): "Forgive us our debts as (ὡς) we forgive our debtors." That this does not mean "in the *same manner* as" (which would be ὁμοίως) is evident from the succeeding verse (14): "*For* if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you;" and from the parallel passage in Luke xix, where the corresponding word is (γάρ) "for," and in Mark where it is ἵνα ("so that"). These words, therefore, do not justify the inference here drawn, or what Bacon calls "the taking an aim at Divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixtures of imagination." Inspiration seems rather to rebuke the notion, saying: "Thou thoughtest I was altogether such a one as thyself," and commending Job as having "spoken the thing that is right," when he had said with reference to his former measurements of God, "Therefore have I uttered that I understood not, things too wonderful for me, which I knew not."

The danger of this false analogy is apparent, when it reaches the conclusions before named, that the normal life of love is suffering, and that God is bound to redeem man by law obliging him. It is made more plain by the further statement herein that the hindrance to God's forgiveness is in his temper of mind, which must be, to use Dr. Bushnell's phrase, "acted into forgiveness." How uncouth this idea seems in the light of a sentence used concerning man, viz.: "It is our instinct to make cost freely to keep our ugly intractable nature pliant to this gentle ministry." Instinct seems here to compel the admission that our indignation is muddy with earthy sediments, too closely mixed to be strained and find a residuum mirroring the Divine. We must not "let the sun go down on *our* wrath" because the fresh-born impulse, even of a holy indignation, marries itself so quick to evil propensities, and begets settled malice; as the "sons of God" taking the "daughters of men" begot "men of violence" of old.

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Does *God's* wrath also grow unholy by *abiding?* The question with *us* is not only how to find a right to forgive, but how to be *able* when it *is* right. Dare we say that the latter is true of God? Yet it is precisely to the establishment of this proposition that this book tends.

II. *I turn to the discussion of the second proposition,* in its two forms:

1. That forgiveness is an exclusively subjective and personal transaction, having no reference to exterior facts or things, but being a "liquefaction of temper" in the forgiving.

2. That law and commandment have to do with character and not conduct; under which righteousness and not justice (except conventionally and dispensationally) is the end sought; so that justification is not setting right with justice, but inwardly new-tempering the man. Under this head I consider also the third objection named, viz., the confusion of justification with sanctification.

It is one of the illustrative achievements of the "chemistry of thought," that when the word "forgiveness" has gone through its crucible, it has been altogether purged of its old meaning, and been infused with two new ones. It is rather the work of the Alchemist, for it has been transmuted by sublimation.

There are three words in the New Testament translated to "forgive," viz.: ἀπολύω (only once so used, and then without a noun following) commonly rendered "to loose, put away, release." χαρίζωμαι, also translated "grant, give, freely give," the emphasis being laid on the *gracious* element. Of course in the sense of *giving* this verb alludes to "things," not persons, and in the sense of "forgiving," it is followed by the accusative of the "thing," as the direct object and the dative of the "person," as in 2 Cor. ii. 10: "To whom ye forgive anything," etc. The third and usual word is ἀφίημι (and its noun ἄφεσις, is the only word in the New Testament translated "forgiveness.") The verb, as its components indicate, means simply to "send away," "let go"; when used in the sense now in question, it *invariably* has for its direct object *things* and *not* persons, as in the familiar commands concerning the forgiveness of debts or trespasses. The noun (ἄφεσις) is used seventeen times in the New Testament; in all but three it is used in reference to "forgiveness or remission of sins," and in none has it the person as direct object. Yet it is here insisted that forgiveness is never of things, but always of persons only.

Again, it is urged that a "mere letting go" is no forgiveness, but that two things are necessary; "*first,* such a sympathy with the wrong-doing party as virtually takes his nature; and, *second,* a making

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cost in that nature by suffering," etc. These are given, not as the precedents or attendants of forgiveness, but as its essential and complete constituents. Correlative to this we are told that the ground of necessity for forgiveness is "the sense of being hurt by wrong, indignations against wrongs done to others, disgust to what is loathsome," certain "animosities or revulsions of feeling," which "fasten their grip on the malefactor sins and refuse to let them go," etc. The writer supposes the case of a trusted partner, who defrauds and nearly ruins his co-partner, and then goes down under vice, his family sinking with him; his son is arrested for crime: at last infectious disease falls on him and his, and they are ready to perish. The injured co-partner ministers to the family, bails the son, and braves the infection to save them from the grave; only by this means, having long since "said his forgiveness," he has "acted himself" into the reality. Observe, that in the beginning the man has said: "I must forgive; and meant, on principle, to do it;" that is to say, it was his *duty* to do it, which his *feelings* made impossible. Again it was the misery of the man with his family, not his repentance, that brought final forgiveness—an appeal to pity, not to conscience. If his indignation was *moral*, not affectional only, he must be indignant still. The Scripture says: "If he repent forgive him;" this theory says if he be crushed, forgive him. Must we believe of God that feeling he *ought* to forgive, he cannot—cannot do right? Are we to believe that the two essential elements of forgiveness are the new tempering of God, and the working that out by the misery of man! It is not clear either, that in the case related the supposed self-propitiation by sympathy and burden-bearing is an essential element of the final forgiveness. Leave out the misery of the wrong-doer; suppose him, instead, to prosper, and refuse to pay the money stolen. Let the injured man now sleep on a pillow of spikes, that he may enter into an angry conscience, and put himself and his family on a bread and water diet to pay the rich thief's taxes. He has now taken the man's condition upon him by sympathy, he has made cost for him. Will it "quench the indignations" that have been "scorching his love"? Will it "liquefy his reluctant nature?"

The fact is, that "a trespass" is in the nature of "debt," as Scripture usage implies, and forgiveness is essentially (whatever coincident transactions may occur), the "letting go," "wiping out," the claim. It is a transaction in the realm of the moral nature (the realm of the "ought") and not of feeling only; ethical, not emotional; having relations and results actual in the world of things, and not transcendental merely.

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For illustration of the doctrine in hand the Scripture idea of sacrifice is now referred to, and the word "propitiation" examined. Sacrifice was found in the former treatise on "Vicarious Sacrifice" to be only a "transactional liturgy," a "vehicle for the expression of devout feeling," free from any tinge of expiation or substitution; the "terminal result" being a "cleansing of the worshipper." The emphasis in this theory, and in the discussion of the word "propitiation," is laid hard on the "terminal result"; so hard in fact, as virtually to obliterate all that precedes, leaving it to terminate nothing, and be a result of nothing, but to comprehend all in itself. It is insisted that as "ἱλάσκομαι" is etymologically allied to *hilarity*, and the day of atonement terminated in joy, so the whole sacrificial proceeding was joyful; that since, as the result, the people were "cleansed," the fact of cleansing was the whole purport of the ceremony, and the method of the fact insignificant. This was the view in the former treatise, in which it was urged that God was not propitiated, but man made cost to himself, and reconciled himself into a better state of mind.

This self-reconciliation is still maintained to be the principal purport of the ceremony; and, in fact, there is but slim revisal of the old statement, in the suggestion that the blood given on the altar is given by God with man, and so a symbol of His self-propitiation. But propitiation itself, it is insisted again, means reconciliation, because that is the terminal result—the Hebrew *Kaphar* (to cover) and the Greek ἱλαστήριον (mercy-seat) mean reconciliation, because that is what they lead to. In a word, it is implied that the whole teaching of the ceremonial law was that men might be *cleansed*, but that the means and process of cleansing were insignificant. But if only cleansing was meant, why so *cumbrous* a ceremonial for so simple and comprehensible an idea? if cleansing directly and not symbolically, why not by water rather than blood, which defiles instead? If cleansed by blood through its intrinsic symbolism of life, as here urged, why not by blood drawn from the *living?* if by blood with reference to natural law, and not judicial expiation, why not the blood of such as died of itself? Why must the death be violent and official? If not in any sense substitutive, why the hands on the head of the victim? why the name of the tribes, on the breast-plate of the priest, borne with blood, into the holiest, one for many, as expressly declared?

The relation of sacrifice to Christ's cross, is disposed of in the suggestion that, if fitly called a sacrifice at all, it was "a sacrifice a great way out of correspondence, that we may not class it too closely

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with the dull and prosy rites that have finished their mission in preparing a language for something in a higher key." Now the writer to the Hebrews urges that while the law had a "shadow (σκιά) of good things to come," we have the very image (εἰκών) of the things." But both "shadow" and "image" bear a real relation to the fact they hint. The one giving the outline, the other the form. If I am right, the latter term (εἰκών) means the outward shape, actually *containing* the inward fact, which was only *prefigured* by the shadow. If this be so, it may be that we have not, and need not have, direct vision of the inward and real essence of the atonement, which would dispense with theories thereof; but we have the facts made plain to us, *in* which is the truth, *not beyond* them. The Jew was intended to look *beyond* the tabernacle altar; we are bidden to look *to* Christ, "For the body is of Christ."

I think it was plain to the Jew that there was hindrance between him and God that his own work could not remove. Before he could offer peace-offerings and be accepted, he must make sin-offerings. Before the individual could be accepted, the cloud of guilt must be lifted from the nation by the offering of atonement for all. Righteousness must come before peace, and that by "shedding of blood." When Christ is said to be "made sin," there is evident allusion to the priest's laying hands upon the victim by which he was said to "sin it, or make it sin." When he is said to "bear our sins," we can but think of the High Priest who was to "bear the sins" of the people, in sacrificial blood of the sin-stricken victim, into the Holiest. If we doubted the interpretation of this, the Epistle to the Hebrews compels us. The old was a "shadow" "ready to vanish away," but it was a shadow "of things to come," a "shadow of the truth." Christ *is* the "truth." His sacrifice is the "end of the law." That we do not know all the inner meanings of the fact does not justify us in refusing the fact itself as real, not a phantasm, that Christ "bore our sins in his body on the tree." Earnest Martin Luther, in his day, used to say: "We have not a painted sin, and cannot do with a painted Saviour."

But it remains to consider the conception here given of law and commandment, and their relation to forgiveness. It is first suggested that as forgiveness is purely personal, it does not put a man right with law, and it is added, that nothing can. The author having in his introduction stated that the modern and true doctrine of depravity is, "that every sinning man is retributively, damaged in his own person by the effect of his sin, which damage is propagated of necessity in his posterity by well-known physiological laws," and that the Abrahamic covenant has also got into the laws of physiology, so that

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"every good element and gracious longing works reproductively in the child," it is plain enough that if that definition of the relations of human destiny to law is adhered to, the conclusion now announced is inevitable. There is no Calvinism so grim and terrible as that of Buckle, Wendell Holmes, and Tyndall (who gnash their teeth at the name of Calvin), and which is practically reasserted here. Man's depravity, according to these materialistic fatalists, consists in his being shot out of the ancestral cannon in the wrong direction, and his misery is that the law which has sent him, can never be appeased, nor forgive him for going. As the very idea of impersonal law involves inflexibility, it is evident that it having got a grip on man, can never relax nor release him; and except he can get out of the range of it, the question of the possibility of abstract forgiveness can be of little interest to him, for it leaves him still, though ideally forgiven, practically to be ground to powder.

But this definition is not maintained. Law now, instead of being a relentless passionless engine of nature, becomes an intelligent and compassionate tutor (not, however, as modified anticipatively or otherwise by the work of Christ, but by its original constitution); and man's depravity consists not in sin and guilt, nor is his misery the penalty of sin, but the former is his defect of holiness, and the latter the normal fruit of untrained impulses. The "curse" is not that threatened in Eden, nor the result of "desert," for there is no "justice" here, but only "penal sanction discipline," not judicial, but educational. Christ's suffering and death are not central, but incidental, the consequence of "entering into the solidarity of the sin-wrath;" and have no relation to law, except to magnify and exalt it from statute to personality, abolishing its penalties, and becoming an influence to complete what the law left incomplete.

This portion of the book contains an extraordinary piece of mysticism. It denies that God made man upright, and that he has fallen, "bringing death into our world and all our woe." Yet it finds him under a "solidarity principle of sin-wrath," which again is not "desert," nor its misery "justice." It leaves us to answer the question, how came wrath upon the sinless, and what is the government that ignores justice until another world, as a part of its organic constitution. The "curse" which Christ took was not, according to Scripture, the censure of a schoolmaster uttered in the education of his pupil; but the curse of a judge upon the transgression of a law.

The remaining argument under this head, is that "justification" is not "declaring" righteous, but *making* so.

A very earnest discrimination is here made between "justice" and

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"righteousness," as belonging to totally remote spheres; the one judicial, the other moral. The latter, it is insisted, should always render the word δικαιοσυνη, and "righteous" and "make righteous," δικαιος and δικαιοω. "Righteousness," it is urged, is greater than "justice," being eternal and radical, while that is conventional ("God *must* be righteous, he *will* be just"). It is the "*great* word for character" in Scripture; the greatest; indeed, involving the elements of all nobleness. Plato is referred to for definition of δικαιοσυνη, and emphasis laid on the fact that he speaks of it as the "virtue of the soul," "an autocratic, all-piercing idea," which finally in the discussion evaporates into the indefinable.

Now, in fact, the word δικαιοσυνη belongs to a group of words (δικαστῆρ, a judge; δικαστίκος, judicial, etc.), all forensic and rooted in δίκη, "established custom," "usage," etc., corresponding to *jus* (formal or statutory) as distinguished from *fas* (eternal and ideal right). In the New Testament, ὁσιότης, *holiness*, would far better cover the idea of perfect character than δικαιοσύνη; being self-contained perfectness, wholeness, a circle measured from within itself, as righteousness is a right line measured by another. It is the greater word. To refer to Plato for the actual meaning of terms, however, is as inconsistent as in our day to refer to Ralph W. Emerson, to find that *religion*, for instance, is "a mountain *air*," "storax, chlorine, rosemary," and the "silent song of the stars is it." One of the sentences cited from Plato, is from the Republic, which is given characteristically to idealism; the other from the Cratylus, and occurs in one of the butterfly chases after fanciful derivations of words. But Plato himself taught that ἀγαθός was to the Greek a better and fuller word for character than δίκαιος.

But the question returns, What is justification? The argument here is, that it is "making righteous." The expression might be ambiguous were not pains taken to remove that objection, and show that it is used in neither of the two natural senses, but in a third, which is incomprehensible. A judge, of course, does not make a convict "righteous" in character by sentence of acquittal, but he makes him righteous in law—*rectus in curia*—declaratively righteous. The moral reformer, it may be, then gets hold of him, and by healthful influence remoulds him inwardly, making him, as to morality, righteous in character, actually righteous. Now is wanted a third sense, in which the man, not being acquitted in law, nor remoulded in life, shall be "new charactered" by an overshadowing influence that, not having appeased his conscience nor the law, nor affected his character, shall yet make him literally righteous. Guilty before the law, unre-

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formed in life, yet he is to be righteous in name, and righteous in fact. Surely if there is an "appalling fiction" as here argued in speaking of Israel as "ransomed" after the Passover, "free" when they have crossed the Red Sea and Pharoah is drowned, although yet to be chastened and wrought into inner freedom by the Wilderness and Canaan, there would be greater fiction in calling them free when neither inwardly nor outwardly delivered, but only wrapped in a shimmering phantasm of Canaan.

There is a universe, and a literal law; and to these, and to God, we are related. Sin has marred that relation outward as well as inward. "The whole creation groaneth" with us. The burden is on us with it. We must be set right in *relation* before we can grow right in *character*. "Righteousness" first, then "true holiness." First *liberty, then* progress.

The last chapter (on the "Mission of the Comforter," John xvi. 7-15) does not in its main points widely vary from the treatment of the passage by Arch-deacon Hare, in his book bearing that title, and the voluminous notes, where it would be rare indeed among the many interpretations given to find any supposed new one omitted. There is, however, here this peculiarity, that but little stress is laid on the work as a work of the Comforter, even when referring to the Pentecostal time. All seems to be treated as the result of natural processes. Notice specially the treatment of the second element in the Spirit's work, the conviction "of righteousness." "Righteousness" is here taken to mean the essential holiness of the Divine character, as portrayed in Christ. This, of course, ignores the ground of conviction "of righteousness" assigned, viz., "because I go to my Father." No stress is laid on the "resurrection of Christ," nor the "gift of the Spirit," which the apostles claimed as the confirmation that God had accepted and declared him thereby "Jesus Christ the righteous." Paul speaks of him as "justified in the Spirit," "raised up by the Spirit," and so "declared to be the Son of God with power"; *i. e.*, vindicated and recognized as having finished his atoning work. But if "justify" means *always* to "*make righteous*," he was *made*, not *declared*, righteous in that hour.

No man can justly doubt the sincerity and confidence of the life-long effort which this book concludes so to restate the truth of the gospel as to make it more congenial and acceptable to men. This last endeavor is full of pathos, of power and magnetism. Men will catch, in reading it, the breath of inspiring sentiments, and feel that they are drawing "near to some country." But all restatements of men have thus far failed to improve upon the plain and realistic words of Paul

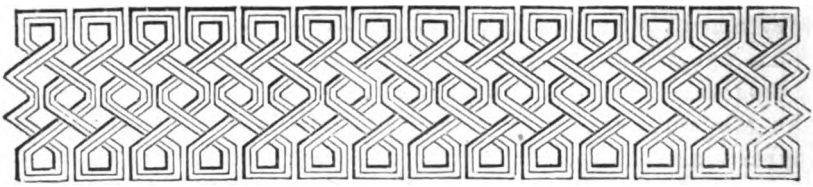
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at Antioch: "And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again." "Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses."

JESSE B. THOMAS.

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PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY.

I. The Denial Considered.

IT is taken for granted, by a large class of writers, that theology is not progressive. It is claimed, not only that Christian theology has made no progress in the past, but that no progress is possible for it in the future. In many cases, such a view is rather implied than positively affirmed. Every one will call to mind the statement of Macaulay, that "revealed religion is not of the nature of a progressive science," inasmuch as "all divine truth, according to the Protestant doctrine, is recorded in certain books." This statement, by one of the most fascinating of historical writers, has been circulated wherever the English language is spoken. And, so far from being contradicted, much less refuted, has often received seeming corroboration from the statements of Christian writers. And thus the way has been paved for kindred statements, spiced sometimes with an element of bitterness and affected disdain, by those who have taken an attitude of hostility to religion itself.

In the preface to Dr. Draper's recent work on the Conflict between Religion and Science, we have the statement that a divine revelation "must repudiate all improvement in itself, and view with disdain that arising from the progressive intellectual development of man." And he goes on to speak of revelation as in its own nature immovably averse to the advancement of knowledge. Dr. Draper would

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evidently have us understand, not only that the Christian religion is non-progressive in itself, but that it is opposed to all intellectual progress.

A simple glance at the actual state of the case is sufficient to show the statement not only unsupported, but amply refuted by the plainest facts of the case. How does it happen that, where Christianity most prevails, educational advancement is invariably the greatest? How does it happen that nearly all efficient institutions of learning have been founded and officered and managed by Christian men? And how does it happen that Christians have done, and are doing, far more for the cause of public education and the general diffusion of knowledge than all other classes combined? Surely, the only deduction possible from the facts in the case is, that not only is Christianity favorable to intellectual advancement, but that it carries in it the inspiration, and supplies to the human mind the very motives, that ensure it.

But, is Christian knowledge itself subject to a like advancement? In other words, is Christian theology progressive? This is the question which we propose to consider.

There are two classes who assume the non-progressive nature of theology. The first are Christians who accept a formulated theology as an authoritative standard. The formula forecloses discovery and, by concluding research, prohibits progress. This class have much to say of Christianity according to the standards; and any departure from these, in methods of Christian work, or worship, or forms of faith, is looked upon with suspicion, if not decided disapproval. It matters not that rapid progress is being made in every correlated range of thought and investigation; the standards must remain unchanged. This view is entirely consistent with an honest and earnest regard for Christianity itself, and usually begets a strong desire to protect it from what are deemed corrupting innovations.

The second class are at heart, if they are not the avowed, enemies of Christianity. These delight to contrast Christianity unfavorably with modern science. "While theology" they say "is not in the least progressive, nothing ever having been added to it since the Scripture canon was completed," they ask us to notice with what impetus free thought is moving onward, how research is pushing out in every direction beyond the old enclosures, and what progress is being made in every other branch of knowledge. "The world has outgrown theology; and in its rapid intellectual advancement has left it far behind."

Before adopting either of these views, it would be well for us to

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understand definitely what we mean by progress. What is progress in science? Is not Christian theology susceptible of a similar progress? Has not such progress actually been made? Is not such progress provided for in the very nature of theology itself?

The boast of freedom of thought is often most thoughtlessly made. It seems to be assumed that this freedom is without limitations. Whereas there is no such thing as rational thought that does not proceed in view of definite limitations, or that does not follow certain definite logical methods. And human thought is just as free, within the proper limitations and according to the proper logical methods, in religion as in science. In either direction, investigation must be subject to divine authority and limited by the divine disclosures.

Besides, it is a grand mistake to suppose that, in any branch of knowledge, the facts and truths are ever left behind or outgrown. Astronomy has never outgrown Kepler's Laws; nor has chemistry, in its most recent progress, left behind the law of definite proportions. Neither has our modern advancement outgrown anything that was ever true in science or theology.

What is already positively known is the basis of all subsequent discovery. It follows, too, that formulas, properly employed, are not hindrances, but helps to free thought. They constitute the data on which investigation must proceed. Our knowledge only becomes of permanent use, when it is shaped into precise and definite statements. Human progress, in any branch of knowledge, will be evinced by the completeness with which its facts are classified, and its truths formulated. This is true of every distinct science, and it is equally true of theology. A vast amount of investigation and widely varied research may have gone to the establishment of the truth embraced in a single formal statement, and an equal amount of investigation and research may be suggested and promoted by it.

It is only when human authority assumes to dictate the formulas we shall accept, that our spiritual liberty is invaded, and free thought restrained. When this is done, either in the name of science or religion, the result is invariably disastrous and every way deplorable.

And here we should notice the very marked difference between a formal declaration of belief, and a formula of faith prescribed by human authority. The declaration of faith is given forth as embodying conclusions which have been reached, and therefore are sincerely believed, by the individual or society that makes the declaration. The formula of human prescription is given forth as that which *must be accepted.* The one is evolved by the free thought, and is, so far as it goes, the embodied wisdom of the individual or

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society that gives it forth. The other is imposed upon the individual or society, as a higher wisdom, to which their intellectual processes must be conformed, and within which the spirit of enquiry must be circumscribed. The declaration of beliefs that are thought to be established, with reasons therefor, can hardly fail to be provocative of free thought and sound investigation; while human prescription erects its formularies as Pillars of Hercules—the finalities of human thought, the Ultima Thule of human progress.

Religion has always received the most telling blows from professedly religious sources. The power of darkness is most potent for evil when robed like an angel of light; and Christ is most deeply wounded in the house of his friends. The kiss of the betrayer is always given by a nominal disciple. We need, therefore, to make a very clear distinction between religion itself, and the agencies that profess to speak in its name, and the practices that are temporarily associated with it.

While we concede that human authority, speaking in the name of religion, has placed its interdict on the freedom of religious thought, we contend that it is not of religion, and that it therefore speaks *ab extra;* that a very broad distinction should be observed between the assumptions of human authority and the religion in the name of which it professes to speak; that it often speaks ignorantly, and not at all in harmony with the best and maturest religious thought of the time, and that, therefore, neither its arrogant dictation, nor the results of its dictation, can be with any justice whatever cited in argument against the possibility of progress in theology. It rather contains an implied argument in favor of such possibility. Why should human prescription seek to suppress what cannot rise; to hinder an advancement that cannot be made; to arrest a progress that is inherently impossible?

The argument relied on, perhaps, more than any other, by those who contend against the idea of progress in theology, is that Christian theology is all contained in certain books to which nothing can be added. Perhaps no writer has stated the case more clearly than Macaulay. The proposition, stated in general terms, if we understand it, is this: If the knowledge is contained in the book, then all that is necessary to the acquisition of the knowledge is that one should be able to read the book. And therefore he concludes, "A Christian of the fifth century with a Bible, is on a par with a Christian of the nineteenth century with a Bible, candor and natural acuteness being of course supposed equal."

But is this so? Suppose we put into the hands of our candid

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man of the fifth century any one of the text-books used in our higher schools on the experimental sciences or the mathematics. Let us suppose it were on the higher Algebra. The knowledge is in the book, and is clearly presented. Will he therefore understand it? We might well imagine him answering the question "Understandest thou what thou readest?" precisely as the Ethiopian answered Phillip, when he asked him the same question, concerning the reading of Isaiah: "How can I, except some man should guide me?" The truth is, it requires something more than the ability to read a book through in order to understand it. Our fifth century man may find the very letters with which he has always been familar, the same method of combination into words and phrases, the symbols and operations may have been as applicable in the fifth century as in the nineteenth, and yet he is able to get out of the book scarcely any intelligible meaning; and he sits before it bewildered and confounded. Let a similar test be applied in relation to the common treatises on chemistry, geology, or astronomy, and we venture to say that he will have much to learn before he can comprehend them, or even read them with interest; and that, in this respect, a half-educated school-boy of the nineteenth century is immeasurably his superior.

The proposition of Macaulay is not true, even of books of human origin; much less can it be true of the Bible. The knowledge may be expressed with as much clearness as the nature of the case will admit, and yet much of previous training and patient research may be needed in order to fully comprehend it. And, supposing the requisite candor and natural acuteness, he who possesses the highest and most varied intellectual culture will be in best condition for understanding it.

Another thing to be considered is that, in the understanding of any book that teaches a particular science, progressive study is requisite. A simple reading, or even the repeated re-reading of such a book, is not sufficient to enable one to master its contents. The first requisite in the case will be a task that will cost much more of time and strenuous mental effort, namely, that of learning the nomenclature and symbols, and their use, together with the fundumental principles of the science. When this is done, he can read the book intelligently. And he may go on if he choose, progressively, from these primary elements to the highest developments of the science. But should one altogether ignorant of these things assume the part of the critic, he could hardly avoid the most stupendous blunders, and his performance would evince a stupidity worthy only of ridicule.

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And this is just what happens in the case of men who are truly learned in certain departments of knowledge, but who are unwise enough to profess a knowledge of the Christian religion which they manifestly do not possess. And so they go on blundering where blunders are utterly inexcusable, and repeating errors which had already been met with ample refutations. They might have been saved from making so unworthy an exhibition of themselves had they read their Bibles with the same intelligent care with which they are accustomed to read a scientific treatise, or bestowed on Christian theology the protracted and painstaking research which they give to any one of the experimental sciences.

II. Knowledge of the Bible Necessarily Progressive.

It is often possible, to be sure, in reading a book that elucidates a particular department of knowledge, to seize at once upon the nucleating centre of that knowledge, and thus obtain information which, though neither extensive nor profound, may yet be of great practical benefit. So, too, the reader of the inspired volume will not be long in finding out that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, and that he possesses both the power and the will to save to the uttermost all who put their trust in him. And this information he could proceed at once to turn to his own practical advantage. But, should he go on enlarging and endeavoring to crystalize it into distinct and systematic statement, in definite forms of speech, he will find that the New Testament has a terminology of its own which it is absolutely essential that he should acquire, and the use of which he must understand. He must not only attach a definite meaning, he must attach the right meaning, to such terms as "sin," "grace," and "salvation"; "regeneration," "sanctification," and "eternal life." He will have need of something more than a casual reading to acquaint him with the nature and scope of New Testament parable and metaphor. He will find occasion for careful discriminations, if he would be clear as to the all-important matters of doctrine and duty.

He will find, too, that he has here not one single treatise, developing one particular range of knowledge, but that he has a wonderful variety of writings, cast in all the varied forms of human speech. Biography that gives us graphic glimpses of a wondrous life, followed by a history of the wonderful events that succeeded it and developed from it; and this, again, by the correspondence that unfolded more fully its doctrinal significance and practical value. He will find, too, that all this is preceded by, and directly connected with, another

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Testament, more varied still in its authorship and contents, in which there is history and biography, extending over a period of nearly four thousand years; that herein is the record of the promulgation of a code of laws which has never ceased to be the study of the most accomplished jurists; that there is the history of the rise and fall of governmental establishments, with all the varied incidents of political change and transformation; that we are given to observe the operation of social forces, and witness their results, as they are ripening into degredation or amelioration; that religion is seen in her long-continued historic progress and development, wherein are whole systems of symbols and prophetic types, prophecies and the fulfillment of prophecies. And, finally, he will require for the complete elucidation of this wonderful mosaic nearly everything that can be known of history and archæology, with a most careful and thorough study of Biblical criticism and exegesis. When all these things are taken into the account, we begin to see that this volume is like no other volume in existence; that it demands a study at once the most minute and the most comprehensive, the most varied and the most unique. Here, then, is room for progress, not only of the individual, but of successive individuals—a progress that may go on with cumulative results from age to age. It will also be seen that the mere superficial reader is in no condition to judge of the question of progress in the theology elaborated in the process, nor is he even prepared to discern whether such progress is being made or not.

We must now observe that the book which is the source of Christian theology is professedly a revelation. Herein is its very chiefest distinction among books, that it conveys to us a portion of knowledge which cannot be obtained from any other source, and could not be discovered by any of the methods known to human research and observation. So that, instead of giving us the results of investigation illustrated and explained, as we have in books of human origin, it places before us the original sources of the knowledge it conveys, leaving the elaboration of this knowledge to human research.

We must also bear in mind that this knowledge is of spiritual and divine things. And this again is a special distinction. In this respect the distinction amounts almost to contradistinction. A supernatural science is before us; or, rather, a whole circle of supernatural sciences, and the methods of the natural sciences are wholly at fault. No matter how great the progress in the realm of mere naturalism, in the work of understanding revelation a new beginning must be made. To begin the study of revelation by ignoring the fact of revelation, would be to stultify one's self. To attempt the highest lessons with-

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out understanding the fundamental principles, would be the height of presumptuous folly. There must be a beginning, and there must be progress; and in this progress every other branch of knowledge will bring its quota of corroboration and elucidation. Here, then, is work for all who choose to be workers; work in which each one must begin at the beginning, and the rapidity of his advancement will depend very much upon the use he is able to make of the results of other labors which have preceded his. In the nature of the case, therefore, the progress will be continuous, as surely so as in the natural sciences.

It should also be observed that the Bible prescribes no creed; nor are its teachings shaped into a formal system of theology. If such were the case, there would be no progress beyond a complete understanding of the system. It gives us, instead, a record of widely varied but concurrent divine manifestations, together with the principal historical facts that formed their appropriate setting. It tells us how "at sundry times and in divers manners," God has spoken in symbol, in miracle, in prophecy; till, "in the fullness of time," from the fullness of divine manifestation, he has spoken to us in the person of his Son. The revelation is given in a historical series of theophanies, not in a formulated theology.

The information, therefore, comes to us with immediate divine authority, not at the end of a labored logical induction. The view that is given us is kaleidoscopic. The utterances are many-voiced, and the manifestations are many-sided, yet obviously the same; the all but infinite variety being included in the ample circle of a comprehensive unity. We are taken at once beyond all the processes of formal logic, and all the conceit of human intellection is put out of countenance. We sit down before the original sources of divine knowledge, and the task imposed upon us is to discover for ourselves the truth involved in the views which are given, to elaborate a theological system from the materials that are thus furnished to our hand.

To this task we must bring the most careful research, the most thorough study and ample comparison of Scripture with Scripture, the most devout conscientiousness, and the most penetrating spiritual insight. And, after all, it is obvious that the amount, and in some measure the quality, of what any one receives from revelation will depend very much on his personal competency to receive; and this personal competency will depend scarcely more on intellectual qualifications than on the condition of the heart and life—that is, on the attitude of the spiritual nature.

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The Bible sustains to us, then, a relation utterly unlike that of books of human origin. It opens before us the outlets by which we are permitted to look into another world than that investigated in our natural sciences, a world of supernatural realities and supernatural agencies. While, therefore, the purpose for which this revelation is made, and the practical methods by which that purpose is accomplished, can hardly be mistaken; in what may with any justice be called a scientific study of this revelation, there will be, as in the study of the natural sciences, a chance for mistakes which subsequent investigation must correct; for partial views, which must afterward be amplified; for fanciful speculations, put forth by self-confident theorists, the folly of which will be subsequently shown; for crude statements that subsequent maturity will reconstruct into clearness and definiteness; and, withal, for discoveries that shall actually enlarge the sum total of knowledge, discoveries of truth itself, and discoveries of relations not before perceived among the facts and truths of revelation, as well as in the relation which they hold to nature and to man.

In all these respects there not only can be, there must be, progress that for aught can be seen may go on indefinitely; such progress as makes it certain that, with the spirit of inquiry unrestrained, the prevalent religious thought of any age will be in advance of the prevalent religious thought of the age immediately preceding. And this progress is precisely the same as to its incidents and developments as that which is realized in the study of nature. If it be said that the progress must be limited, because nothing can be added to revelation, we reply that neither can human investigation enlarge the sources of natural knowledge by adding anything to nature. But there is no reason to apprehend that progress will soon be arrested on this account. It is not in additions to the sources of our knowledge that progress is made; but in additions to *what we have received* from those sources.

III. Scientific and Theological Progress Compared.

If we now consider the question, On what field of enquiry has science won its triumphs and achieved all its real progress, the reply is at hand: On the field of observation and experiment. Observation has scrutinized nature above, beneath and around, assiduously laboring to read some new disclosure of her wonderful secret, or decipher another of her significant hieroglyphics. And the success has been great indeed, while all the industrial and even the æsthetic arts have been enriched by the results of experiment.

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But observation and experiment can give us only facts and their proximate causes. The broadest generalization will enable the investigator to do scarcely more than to designate the general law according to which the facts have their existence. The law once discovered, the facts are confidently referred to it, without any attempt or expectation to account for the law itself. All progress usually ends with the discovery of the law. Progress in observation and experiment still goes on, but science makes no progress worth mentioning toward the *rationale* of natural law.

For instance, the law of gravitation has been known from the days of Sir Isaac Newton until now; but what most advanced scientist has ever shown any valid reason for the existence of such a law? So in chemistry, science has not yet explained elective affinity, or given any good and sufficient reason for the law of definite proportions. It is one special function of science to investigate causes and effects, antecedents and consequents. But when we press the very natural enquiry, Why do these natural laws exist—what is the cause of the law, in any given case? science has nothing to say. It renders neither an ontological nor a theological reason. The discovery of the law is generally the limit of discovery. Out of and beyond the observational and experimental there is no appreciable progress.

And this is quite analagous to what occurs in theology. As to the investigation of the text of revelation; as to the facts of the Bible and their significance; in general as to the teachings and inculcations of revelation; as to the connection and relations of these facts and truths and their experimental and practical application, there has been progress. In regard to all this vast variety of matters, theological knowledge has increased, and is increasing with accelerated rapidity.

But there are certain fundamental doctrines of the Christian system that can only be stated. To explain them is out of the question. If accepted, they must be accepted on the authority of revelation. They lie beyond the province of discovery, and no progress is to be expected in regard to them, except in clearness and accuracy of statement. These very doctrines are, however, the root principles from which the whole system receives vitality, nourishment, and support. Now, if the scientist charges upon the theologian that he leads us back to mysteries for which he gives us no explanation, the theologian can retort by pointing him to the unexplained and inexplicable mystery of natural law. Science, no less than theology, must, perforce, confront inscrutable mystery. Even in cases where

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explanations of natural law have been attempted, it is quite noticable that the explanation needs explaining quite as much as the natural law which it professes to explain. On the whole, we do not see that natural science has made the least progress in respect to that higher range of knowledge in which theology does not progress; while in the lower and more practical range both alike have advanced.

IV. The Theorising Tendency.

In both directions, too, there has been developed a tendency to reckless theorizing, chiefly among those who boastfully style themselves the "advanced thinkers." We need only cite, on the one hand, the fanciful theories about "protoplasm," "evolution," "development," and on the other, the equally crude fancies of modern rationalism. In either direction the line of strictly rational investigation is abandoned. Fancies are given for facts, and facts are accounted for by fancies. The assurance with which these theorizers profess to account for all things, and explain all mysteries, in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, is something that borders on the marvelous. It can only be equalled by the assumption which professes to interpret all prophecy with mathematical exactness, or that which, while it talks of the Bible as divine, denies its inspiration; and that would eliminate the supernatural from the four gospels, professing to leave us all the facts of the miraculous history, but with the element of the miraculous left out. The result of all this fanciful speculation is doubt and distrust—distrust of the speculator, and doubt that weakens the public confidence even in truth itself.

When fictions are habitually asserted with all the positiveness that belongs to truth, it need not surprise us if truth come to be held as loosely as if it were a fiction. Neither science nor theology is to be advanced by the most vigorous assertion of unproved theories. The true advancement lies in the accumulation of facts and truths, not in the multiplication of fables. The spirit of true science, like the spirit of true religion, is patient and discriminative, assiduous and earnest, but never boastful; counting the least showy and pretentious truth of infinitely more importance than the most elaborate and imposing theory.

And yet there is a place, both in scientific and theological investigation, for theories. But in order to be of use, they must be regarded as hypotheses, not as foregone conclusions. They must be stated in the subjunctive, certainly not in anything more positive than the potential, never in the indicative mood. A good hypothesis is valu-

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able as a plan by which to shape our enquiries and organize the work of investigation, a sort of scaffolding by means of which the constructive work of investigation is done, but of no further use when that work is accomplished. "The scientific uses of the imagination" are always limited by the "boundaries of the experimental evidence," the theological by the disclosures of revelation. When the exercise of the imagination is substituted for the careful discriminations of a sound judgment, and the concepts of imagination for demonstrable conclusions, the result can hardly fail to be falsity instead of verity, and therefore hindrance instead of progress.

Bold theorizing, no less than earnest enquiry, characterizes the thinking of the present age. Perhaps the former tendency is, in a measure, incidental to the latter. Many a tyro in philosophy deems himself competent to tell us precisely how worlds were made. One has such absolute certitude as to the nebular hypothesis, and another obtains such perfect assurance as to the Proctor-ean agglomerations. One is sure that he knows all about the origin, development, and differentiation of life; while another confronts the first chapter of Genesis with defiant theoretic cosmogonies. It would actually seem that these "advanced thinkers" have obtained their largest measure of certitude in respect to the "Unknowable." Meanwhile the Biblical exegete has no light task to clear away the fabulous theoretic meanings that have been foisted upon the text. To eliminate the false is a scarcely lighter task than to elucidate the true.

It is obvious that such theorizing stands in the way of a proper understanding of Bible truth, and at the same time furnishes the most vulnerable point for skeptical assaults. Many a hostile cavil would miss its mark entirely should the precise meaning of the text be given, freed from all abridgements and all enlargements. A theory of interpretation not consistent with scientific facts comes into quite general acceptance; and then the undiscerning skeptic, ignorant of any distinction between the text and the theory, fights the record with criticism of the theory with which it is burdened. The Scripture meaning has sometimes been wofully obscured by the weight of false exegesis which it has been made to carry.

V. The Present Need.

There is need, both in science and in theology, of a clearer distinction between the true and the false, a broader line of demarkation between the hypothetical and the unquestionable. There is need of a better understanding of when a thing is proved and when it is not

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proved. There is need of a skepticism that will steadfastly refuse to accept what is doubtful, as well as a faith that will readily accept and adopt that which is manifestly true. Withal, there is a special demand at the present time for a re-statement of Christian doctrine. Such a statement should aim to be scientific and discriminative, marking only the truth as of sterling value, paying little deference to theories, however long they may have held their place in public confidence, and however great the authority with which they may have been endorsed. Such re-statement should not be made in the interest of sect or party, should not be embarrassed by any questions of soundness or unsoundness according to human standards, should neither seek to be orthodox or heterodox, but only and strictly true.

Reverence for human authority must give place to reverence for the authority of God. The credulity that takes its creed and ritual on trust must give place to an intelligent and earnest faith. The "rationalism" that demands assent to its unproved theories must give place to a rationality that is earnest, direct, devout and honest. And the "liberalism" that would weaken the firmness of our hold upon the truth, or that would make the distinction less clear between the true and the false, the certain and the uncertain, the right and the wrong, must be held in no higher estimation than bigotry.

We would fondly hope that, in such re-statement, the doctrines of Christianity may be made to appear consistent with themselves and among themselves; and that faith, if sometimes called upon, as in matters of common life, to accept inexplicable mystery or paradox, will not be called upon, under any circumstances or on any pretext whatever, to accept contradictions. And thus we may anticipate that skeptical cavil, as well as theological partizanship, will be in great measure disarmed. The respective provinces of science and theology will also be more accurately defined; and, though they will still be manifestly distinct, they will become mutually helpful, and will go on hand in hand along the highway of an infinite progress.

We have assumed, in this essay, that the Bible is the source of Christian theology. And we think we have shown beyond reasonable cavil that in the nature of the case it is progressive and that this progress is very nearly of the same nature and quite analogous in methods to that which is made in the study of the natural sciences. It would be interesting to trace this progress in its historical development. We should then see that natural and supernatural science have been subject to very nearly the same vicissitudes of superstitious perversion and dictatorial suppression, that both scientists and theologians have often labored more in efforts to procure the general

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acceptance of a favorite theory or pet formula than in an earnest search for the truth; that the spirit of enquiry has many times been led far out of the way, along the zig-zag methods of loose hypothesis, instead of along the straight road that leads directly to the truth; but that, on the whole, admitted truth is more clearly defined and amply corroborated, and the measure of truth positively understood is greater than ever before. And, in the emancipation of the human mind from the tyranny of hard, inflexible, intractable dogma; in the deeper spirituality and in the larger infusion of life and love in religious investigations; and in the intenser human interest that characterizes the religious thought of the present time; we discern "the promise and the potency" of a future that shall eclipse, in the lustre of its achievements, the brightest glories of the past.

S. W. CULVER.

WEST HENRIETTA, N. Y.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, TH. D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hanover. Translated from the fourth edition of the German by JOHN C. MOORE, B. A. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1875. Pp. 484. Special edition imported for use in this country by Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, of New York.

Meyer's Commentaries have for years been recognized by Biblical scholars of every country as philologically of the very highest authority. To the merely English student they have not been accessible, save as they have been freely, even copiously, used by our best commentators, such as Alford, Ellicott and Hackett. It is therefore a great advantage to such students to have a good translation of Meyer. Those who are not able to read the Greek of the New Testament, however, will hardly find even the translation adapted to their use.

It is well understood that Meyer's view of the person of our Lord is such that he feels compelled to refuse the application to him of a doxology, and also of the phrase, "God over all," in Rom. ix. 5. He does not in these cases disguise the fact that his decision is influenced and even determined by dogmatic considerations. At the same time he firmly believes in the true Deity of our Lord, and is not backward in expressing this belief where the connection seems to him to require it. A special

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interest cannot fail to attach to his interpretation of Phil. ii. 6–8, both as revealing his view of Christ, and as contributing to an understanding of the passage. The results of his exegesis are indicated in the following paraphrase:

> Jesus Christ, when he found himself in the heavenly mode of existence of Divine glory, did not permit himself the thought of using his equality with God for the purpose of seizing possessions and honor for himself on earth. No! he emptied himself of the divine glory, inasmuch as, notwithstanding his God-equal nature, he took upon him the mode of existence of a slave of God, so that he entered into the likeness of men, and in his outward bearing and appearance manifested himself not otherwise than as a man. He humbled himself so that he became obedient unto God, etc.

It will be seen that he joins the clause translated in the common version, "being found in fashion as a man," to the preceding, and not to the following statement, and that the words translated "to be equal with God," are taken to signify the "God-equal nature" which remained after the "form" was laid aside. It seems to us that in both particulars he is wrong and Ellicott right. The equipoise of the sentence and the course of thought require that each of the two principal verbs should have its introductory clause, and the distinction between *ὑπάρχων* in the clause "being in the form," etc., and *εἶναι* in the phrase "to be equal," etc., is against Meyer. Meyer himself brings out the distinction, and establishes it by apt references, showing that the former word signifies "*subsisting state*," and the latter mere *existence*. See especially Luke vii. 25, where the latter is used as the copula, and the former as the annexed predicate. This distinction very decidedly favors Ellicott's view, that *ἁρπαγμόν* is to be rendered as passive, so that the object, whose unlawful seizure was not so much as thought of, was the "being equal with God." And if to the above meaning of the word *ὑπάρχων* we add the import of the present tense in which is found this word alone of all the participles and verbs of the sentence, it is fair to ask whether the two facts together do not imply that the *μορφή* was inseparable from the essence, and therefore not surrendered by the act of incarnation. As a "*subsisting state*," it might be consciously retained, though to the world hidden by the visible servant-form. It is worthy of note that the phrases "form of God," and "form of a servant" are not exactly correlative, since the word *God* designates *being*, but the term *servant* a *relation*. The relation was consequent on the assumption of human nature, as is stated in the clause, "being made in the likeness of men." The form of God and the form of man would be the exact correlatives.

But the apostle wishes to draw a contrast between that which Christ continued really to be during his earthly life and that relation which he yet continued to hold. As to his real, conscious, "*subsisting state*," he had "the form of God"; as to his voluntary, accepted and retained relation he had "the form of a slave." Hence, because the slave-form ends at the time of Christ's exaltation to God's right hand, it does not follow that the God-form ended at the time of the *κένωσις*. At the exaltation the relation ends, and hence of course its form. At the incarnation the God did not cease to be, and hence no more did the God-form

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cease to be. That the form was concealed, hidden, and hence that it came not to its rights and prerogatives, is of course true, and is the very point of the apostle's statement. If the form of man ever remaining could take on successively the slave-form and the king-form, surely the God-form could do the same. We may thus regard the *μορφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ* of this passage like the *δοξα* of John i. 14, and the *εἰκών* of Colossians i. 15, and the *ἀπαύγασμα* of Hebrews i. 3, as inseparable from the nature, and appearing to those having eyes to see it even during his earthly life, but made to appear in visible symbolic splendor on "the mount of transfiguration" (trans*form*ation.) If we accept this view, it cannot escape us that the practical aim of the passage is fully attained. If Christ, retaining both his "form of God," and the full consciousness of it, did yet so submit to become and be treated as nothing, in the assumption of human nature, and did in this nature so humble himself unto death, there is a majestic and most pertinent appeal to Christians not to insist upon rights and prerogatives which in their consciousness of personal worth and claim they are inclined to insist upon at the cost of the peace of the church, the salvation of the lost and the honor of Christ, but rather to suffer all wrong and wrongs, even to self-sacrifice, if thus they may serve mercy's cause. Not to do this is in violation of the very spirit of divine love, and thus a very robbery. The *κένωσις* is thus moral, not physical, an imitable self-abnegation, not a magic transmutation, an example, and not a bewilderment. We are glad to see that Meyer most distinctly and pointedly condemns the pantheistic monism which asserts that the Deity of Christ consisted solely in his nature, and his humanity solely in the mode of existence.

Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon. By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated from the German by M. G. EASTON, D. D. Volume IV. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1875.

This completes another very important contribution to our helps for understanding a difficult, but richly instructive and profitable book of Scripture. Delitzsch's eminent abilities as an interpreter of Hebrew here appear to special advantage. It is too technical in its character, abounds too much in the formulæ of Hebrew criticism and grammar, has too many allusions to the Rabbinic books to be interesting to the general student of the Bible, but is by these very qualities so much the better suited to the wants of those delving seekers in the mines of divine truth who prize every form of guidance in their research. When we compare the resources of our youth in the investigation of the Proverbs with what are now afforded in Dr. Conant's Translations and Notes, the Commentary in Lange's Bible-work, and this of Delitzsch, we feel that there ought to be a great increase in the mastery of that divine wisdom which is suited to all possible situations and relations in life.

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Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, TH. D. Translated from the fifth edition of the German. Translation revised and edited by FREDERICK CROMBIE, D. D. Volume II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1875.

We have so recently (in the QUARTERLY for April, 1875), when noticing the first volume of this work, expressed our high sense of its excellency, that nothing more seems necessary now than to notify our readers that the second and concluding volume is now ready. There are several views expressed in the book with which we do not agree; especially must we disapprove Meyer's judgment that there is an incurable discordance between John and the synoptic gospels in regard to the date of our Lord's last meal with his disciples and the institution of the Communion. But, in general, we know of no commentary in which the Biblical scholar will find more valuable and complete assistance in ascertaining the precise sense of the original in this precious portion of Scripture.

The New Testament. Translated from the Critical Text of Von Tischendorf; with an Introduction on the Criticism, Translation, and Interpretation of the Book. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D. D., LL. D. Henry S. King and Company: London. 1875. Crown octavo. Pp. 465.

The most important aspect which this among the many recent translations of the New Testament presents to us, is that indicated in the title-page, of its being a transcript of the text of Tischendorf. In this respect the task of the author must have been greatly lightened. It is, undoubtedly, as he says, "a great advantage to a translator to have one text only before him, and to reproduce it as well as he can in another language." And we welcome, on this account, with satisfaction and gratitude the work which he has performed. To have a fair and accurate representation in English of the result of Tischendorf's labors on the Greek Text is a favor to the English-reading race. But that this should be taken as a sufficient report of what the apostles wrote for us, through the Holy Spirit, is quite another thing. We should be equally glad to have now an exact translation of the text of Dr. Tregelles, possibly of that of Lachmann; of any in short who have devoted much time and ability to the ascertainment of what was read as apostolic writing by the Christians of the first half of the second century. But when we had all their individual judgments separately before us, we should then want above all that some one, possessing a talent for his work equal to that of all of them together, should decide upon their differences, and tell us what was really best. Our author says, "little faith can be put in a diplomatic text," by which we understand him to mean one made up by selection from texts of different critics. But it is almost self-evident that no faith will ultimately be put in any other. Every text which now has any claim to consideration is essentially a "diplomatic" text. It is the result of the author's judgment on the comparative claims of all

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the known particular readings to be regarded as correct in their respective places. A more exigent test of the soundness of a man's judgment can scarcely be proposed than that to which the critic is thus subjected. Some men may have eminent ability in making out and stating what the various readings are, as shown by manuscripts and other sources of proof, in which respect, we take it, Tischendorf has never been surpassed; while it is quite supposable that another order of mind may better decide which of them are to be accepted as the original form of the Word.

Dr. Davidson says, "the latest critical text of Von Tischendorf is confessedly the best." We do not know how decidedly the "confession" has yet made itself heard, as between Tischendorf and Tregelles. But taking the statement as correct, it implies that other texts may stand in the degrees of "good" and "better," that in some respects, therefore, some of them may be preferable to this. And the reader of the translation into English will eventually wish to see what is best in them all. The more so when he learns that Tischendorf had given out several critical editions of the New Testament, in each of which after the first, he made changes from what he had approved before. In the last he even restored some hundreds of readings which he had previously adopted, and then discarded in the edition next to the last. One cannot help asking what would have been his text if he had been spared to publish several more revisions of it. It certainly helps our confidence greatly when we find Tischendorf's alterations from the *recepta* supported by Tregelles and Lachmann, one or both.

We should not have thought these remarks called for were it not for the implication which runs through the first part of our author's Introduction, that it is presumptuous to differ from Tischendorf's conclusion, unless in a few instances where, perchance, he gives too much support to orthodox views of the Godhead of Christ.

Dr. Davidson's declared principles of translation seem to us quite unexceptionable, as far as they go. We quote two sentences which give the essential points: "The primary object of a translation is to express the exact meaning of the original in corresponding words, so far as they can be found in English, with the least obscurity." "The main purpose of a translation of the Bible is not that it may be read with pleasure, but rather that it may clearly express the true sense."

To clear the way for his own work, the author examines and criticises three similar attempts of recent date, those, namely, which he regards as most worthy of consideration. These are Dean Alford's revision of the New Testament, that of the American Bible Union, and Dr. Noyes' translation. Of each he has considerable to say in favor, especially of the two former, but on each he makes many disparaging criticisms, besides the general condemnation which they receive on the score of their "diplomatic" texts. Some of these criticisms are exceedingly dogmatic, not to say supercilious, and a few certainly both captious and erroneous.

In the great majority of the changes which the author has himself made in the Common Version, we cordially approve his results, supposing

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always the text which he follows to be correct. And we take pains here to state again, lest our exceptions should seem to imply a contrary opinion, that, on the whole, we consider this book a very important contribution toward a thoroughly satisfactory exhibition in English of the precise meaning of the New Testament Scriptures. Some of the leading respects in which he has greatly improved the Common Version are these:

1. In conforming to the Greek use and omission of the definite article. The extreme carelessness on this point of our early translators has been a thousand times noticed. Almost any page of this revision will show changes for the better. The effect may not always be agreeable to those who judge from what they have become used to in the English, but our standard is here the original Greek. In Matthew v. 1, at a venture, we have correctly (so far as the article is concerned) "he went up to the mountain"; v. 15, "under the bushel," "on the lamp-stand"; "that ye resist not the evil man," v. 39, is highly doubtful; v. 45, "on evil and good," "on righteous and unrighteous"; vi. 25, "the food," "the raiment"; vi. 30, "an oven"; vii. 5, "the beam is in thine own eye"; v. 15, "beware of the false prophets"; v. 17, "but the corrupt tree"; v. 24, "built his house upon the rock"; v. 25, "founded on the rock." In all these cases the original is correctly represented, and we suppose a proportion of corrections much like this would run through the whole Testament.

2. In giving proper equivalents for the tenses of the Greek. In this particular the Sermon on the Mount is not perhaps the most suitable portion to show the changes which have been made, but we will for convenience keep to that. On the substitution of the perfect for present in rendering the participle, v. 10, "who have been persecuted," there may be room for question. But "came to destroy," v. 17, is correct. So "ye heard that it was said," v. 21, 27, etc.; v. 28, "committed adultery with her"; vii. 22, "did we not prophesy," "in thy name cast out," "in thy name did many." In this last case it seems to us that there is a blunder, *do* being clearly required instead of "did," to bring the clause under the influence of the negative at the beginning of the sentence. There might be some objection to bringing in *do* as dependent on "*did* we not;" but this is not of much weight, and if we render the aorist tense, we must either do this or adopt some more cumbrous form of sentence.

Dr. Davidson faithfully gives the aorist tense in a multitude of cases where the Common Version substitutes the perfect or something else. He has gone perhaps as far as a regard for popular taste would any way allow. We question, however, whether there is any instance of that tense in the New Testament where it should not be rendered as such in English, if we aim to express exactly the Greek. Certainly we are prepared to maintain that in Matt. xii. 26, "was divided," is the only just equivalent for ἐμερίσθη. And even in Matt. iii. 17, "in whom I was well pleased," is the true rendering, for which Meyer suggests the explanation by referring to Eph. i. 4; John xvii. 24, although he translates *an welchem ich Wohlgefallen gefasst habe*, against his own correct

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explanation. Indeed, except a few cases of the Gnomic aorist, we think that no New Testament writer used it except when he thought of an action as indefinitely past in reference to the point from which he is viewing it. This was sometimes from a kind of carelessness by reason of which he was not particular to state the relations as he might have done (by a perfect or pluperfect), and sometimes because he had in mind notions of a time which it may cost us much study to discover.

Whether the future tense is to be expressed in any particular case by the auxiliary "shall" or "will," may be a question of taste or of judgment, so delicate that we can hardly look for thorough consistency. In this work "will" has often been substituted for "shall" in the third person with manifest advantage. Such is our judgment in regard to the promises of the beatitudes: "Blessed the meek, for they will inherit the earth"; and in Matthew v. 20, "ye will not enter"; while in the preceeding verse it reads, without apparent reason for the difference, "shall be called great." To carry a revision through with a just consistency on this single point, would be a task requiring much reflection. We decidedly think that in Matt. viii. 24, there is not such certainty in regard to the force of the tense as to warrant the neologism "was being covered," in place of the common rendering.

3. The more exact expression of the sense of prepositions. In this lies much of the excellence of any translation from the Greek language, where the prepositions are remarkable for their definiteness and consistency of signification.

But here, as might be expected, the work fails much more widely of being complete than in the points before mentioned. Some changes from the Common Version are, we think, for the worse, notably that in the first verse of the Sermon on the Mount, "went up to the mountain," and in Matthew vii. 16, "grapes off thorns," "figs off thistles," scarcely alters the sense commonly got from the old phrase enough to justify this odd and hard innovation. But what has seemed to us a more serious defect yet to be remedied, under this head, is the want of consistency in the translation of the same preposition through a given line of discourse, especially of διά in passages of the Epistle to the Romans. But such blemishes, if we are right in supposing them to exist, only prove how great is the task of making an adequate translation of even a portion of the word of God. If Dr. Davidson should be called on to publish successive editions of his book, he would doubtless still find that there was a necessity for much time and toil upon it before he would himself be satisfied.

We would have called attention to the work under two or three more categories, but we have not now the time. We close with one general remark on the whole important subject of Biblical translation, and one more personal to this particular book. We do not think that any such attempt can be fair to the reader which does not, at certain points, give *alternative readings*. There are passages not a few in which the original allows irremovable doubt as to its precise purport, even in the judgment of the most capable and patient scholar. This is clear from the fact that

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whole lines of the ablest interpreters still come to materially different judgment concerning the sense of some sentences. No one man can, without great self-conceit, assume to decide that one of those senses is necessarily the true one, and in rendering it for others he is bound to give them an opportunity to judge for themselves which is right.

And we are bound to add that the book needs to be read with a constant recollection of the fact that its author stands on rationalistic ground, delivering in his introduction views at war with confidence in the authority and special inspiration of important books, if not the whole New Testament, and eager to abate the force, if possible, of every sentence which ascribes deity to our Lord Jesus Christ. Take, for example, his treatment of Titus ii. 13. He translates "waiting for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Christ Jesus." Ellicott goes to the full length of candid concession in respect to the *grammatical* uncertainty of the *interpretation* of this passage. Even in that light, however, he justly holds the presumption is in favor of the identity of "the great God" and "our Saviour Christ Jesus," while the *exegetical* considerations which he adduces give to this presumption a very high degree of probability. Accordingly Ellicott *translates* "of our great God and Saviour Christ Jesus," as we think any one is bound to do who aims "to express the exact meaning of the original in corresponding words, so far as they can be found in English." Nothing but critical presuppositions or doctrinal objections could have led to the insertion of a comma after "God," and the repetition of "of" before "our Saviour." In his introduction, page xxx, Dr. Davidson tells us that he has followed our old translators here, merely restoring the comma from the edition of 1611 (so far not following Tischendorf), but the repetition of "of" makes a very great difference.

Theology of the Old Testament. By Dr. Gust. Fr. Oehler, late Professor Ordinarius of Theology in Tübingen. Vol. II. Translated by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1875.

The ladies who have translated the two volumes of this work, now finished, appear to have done their task in an admirable manner—praise which is due to the recent volumes generally of Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. The original is the production substantially of a very competent hand. In his "Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments," Oehler had, as long ago as 1845, awakened a longing anticipation of such a handbook on the subject as it was then intimated he had already in well-advanced preparation. The conception of a Biblical theology as it is now understood, still more that of a theology of either of the two Testaments, by itself, the conception, that is, of a systematic statement of the truth concerning divine things as represented respectively by the successive writers or groups of writers belonging to the several epochs of revelation, was then a comparativaly new thing. Its reasonableness and importance had already become evident, and has

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since been made practically familiar within the province of the New Testament by such excellent works as those of Van Oosterzee, Schmid, Reuss and Weiss. Meanwhile Oehler's occasional writings on Old Testament themes in Herzog's Real Encyclopædie, and elsewhere, have kept alive the desire for whatever he might finally communicate in the way of such a "genetico-historical" exposition of the doctrines, ordinances and precepts of the elder volume of inspiration. He, however, had been removed soon after the publication of his Prolegomena, to the post in Tübingen, where his time and powers were engrossed in other duties until he grew old, and died (in 1871), leaving this work unfinished. He had, indeed, gone on lecturing on this field of Biblical Literature, to successive classes of students, for more than thirty years, but had never digested his material, and put it in the order which he might have desired to give it for the press. This publication is made, accordingly, by his son from his imperfect MSS. lectures, supplemented by the notes of students whose record of his teachings was the most complete.

The result is, notwithstanding these serious drawbacks, a treatise of singular value. It is, as here represented, unique in design, so far as we know, in our English apparatus for Biblical study. The spirit of it is most reverent and pious, the dogmatic position orthodox, the information concerning the topics discussed is full and accurate, and its compass embraces the whole period of Old Testament revelation. An Introduction treats of the Notion, the History, the Division, etc., of Old Testament Theology. The main work lies in three parts. Part first, although it glances at the previous religious history of mankind, is occupied with the Mosaic system, and is headed *Mosaism*. It treats of the views which the writings of Moses present concerning God, the world, and man; of the domestic, social, civil, religious organization (theocracy) established by him for the Jewish nation; of their prescribed rites, ceremonies, and sacred seasons. Part second is entitled *Prophetism*. It includes two sections, of which the first considers the governmental relations, the development of the Theocracy, from the death of Joshua, through the rule of the Judges, Kings, and what we may call the Hagiocracy, to the close of the Old Testament revelation. Section second discusses the Theology of Prophetism, its teaching concerning God and man, and concerning the nature and themes of the prophetic function. Part third is devoted to the Old Testament Wisdom, as presented especially in the writings ascribed to Solomon. Here the author finds substantially what might be called the inspired philosophy of God's ancient people.

This is obviously a most interesting course of divine study, over which the reader (or let us say the student) is carried by an instructor, devout, deeply learned, copious in suggestions, and yet not prolix, considering the range of his matter. At this point arises our chief regret. We could wish for a little simplification of the plan of the book. We can readily see how it would all be appropriate and highly useful in a course of lectures to students on a given scheme of education. But we think the author, if he had himself arranged the matter for printing, would have clarified the idea of his treatise, would have left considerable parts of it

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to the manuals of Old Testament history and archæology, and so have given us more simply the *theology* of the Old Testament. He now leaves us to feel the need of some one to do with his materials what Van Oosterzee has done in New Testament theology, as compared with his predecessors. The "Alttestamentliche Theologie" of Dr. Hermann Schultz might have suggested improvements in the scheme of the treatise, although vastly less satisfactory in its doctrinal pre-suppositions. Even these criticisms, it is fair to remark, apply to Oehler's work chiefly when regarded as a manual or text-book for instruction in the subject.

A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. By Ch. Ed. Caspari. Translated from the German by Maurice J. Evans, B. A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1876.

Chronology and Geography have been rightly called "the two eyes of history." They may seem to be provinces of investigation so different as not naturally to blend in a single treatise, but where the time and space in question are both so limited as the term and scene of our Saviour's earthly activity, the attempt has more likelihood of success. Certainly the learned author of the volume before us has succeeded in putting before us a great deal of valuable information concerning the Jewish calendar, the chief dates of the life of Herod, and of that of Jesus, and concerning the districts, cities and more particular localities connected with his life and death. There can of course be little on these topics that is both new and true. The well provided Biblical scholar will have what is here offered in one form or another, still it is exceedingly convenient to have the best of such instruction selected and arranged in brief compass to be compared at any time with his reading of the gospel. It would cumber a commentary, and greatly diverts the thoughts when one has to search for it in voluminous dictionaries. Here one can see the points of topography and chronology pertinent to any particular portion of the life of Jesus, or any chapter of the gospels, treated in a way that is intrinsically interesting.

The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the Recent Science of Archæology. By James C. Southall. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. Pp. 606.

The title of this work correctly indicates its scope. The author believes in the "recent origin of man," as compared with that immense antiquity which many scientists eagerly attribute to him—though he would extend the period somewhat beyond that of the commonly received Biblical chronology. He very properly regards a reference to Scripture as "pertinent to any discussion of the origin of man," and justly rebukes that "want of ingenuousness among many literary and scientific men," in which "they studiously avoid all reference" to the Hebrew Scriptures, though if the same documents had been "discovered in the

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valley of the Euphrates, or of the Nile, they would receive great attention." The author has evidently given himself to his chosen work with great earnestness and fidelity, and seems to have let nothing pertinent to his inquiries escape his attention. The result of many years of faithful patient labor is given in the volume. To us he seems to meet fairly the arguments of his opponents, and to give good and adequate reasons for his conclusions. His book is a vast store-house of facts, not elsewhere so readily accessible, concerning "The Megalithic Monuments and Tumuli," "The Lake Dwellings," "The Bone Caves," "The River Gravel of France and England," "The Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages," and other subjects bearing on the antiquity of man. With the facts he gives the use made of them by his opponents, usually in their own language, and with sufficient fulness, and then shows the reasons for dissent from their conclusions. There is not evident any lack of thoroughness or fairness. We could wish to find more of that elegant literary finish which imparts such a charm and power to the works of Darwin, Lyell, and others, in the advocacy of views which to us seem not only unproved, but false. But we would prefer to drink truth from any sort of a vessel, rather than error from the most artistic and costly goblet. We believe Mr. Southall's work will let light and peace into many a perplexed mind, and help to a rational trust in the word of God, and in the God whom the Word and the creation conjointly reveal.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. VI. Mead—Nevis. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876. Pp. 997.

Of this work, which has now reached its sixth volume, the first part was published in 1871. The preparation of it was begun in 1853, under the editorial supervision of Dr. McClintock and Prof. Strong, with the aid of several co-laborers and numerous special contributors. Since the decease of Dr. McClintock, after the issue of the third volume, the work has been continued under the editorial direction of Prof. Strong, with the assistance, in the departments entrusted to his former co-adjutor, of Prof. J. H. Worman. In the preparation of this volume, the editors have been aided by forty-six special contributors of known ability, and it fully sustains the well-earned reputation of the preceeding volumes.

As a cyclopædia of Biblical, theological and ecclesiastical literature, it occupies a field covered by no other work before the public, drawing freely from all sources whatever in these several departments is of interest to the Christian ministry and to the educated laity. It is catholic in spirit, and its contributors are of every ecclesiastical communion.

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THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY.

THE PIONEER BAPTIST STATESMAN.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE manner of the origin and reception of the charter was ominous of its later history. To the islanders it could be only an object of contempt and detestation—of contempt, because it gave no guarantees to liberty of conscience, but only tolerated it under a liability at any time of interruption by investigation *quo warranto*, or by governmental command to conform to English law; of detestation, for many reasons. It put the majority and free towns under bondage to an invading minority. It linked the troublesome[1] people of Pawtuxet and Warwick, and their quarrels between themselves and with Massachusetts, to a community that wanted nothing to do with them. It required the whole work of organization to be repeated under many difficulties. But worst of all was the fact that Roger Williams and the people of Providence determined to make the most of their advantage, and used their power in the same selfish spirit with which they had clutched it. Their hand dashed away the first free government that the world had seen, and, holding over the wreck the authority of English decree, mocking and unrelenting, refused the

[1] Four families of Pawtuxet had submitted themselves and their lands to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Arnold, I, 155. Besides the rankling of Gorton's sting, the islanders had received other offences from Messrs. Holden, Shatton, Potter, Carder and Weeks, four of whom had been disfranchised, and all were forbidden to come on the island armed. These were all active at Warwick. Arnold, I, 167, and 176, note. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 119, 123.

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pleadings of a Christian people for liberty, until unjust demands were granted.

Immediate union under the patent was impossible. Only after three years of sullen waiting, in which appeal to revolutionized England could effect nothing, was union and organization accomplished. For three years the colony's history is a blank; but when the historic pen again records, it portrays Roger Williams and Providence demanding that the government shall be administered by a court in which all the towns shall be represented by equal numbers of votes, although Portsmouth was more populous than Providence, and Newport equaled both united, and Warwick was very small. Providence also demanded entire independence in town government, except as provision might be made for general courts of appeal. When arrangement was made for an organization of a state, a town-meeting was held in Providence, May 16, 1647, and written instructions[1] were given to ten representatives, who were to attend the general mass-meeting at Newport the next day. In these instructions there is no mention of liberty of conscience, no hint of great principles of government. Clothing the delegates with representative powers, the instructions close with the unyielding words: "Always reserving our equal votes, and equal privileges in the general." That Roger Williams was the leading spirit in these demands is testified by the facts that he was the moderator of the town-meeting, and one of the commissioners sent to Newport. But we have also a picture from another hand. Richard Scott, a man whom Williams baptized, but who united with the Quakers, wrote[2] of Roger Williams:

> Though he professed liberty of conscience, and was so zealous for it at the first coming home of the *charter* that nothing in government must be acted till *that* was granted; yet he could be the forwardest *in their government* to prosecute against those that could not join with him *in it*, as witness his presenting of *it* to the court at Newport.[3]

Meanwhile, in Newport and Portsmouth, a full code[4] of laws had been drafted for the proposed state. That it was the same code which

[1] "Such a number as shall answer the same figure." R. I. Col. Rec., I, 42, 44. Knowles, 417, 418.

[2] Backus, I, 89.

[3] The natural paraphrase of this paragraph is, that there could be no government till the charter was granted, and that in the formation of the government he was foremost in hostility to the island for delaying to join therein, and that this hostility was contrary to liberty of conscience. This was Quaker reasoning against an opponent, but Quaker history may be trusted.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 156–207.

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had for years been in force there is probable, but not certain. The preamble said:

> The form of government established in Providence Plantations is democratical; that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants. . . . And now to the end that we may give each to other (notwithstanding our different consciences touching the truth as it is in Jesus, whereof, upon the point we all make mention) as good and hopeful assurance as we are able touching each man's peaceable and quiet enjoyment of his lawful right and liberty, we do agree, etc.

The instrument closed as follows:

> These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are ratified and established throughout this whole colony; and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of *his* God.[1] And let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah, *their* God, forever and ever.[2]

This code of laws is based on the common law of England, and is accompanied by many references to law books; but the arrangement and language are such as to suggest a combination of clerical and juridical authorship. Hon. S. G. Arnold[3] says of it:

> We hazard little in saying that the digest of 1647, for simplicity of diction, unencumbered as it is by the superfluous verbiage that clothes our modern statutes in learned obscurity; for breadth of comprehension, embracing as it does the foundation of the whole body of law, on every subject which has since been adopted; and for vigor and originality of thought and boldness of expression, as well as for the vast significance and the brilliant triumph of the principles it embodies, presents a model of legislation which has never been surpassed.

When the preliminary negotiations were completed, the General Assembly, or mass-meeting of citizens of the state, was naturally held[4] at Portsmouth for the convenience of the great majority. And there, where the institutions germinated, the government was organized. This meeting occurred May 19, 1647. The first act was to

[1] It would seem that this word should have been spelt with a small g, and that there is no restriction to Christians. See note below.

[2] Micah iv. 5. "For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of Jehovah, our God forever and ever." Dr. John Clarke quotes this text in his grand treatise on liberty of conscience entitled, "Ill News from New England." Mass. Hist. Col., 4th Ser., Vol. II, p. 111.

[3] Arnold, I, 203–210.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 147.

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concede the one point for which Providence cared, and which was expressed in the instructions to the ten commissioners, in the words which we have before quoted, and also in the words:

> If the General Court shall consist of but ten men for each town, then you are to act accordingly for this town; and if the General Court shall be reduced into a fewer number, we give you full power to choose, from among yourselves, such a number of our loving neighbors as shall answer the same figure.

In the Assembly it was first agreed, "That in case the Assembly depart unto the number of forty, these forty shall stay and act as if the whole were present, and be of full authority." Then, after agreeing "that all should set their hands to an engagement to the charter," it was ordered, "That, a week before any General Court, notice should be given to every town by the head officer, that they choose a *committee* for the transaction of the affairs there, except it be for the election of general officers; and such as go not may send their votes sealed."

The instructions to the commissioners from Providence contained this clause,[1] viz.:

> We do voluntarily, and are free willing, to receive and be governed by the laws of England, together with the way of administration of them, so far as the nature and constitution of this place will admit, desiring, so far as may be, to hold a correspondency with the whole colony in *that model that hath been lately shown unto us by our worthy friends of the island.*

In the General Assembly the next act, after those which we have recited, was to approve[2] the instruction just stated, which was recorded in full, and[3] then "It was unanimously agreed, That we do all own and submit to *the laws as they are contracted in the bulk*, with the administration of justice according thereto."

Official records thus clearly indicate Aquedneck as the birth-place of the institutions of Rhode Island. Roger Williams appears as at best a bungler in the procurement of the patent, and an obstruction to the organization of the government.

The offices created for the whole state were the same that had for nine years existed on the island. There were elected in General Assembly, in May of each year, one President for the whole state, one Assistant in each town, one General Recorder, one General Treasurer, one General Sergeant. The legislation of the colony was entrusted to a General Court, consisting of six commissioners from each town.

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 43. [2] Ibid, I, 147. [3] Ibid, I, 148.

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Under the new government John Coggeshall, of Newport, was chosen first President. Roger Williams was made the Assistant for Providence for 1647 and 1648, the only years in which he held that office. John Clarke was a delegate from Newport at all assemblies of which records are preserved while in the country, but never accepted higher offices except under peculiar circumstances in 1649 and 1650, and probably 1651, when he held the offices of Assistant for Newport, and General Treasurer.

One of the first acts after the legislature had been so constituted as to give one fifth of the people an equal voice with the other four-fifths,[1] was to vote to Roger Williams a donation of one hundred pounds for his services in procuring the patent.[2] Of this sum eighty pounds were to be assessed on the island, and twenty on Providence. History records the very natural corollary of such legislation, that years passed before anything accrued to Mr. Williams from this donation, and it was never paid in full.

The organization of a government was insufficient to produce harmony. Roger Williams and the people of Providence having made broad the gulf between themselves and the islanders, seemed still incapable of such action as would win good will. A document[3] emanating from them at this time has, however, been lauded as an evidence of their earnest devotion to the general interests of the colony, and their desire for harmony. It is dated December, 1647, when the new government was less than seven months old, and is signed by Roger Williams, his son Robert, and six other persons. Of these eight signers, five are known to have been members of the General Court from Providence in 1647 or 1648.

The document purports to be issued by members of an assembly, but whether of the town of Providence or of the state is uncertain, as there are no state records between May, 1647, and May, 1648. It deplores contentions that threaten disaster to the town and colony, and intimates a necessity of seeking, by this pledge from the signers, the confidence and good will of some unnamed parties who had been offended by past occurrences. As men do not often give written promises to abstain from such acts as they have never committed, the closing words are significant of the manners of the Providence Commissioners in this juncture. They are as follows:

[1] It should also be noted that first Warwick, apparently in accordance with the demands of Providence, was admitted with "The same privileges as Providence," and that a large party there was in close connection with Providence. (R. I. Col. Rec., I, 148.)

[2] Arnold, I, 205. R I. Col. Rec., I, 151–2. In this act there was no recognition of a debt.

[3] Backus, I, 167 8 Knowles, 211–213.

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We do faithfully promise to carry ourselves in words and behavior so moderately and orderly *as the cause shall permit;* and if any of us shall fly out in provoking, scurrilous, exorbitant speeches, and unsuitable behavior, that he or they so doing shall be publicly declared, branded, and noted upon record, to be a covenant violator, and disturber of the union, peace and liberty of this plantation.

The tardy and reluctant assent of the islanders to a union with Providence and Warwick was far from unanimous. Mr. Coddington could not overcome his disgust, and appears not to have assisted in the organization. His dislike of Roger Williams, and of the Warwick Gortonists, was intense. Mr. Coddington was elected president in May, 1648, although he had so acted in opposition that charges had been legally presented against him. He refused to qualify, and so did the Assistant from Newport, who should have served for him. The islanders[1] gave Mr. Coddington very considerable moral support. In September, 1648, he[2] applied to the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England for the admission of the island alone to the league, alleging that this was the wish of the majority of the islanders, and Roger Williams wrote that Portsmouth inclined that way. In January, 1649, Mr. Coddington sailed for England, to press his purpose of separating the island from Providence and Warwick.

[3]A letter of Roger Williams at this time indicates that much excitement and dissension prevailed, but that Newport desired to preserve the government. Many serious dangers threatened. The surrounding colonies demanded the territory of the little state. Some citizens of Portsmouth wished to join Plymouth. Some in Pawtuxet acknowledged Massachusetts. Some in the Narragansett country invoked Connecticut, and Roger Williams, then living there, at his trading house, intimated in a[4] letter to Governor Winthrop that that gentleman was thought of for governor of Rhode Island. An Indian war was feared. In the midst of these troubles an assembly of six persons from each of the four towns[5] convened in an irregular way at Warwick in March, 1649, and by this Roger Williams was appointed deputy governor in a manner and to an office unknown to the constitution or laws. His nominal office, however, expired in May, [6]when Mr. John Smith, of Warwick, where the Assembly met,

[1] Backus, I, 169. Arnold, I, 221-223. Knowles, 215, 216.

[2] Backus, I, 169, 216. Arnold, I, 222. Knowles, 214.

[3] Knowles, 214-15. Backus, I, 170-1.

[4] Knowles, 230. Winthrop Papers. Pub's of Narragansett Club.

[5] There is no record of this in the R. I. Col. Rec. It is recorded in a letter from Williams to Winthrop. Knowles, 230. Arnold, I, 225. In R. I. Col. Rec. 216, records of annual assembly, Mr. Williams is named as supplying the President's place.

[6] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 216.

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was elected President. At this time John Clarke accepted the offices of Assistant of Newport and General Treasurer, which he held for two, and probably for three years. He seems to have felt that the times required him to serve the state, and yet it is within these three years that we have evidence of his most active Christian ministry. Roger Williams records[1] that in 1649 Mr. Clarke preached and baptized in the vicinity of Providence, helping the Baptist churches which Roger Williams had ten years before abandoned.

In October, 1650, a resolution passed the General Court to send a commission to England for defence and relief from the many perils. One person from each town was chosen, of whom one or two might go. The appointees must be supposed to have been the fittest men in the respective towns. They were Roger Williams from Providence, John Clarke from Newport, William Ballston from Portsmouth, and John Warner from Warwick. The plan was not, however, consummated, and no one went.[2]

In the summer of 1651 an aged member of Mr. Clarke's church, residing near Lynn, Mass., requested a religious visit from his pastor and some members of his church. Mr. Clarke[3] accordingly visited him with Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall. Reaching his house, two miles from town, on Saturday, they lodged with him, and the next day quietly held worship there. Mr. Clarke preached, and Mr. Holmes baptized a person. They were interrupted by a constable, bearing a warrant for their arrest as erroneous persons. They were confined in the inn, but were carried to the church by the constable, although they warned him that they would protest by word and gesture. In the church they civilly saluted the congregation, and then replaced their hats, which the officer at once removed. After the service Mr. Clarke proposed to explain his conduct, but was not allowed to proceed far. The next morning the party, although allowed to visit their friend again, and administer the Lord's Supper, were taken before a magistrate in Lynn, and ordered to the prison in Boston. Here they were confined nine days, until the 31st of July, when they were taken before the court, consisting probably of the governor, deputy and assistants. The governor upbraided them as Anabaptists. Mr. Clarke was accused of preaching, of disrespect to public worship, of speaking against the regularity of their

[1] Letter to Winthrop, Pub. of Narr. Club, VI, p. 188. Mass. Hist. Col., 4th Ser., VI, 274.

[2] Jealousies had perhaps compelled the appointment of so many persons as to destroy the project.

[3] A very complete account of this affair is given in Dr. Clarke's book, "Ill News from New England." Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser. Vol. II. See also Backus, I, 178 to 204 Arnold, I, 234 5.

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church, of administering the sacrament to persons not members of the church, and of denying infant baptism, for all which offences he was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds, or be well whipped. Mr. Holmes, as the administrator of baptism, was sentenced to pay thirty pounds, or be whipped. Mr. Crandall was sentenced to pay five pounds, or be whipped. Refusing to pay, they were remanded to prison. The next morning Mr. Clarke wrote to the governor, who had said in the trial that Mr. Clarke could not defend his positions, and asked the appointment of a place and disputant. The demand was at first granted, but the ministers demurring, the magistrates sent for Mr. Clarke, and learned the points which he proposed to defend. He stated them in four theses, affirming, First, that Christ is Priest, Prophet and King. Second, that the immersion of believers only is the ordinance of Christ, and only immersed believers are to join in the order of the church. Third, that a believer should use his talents to edification. Fourth, that no believer has a right to constrain the conscience of another person, nor his outward man for conscience's sake, where injury is not offered to the name, person or estate of others. Mr. Clarke, after lying in prison eleven days longer, was suddenly set at liberty[1] without explanations. There was a rumor that some one paid his fine, but there is no reason for believing it. Mr. Clarke protested[2] against payment, and knew no friend who paid it. Roger Williams, writing to Mr. Winthrop, said[3] that he had met Mr. Clarke in Providence, and that "He was as good as thrust out, without pay or whipping." Mr. Clarke, in his narrative, says that he understood that some friends had laid down the money, although contrary to his counsel. Mr. Cotton, who was very likely to know the facts, was careful not to say that the fine was paid, but said[4] Mr. Clarke "was content to have it paid (as I hear)."[5]

Mr. Clarke lodged in prison three days longer, hoping for a debate, and a consent was sent by the court, but under conditions to which he could not agree. After repeating his first proposals, he was obliged to depart unsatisfied. Mr. Holmes, however, was terribly whipped, and two friends who showed some sympathy with him were fined—their fines and Mr. Crandall's being paid, it is said, against their protest by some friends.

In the spring of 1651, Mr. Coddington pushed his opposition so earnestly and persuasively that he obtained a commission constituting

[1] "Ill News," etc., p. 37. Backus, I, 184.
[2] Ibid, p. 38.
[3] Knowles, 243. 3d Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. IX, p. 293. Pub. of Nar. Club, VI, 213.
[4] Backus I, 200.
[5] It is probable that the fine was disposed of by the same persons that decreed it.

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him governor for life of the islands, and authorizing him to rule them with a council of six men to be nominated by the people, and approved by himself. This charter left Providence and Warwick to the solitary enjoyment of the Williams charter, but separated the islands from the main land, and subverted their government. From the evidences of Mr. Coddington's general spirit, we are led to believe that he did not desire the power conferred on him, unless as a temporary means for his end, and that he was obliged to accept such responsibilities in order to gain his other points. But Mr. Coddington's policy was short-sighted, unless he desired to join Plymouth. The majority of the islanders preferred the leadership of Dr. Clarke.

They had enjoyed for four years a settled goverment under laws of their own constitution, with the chief magistrate selected from their number. Other colonies were claiming Pawtuxet, Warwick, and the Narragansett country, with some prospect of gaining possession; and their success would have left the islands an insignificant and isolated territory. Mr. Clarke's influence was powerful for peace and union. He was always on the best terms with Roger Williams. He seems to have regarded the government as a rose whose beauty and perfume healed the prick of the thorn at its plucking. In the midst of distractions that made most men wild, and destroyed their judgment, he was calm and far-seeing, his thought was level and even, and his personal traits so winning that Mr. Backus[1] says, "I have not met with a single reflection cast upon him by any one; which I think is very extraordinary." Therefore, in the crisis which demanded the best efforts of a high order of statesmanship, almost all eyes on the island turned to Dr. Clarke. Sixty-five citizens of Newport, and forty-one of Portsmouth presented to him a written request that he would go to England, and try to remedy the pressing evils.[2] Of course this action was all individual. None other was possible under the circumstances. Dr. Clarke accepted the charge, and, at his own expense, sailed in November, 1651. Mr. Coddington was rendered practically powerless by these measures.

In effect Mr. Coddington's commission produced more serious disorder in Providence and Warwick than on the island. These towns, already tumultuous and contentious, now became the arena of the contest of two parties, one claiming that the goverment had been destroyed, the other that it remained unchanged. A willingness was felt by some citizens to accept and perpetuate the separation from the island. Before, however, these disputes attained their full heat

[1] Backus, I, 349.

[2] Backus, I, 221. Knowles, 247. Arnold, I, 239. R. I. Colonial Records, I, 234.

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as soon as Mr. Clarke decided to go to England, some [1]citizens of Warwick and Providence subscribed a sum of money to send Roger Williams also to England. A scurrilous [2] letter to the authorities of Massachusetts from the chief of the Pawtuxet enemies of Roger Williams says that he was sent to secure the separation from the island. Mr. Williams's mission was thus, like Mr. Clarke's, individual, but represented a much smaller constituency. Mr. Williams accepted the charge, and the two envoys sailed together. In England they acted in harmony, and Mr. Williams affirmed that the first success was obtained by them both, with the help of Sir Henry Vane. Probably because of the unsettled condition of the government of England, and of the influence of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Mr. Coddington, no results were attained till October 2, 1652, when the council of state issued an order vacating Mr. Coddington's commission, and renewing the old charter. The two envoys, however, still remained in England. Mr. Clarke for twelve years, for the purposes which he at last accomplished, and Mr. Williams till 1654, for his private business and a lawsuit.

In 1652, in England, Mr. Williams published his reply to Cotton's rejoinder to "The Bloody Tenet," which he named "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's Endeavor to Wash it White." It was an able argument, though quite as likely to irritate as to convince. Dr. Clarke at the same time published "Ill News from New England." It contained first a very temperate address to Parliament and the Council of State; then similar ones to the magistrates of Massachusetts and the Christian reader; then a narrative of the settlement of Aquedneck, and of the persecution of Clarke, Holmes and others, in Massachusetts; then recounted certain laws of Massachusetts. It closed with an elaborate argument of his four theses (page 32 of this article). For style, tone, argument, and Baptist sentiment, this work is worthy of lasting honor.[3]

Before the news of the restoration of the charter arrived in this

[1] Arnold, I, 238–9. Backus, I, 217. Knowles, 250.

Mr. Staples (Annals of Providence, p. 82) says: "Mr. Williams was the sole agent of Providence and Warwick to procure a new charter for these two towns." A letter of the town of Warwick to the Governor and Council, in 1664, says: "We upon the main were constrained to send over Mr. Roger Williams, to prevent dangers which we saw were likely to ensue in wrongs intended against all the rest of the colony." (See R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. II, 78–80.)

A letter from the town of Providence to Roger Williams (in Staples's Annals, p. 89) says: "We upon the main only remained the colony of Providence Plantations, and so by order of a court of commissioners, sent yourself as our particular agent for the renewing of the grand charter unto us, without any desire to evade or oppose Mr. Coddington's commission for governing Rhode Island."

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., 1, 234. Knowles, 249. Arnold, I, 238.

[3] Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II.

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country a letter[1] was written to Roger Williams, which is sometimes cited as an evidence of the high estimation in which he was held by the citizens of the state. In fact it is only one of those mists, so common in the traditions of Roger Williams, which are dissipated by the first searching beams of the morning light. The letter was from a body claiming to be the "General Court" (*i. e.*, Legislature) of the state, and contained the following language:

> SIR: Give us leave to intimate this much; that we humbly conceive (so far as we are able to understand) that if it be the pleasure of our protectors to renew our charter for the re-establishment of our government, that it might tend much to the weighing of men's minds, and subjecting of persons who have been refractory, to yield themselves over, as unto a settled government, if it might be the pleasure of that honorable state to invest, appoint, and impower yourself to come over as Governor of this Colony for the space of one year, and so the government be honorably put upon this place, which might seem to add much weight forever hereafter in the constant and successive derivation of the same.

The naïve simplicity of this proposal is rivaled only by its freedom from comprehension of the exigencies of the times. But another aspect appears on it when we look further into historical records; inasmuch as the letter did not represent the sentiment of the people of the state, nor even of a majority of Providence and Warwick, but emanated from a faction which obstructed the harmony of the state; and two months later this faction was routed, and its letter repudiated and condemned. It appears that as a result of the dissensions which we have before mentioned (page 33), as occurring in Providence and Warwick in 1651, after Mr. Coddington obtained his commission, there were two "General Courts" of these towns, which were, to some extent, rivals. Apparently one was elected under the theory that the administration had been displaced, and the other was the legislature in existence when Coddington's commission was issued, and which claimed to hold office until new authority for an election was received from England. In the absence of the Colonial Records for three years, we do not know the names of the Commissioners holding over; but in November, 1651, a Court[2] for these *two towns* met, which was apparently elected by the other party, and was led by Robert Williams, son of Roger, in Providence, and by Mr. Gorton in Warwick. This Court, in effect, enacted a new constitution by its decrees for the election of officers and commissioners. But in February,

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 248. Arnold, I, 242. Backus, I, 222. Knowles, 255.
[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 235.

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1652, another [1] Court convened, in which one half the members were different from those of the Court of the previous November. This was probably the old Court, which was elected before Coddington's commission. At this February session nothing was done except to write a letter to Aquedneck, claiming the continuance of the government. After this session this Court did not convene again until December, 1652, when the old charter had been restored. But at the annual meeting in May, 1652, the Court [2] that convened was nearly the same that was elected in November, 1651, one name from Providence and three from Warwick being changed. These changes, however, removed from the Warwick Committee all persons who had been members of the Court under the charter. This Court met again [3] in October, 1652, and ordered the remarkable letter to Roger Williams. Some changes were made in the membership, so that this Court nominally contained only three members of the old government, and of these three, two certainly (the General Recorder and General Sergeant), did not attend the session. It is noticeable that this Court, besides writing its letter to Roger Williams, did little else except to put on record the fact that the validity of the Court and the legality of the election of the Warwick Committee had been denied and must be defended, and also to pass laws against "Some ill effected and rude persons within this Collonie," who were said to be "Apt to carry themselves uncivily in giving out speeches tending to the disparagement of others by calling them out of their names, or otherwayes to villifie them; yea such as are in place and office as others."

These were the last public acts of this party. In December, 1652, after the charter was known to be restored, a [4] session of the General Court of Providence and Warwick was called, but those who assembled were the same that met in February, 1651, and probably those who constituted the Court when Coddington obtained his commission, and of the twelve commissioners in actual attendance only two were members of the previous October Court that sent the Williams letter, and of these two one was elected by the Court after convening, to fill a vacancy. As this same [5] Assembly was re-elected at the annual meeting in the following May, it stands in history as representing the orderly government.[6] But although the irregular Court was

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 239.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 241.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 245. The Recorder's name was signed to the letter to Williams, although he was fined for absence.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 250.

[5] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 258.

[6] And a majority of its members were among those who, in August, 1654, served as commissioners at the reunion of the four towns. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 250, 277-8.

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disposed of, the general officers that were associated with it did not yield gracefully. They arraigned, on a charge[1] of treason, Mr. Bewitt, the General Sergeant, who was not of their party; but the restored Court, after a three day's trial, acquitted him. The President of this half of the state, John Smith, and Samuel Gorton, the Assistant for Warwick, presented to the December Assembly an appeal from it. At the Assembly in May, 1653, this appeal[2] was referred to the October session, and the President and Assistant were ordered to "Give answer for their said writing, and for their misdemeanors in their foresaid offices." But the Assembly of December, 1652, was not satisfied with merely displacing that of October. It also put on record[3] its sentiments, in the following terms:

Whereas, there was a letter sent to Mr. Roger Williams, subscribed "From the General Assembly of this Colony," bearing date the 28th of October, 1652; We, the Commissioners of Providence Plantations, assembled in General Court to advise and order for the peace and safety of this colony, according to the trust committed to us, cannot but take notice of several complaints against particulars therein contained, contrary to the liberties and freedom of the free people of this colony, and contrary to the end for which the said Roger Williams was sent, and therefore *do declare against the same.*

There was nothing in the letter to Mr. Williams to which this language would apply, except the passage which we have quoted.[4]

The renewal of the charter did not at once re-establish the government of the state. The northern and southern towns, in 1653, elected

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 251 to 255.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 262, and Mr. Bewitt, as Solicitor General, was to have his turn in preparing the papers and conducting a trial.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec. I, 256.

[4] We would be glad to find reason to believe that Roger Williams repelled the proposition. His son, Robert, leader in the Providence delegation of the Assembly that sent the letter, fanned the fires of contention with the following discreditable document. (Staples's Annals of Providence, p. 106.)

"Presented unto the town of Providence by Robert Williams, the loyal subject of the Commonwealth of England, that according unto his engagement, endeavors to vindicate the just rights of honorable authority in these parts.

"I do hereby signify unto this town, whom I honor as a town, in subjection unto such right honorable Commonwealth, that the sub-committee at Warwick have declared disloyalty unto the Commonwealth of England; for the said committee declare, then dated the 24th of December, 1652, against the letter of credence ordered and sent unto our agent, Mr. Roger Williams, supplicating their honor's favor and pleasure in these parts."

ROBERT WILLIAMS,
Deputy of the town of Providence.

By this document Mr. Williams claims membership in the Court from which he had been removed, tries to cover the rejection of his father, and aims to make political capital by treating the kindly-worded protest of the Court as a denial of the right of Parliament to govern the colony.

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different Presidents and Courts, each claiming to be the legitimate government.

Mr. Williams returned from England early in 1654, but not to such a reception in Providence as awaited him ten years earlier. He brought a letter from Sir Henry Vane,[1] urging an ending of the disgraceful wrangling. Mr. Williams wrote a letter to the people of Providence, in which he said:[2]

> It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people, . . . and at this present, am called a traitor by one party against the state of England. And it is said that I am as good as banished by yourselves,[3] and that both sides wished that I had never landed.

In this letter he takes sides with the islanders, and blames the people of Providence for refusing[4] reunion as proffered by Newport. He advises them to retract an offensive paper which they had sent to the island, but makes the extraordinary proposition that they, who were so opposed to himself, should profess to thus reverse their course at his request.

At length, in August, 1654, commissioners of the island towns met in Warwick with the representatives of the northern towns, and made such arrangements as resulted in a reunion and reorganization of the government in the following month. Mr. Coddington, however, and his party, did not co-operate till nearly two years later. In September, the Assembly and election were held at Warwick, and Roger Williams was elected President of the state for the remainder of the official year. In May, 1655, the Assembly was held in Providence, and Mr. Williams was re-elected. He was re-elected for the last time in May, 1656.

From a list of the freemen[5] recorded in the Colonial Records it appears that in 1655, Newport numbered ninety-six, Portsmouth,

[1] Knowles, 260, 261. R. I. Col. Rec. I, 285, 286. Backus, I, 232. This letter was sent to Providence, and answered by the town of Providence. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 287.)

[2] Knowles, 266 268. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 351, 352. Backus, I, 233. Pub. of Nar. Club, VI, 266.

[3] He contrasts their course with that of the islanders, saying: "I am told that your opposites thought on me, and provided, as I may say, a sponge to wipe off your scores and debts in England, but that it was obstructed by yourselves."

[4] It would appear from the letter of the town of Providence to Mr. Williams (quoted on p. 34, note (1), from Staples's Annals, p. 89), that he was now cursed in Providence for that which in part caused his previous ovation; viz., the union of the four towns, which he had allowed Mr. Clarke to restore by a simple renewal of the old patent, which Mr. Williams was sent to prevent.

[5] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 299-301. Arnold, I, 256, says: "More than two-thirds of the strength of the colony was on the island. Newport had already by far the largest portion, and was rapidly increasing."

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seventy-one, Providence (including Pawtuxet), forty-two, and Warwick, thirty-eight.

Meanwhile, John Clarke remained in England, using his own funds, which were never fully repaid by the state. Drawing up in a document, which unfortunately has perished, a statement of his aims and proposed methods, he sent it home in 1654. This was in September laid before the Court of the towns then reuniting, by[1] which "It was ordered that the instructions presented by Mr. John Clarke, as they are now drawn forth, are by this Court approved." He became the authorized agent of the state for carrying out plans of his own conception. Letters[2] of thanks, and instructions in special matters were occasionally sent to him from the Court, but nowhere appears any record of any modification of his own plans. In May, 1650,[3] upon the accession of the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, he received new credentials. In the following August, when Parliament and the Council of State were reinstated, his commission was renewed. In October, 1660, after the accession of Charles II, the General Court voted a new commission, but it was not sent to him until after August, 1661, having been delayed by a proposal to send two agents. The town of Providence[4] voted him a lot of land in 1662.

With moderation it may be said, that the plans of Dr. Clarke were as comprehensive, and his purposes as grand, as ever animated the mind or the heart of a great statesman; for he designed to obtain a charter which should at once secure the state from aggression, defend liberty of conscience by royal decree, and *embody a complete state constitution*—thus in one instrument repelling alike external and internal enemies, and erecting a model Christian Republic.

The work[5] before him was one to tax a combination of the most eminent abilities. That he possessed these is testified by the fact that he secured and held throughout so protracted an absence the confidence of such a distracted and contentious colony. The letters sent to him from the state government were appeals, rather than instructions. Mr. Bancroft,[6] indeed, gives the latter name to a letter[7] sent

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., 1, 283, 284.

[2] Ibid, 283, 317, 321, 328, 329, 331, 346, 364, 396, 421.

[3] Ibid, 433.

[4] Backus, I, 276.

[5] "To obtain a renewal of privileges so remarkable, to secure the regard of a sovereign whose arbitrary will was an inheritance, to obtain his sanction to a system which, initiated as an experiment by a Republican Parliament, had come to be no longer a philosophical problem, but an established fact, and which, if extended, must inevitably, in time, overthrow the fabric of monarchical power—these were the difficult and perhaps dangerous duties that now devolved on the agent of Rhode Island. Well did he conduct his delicate mission." Arnold, I, 280

[6] Hist. of U. S., Vol. II, 61.

[7] R. I. Col Rec., I, 396-399.

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from the General Court in November, 1658, and quotes a phrase which has that appearance. But its introduction [in the note[1] below] shows its tone. It states that the other colonies are treating the Quakers in a way which the people of Rhode Island "Do judge no less than a point of absolute cruelty." It says that the other colonies are pressing Rhode Island to persecute the Quakers, and are threatening serious penalties from England if they refuse. In reference to this matter the Court appeals to Mr. Clarke to "Plead our cause in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences."

Some of the difficulties which embarrassed him were as follows:

Firstly. He represented a discordant[2] people, who were in bad repute abroad. Secondly. The territory of the state was[3] claimed by other states which were influential, persistent, and ably represented in England. Thirdly. Sentiment in England did not favor liberty of conscience. While Mr. Clarke was in England, Mary Dyre, the Quakeress, was hung in Boston, John Bunyan was in prison, and Henry Jessey, another Baptist, died in confinement in 1663. Fourthly. It was an era of revolution in England, Cromwell becoming Protector in 1653, his son succeeding in 1659, and being quickly followed by a Parliament and the King.

Mr. Clarke's earlier labors were mainly defensive against the enemies who sought in England permission to throttle the little colony in America. He was so far successful that these enemies obtained no advantage. Cromwell was induced to write to the colony in March, 1655, as follows:[4]

Your agent here hath represented unto us some particulars concerning your government which you judge necessary to be settled by us here; but by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity. For the meantime we were willing to let you

[1] "Worthy Sir and trusty friend, Mr. Clarke: We have found not only your ability and diligence, but also your love and care to be such concerning the welfare and prosperity of this colony, since you have been entrusted with the more public affairs thereof (surpassing that no small benefit which formerly we had of your presence here at home), that we in all straits and encumbrances, are emboldened to repair to you for your further and continued council, care and help, finding that your solid and Christian demeanor hath gotten no small interest in the hearts of our superiors, those worthy and noble senators with whom you have to do on our behalf." R. I. Col. Rec., I, 396.

[2] R. I. Col Rec., 351, 361. Arnold, I, 249, 250, 254, 338. Backus, I, 232-233, 242. Knowles, 282, 290, 298, 299, 307, etc.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 133, 373, 390, 451-466, 499, 517. Knowles, 214-217. Arnold, I, 118, 192, 193, 247, 266, 267, 272, 275-277, 281, 316, 378. Backus, I, 217-220, 269-275.

[4] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 316.

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know that you are to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your charter formerly granted on that behalf.

On the accession of Charles, Mr. Clarke's difficulties were greatly aggravated. The new king could have no sympathy with such pronounced dissenters as the Baptists. Sir Henry Vane was beheaded. Massachusetts and Plymouth urged their claims to all Rhode Island territory, and Connecticut, which as yet had no charter, pressed a petition for one under the powerful advocacy of John Winthrop, and wanted the southwestern portion of the present mainland of Rhode Island. Few of Mr. Clarke's diplomatic acts are recorded; but it is certain that all the efforts of Massachusetts and Plymouth were for a time nullified, and Winthrop was so far mystified, that although Mr. Clarke's commission was a public matter, he (Winthrop) did not know that Clarke was acting.[1] As Mr. Winthrop[2] received his charter in September, 1662 (although dated in April, and probably conceded some time before), and as Mr. Clarke's last commission did not reach him till nearly the end of the previous year, it is probable that Mr. Clarke found it impolitic to oppose Mr. Winthrop.

Winthrop's charter made Narragansett River the southeastern boundary of Connecticut, but it was uncertain what river, if any, bore this name, although it was also nominally the western boundary of Plymouth. Mr. Winthrop procured[3] the insertion of a clause in his charter which defined this river as Narragansett Bay, thus leaving nothing between Connecticut and Plymouth. But he was compelled to relax his grasp on the prize. Mr. Clarke was able to procure the recall[4] of the Connecticut charter, and to obtain, as early as September 25, 1662,[5] from the King and Councils, an order for a charter for Rhode Island. This order probably proposed to give to Rhode Island twenty-five miles from Narragansett Bay, on a north and south line to Long Island Sound, thus ending the indefiniteness with which the patent of Roger Williams had vexed the colony. This order was probably as soon as possible communicated to the Narragansett country by Mr. Winthrop, and in November he received a letter[6] thence arguing that Rhode Island could only claim twenty-five miles from Providence. Mr. Winthrop struggled in vain. His progress was stopped, and he could only yield or agree, as he did in April, 1663, with Mr. Clarke, to refer the dispute to arbitrators.

[1] See letter of Winthrop to Mr. Ed. Hutchinson, in Arnold, I, 379, 380.
[2] Arnold, I, 281, Note [2].
[3] Winthrop's letter to Mr. Hutchinson, Arnold I, 379.
[4] R. Williams's letter to Major Mason, R. I. Col. Rec., I, 459. Knowles, 397.
[5] Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. II, p. 284.
[6] Arnold, I, 380, 381.

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By these it was advised[1] that Narragansett River should be held to be the Pawcatuck (Pequod) River, and that this should be the boundary of Connecticut and Rhode Island. It was also advised that the settlers in the Narragansett country should be allowed (as individuals?) to choose to which colony they should belong.[2] Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke agreed to these terms, and Mr. Winthrop returned to Connecticut with his charter. But the interests of the Narragansett settlers were then confided to less honorable agents, who[3] resorted to bribery of the king's profligate associates, and charged Mr. Clarke with being an enemy to the peace and well-being of his majesty's good subjects. Mr. Clarke has been much vilified by a few writers, but has been thoroughly vindicated by Mr. Bancroft[4] and Governor Arnold,[5] and the latter is probably right in attributing the falsehoods to the passions arising out of the contest for territory, and to the anger of defeat.

These machinations, however, did not prevent the drafting and signing of the Rhode Island charter in entire accord with Mr. Clarke's extreme desires. But they did cause difficulties to the colony; for the king was induced in June, 1663, to write to the governments of the neighboring colonies,[6] commending the Narragansett colonists to their protection against the Rhode Island (or "Providence Plantations") government. This, however, was only a vexatious annoyance, not defining any limits of the colonial territory or government, but encouraging the "United Colonies of New England" to vex Providence and Rhode Island, and also encouraging the Narragansett settlers to defend the validity of their purchase, which had been contrary to Rhode Island law, but had been virtually conceded by Mr. Clarke in his agreement with Mr. Winthrop. It was no novelty in Providence Plantation for settlers in her territory to claim the protection of other colonies, the people of Pawtuxet having been doing thus for many years.

While Mr. Clarke was defeating the enemies of his state, he was as successfully securing for its government the character which he proposed. He sought his extreme ends by the frankest possible statement of them to the king, a method which Englishmen could

[1] R. I. Colonial Records, I, 518. Arnold, I, 297.

[2] They chose Connecticut. Arnold, I, 282. It appears incredible that any one could suppose that the referees meant to give governmental power to Connecticut in territory which they expressly assigned to Rhode Island. Mr. Clarke probably was wise enough to know that the law officers of the Crown, in executing the charter, would not so stultify themselves.

[3] Arnold, I, 299, 300, 383, 385.

[4] Bancroft, Hist. of U. S., Vol. II, 64, 65.

[5] Arnold, I, 298, 384–6.

[6] R. I. Col. Rec., I, 466. Arnold, I, 283.

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understand and respect. Among British state papers have been found two addresses presented by him to the king. Each purports to be a representation of John Clarke on behalf of the purchasers and free inhabitants of Rhode Island, and of the colony of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay, and while they speak in the plural, they are signed only by John Clarke, and show no signs of any hand but his. In the first[1] address, which was probably presented in the latter part of 1661, he states that his constituents were led to their colony "for peace's sake," and for causes of conscience, and asks that they may be permitted with freedom of conscience to worship the Lord their God as they are persuaded.

In the second[2] address, Mr. Clarke said, "Your petitioners have it much on their hearts to hold forth a lively experiment that a flourishing civil state may stand,[3] yea, and best be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty in religious concernments."

At length, on the 9th of July, 1663, the royal seal was affixed to the charter of Rhode Island—the reward of twelve years of fidelity and weariness was obtained, and a grand statesmanship, inspired by Baptist principles, exhibited to the world as a living fact, a model constitutional free republic. The new charter,[4] while issued by the officers of the English government, must be understood to be essentially the embodiment of Mr. Clarke's own desires. It was a response to his petitions; and if, in the bitterly contested matter of territory he dictated its terms, certainly he must be credited with its authorship in the matters of liberty of conscience and governmental forms.

Mr. Clarke left nothing uncertain about the boundaries of the state. Not only was the Pawcatuck River named as the western limit of Rhode Island, but a special clause of the charter cited the agreement of Winthrop and Clarke, and declared that the charter of Connecticut should be interpreted in conformity to this boundary. The eastern limits of the state were also fixed at three miles east of the most eastern and northeastern part of Narragansett Bay.[5] Thus a strip of territory was taken from the previously uncertain bounds of Plymouth. In the matter of territory a complete triumph was gained

[1] R. I. Col. Records, I, 485-9.

[2] Ibid, I, pp. 489-491.

[3] Mr. Clarke's use of this word "stand" is in marked likeness to his use of it four times in pp. 108, 109 of "Ill News," etc., and marks as his own alone this passage, which, by incorporation in the charter, has become embalmed in the archives of England, and a glory of American history.

[4] Knowles, 419-430.

[5] Mr. Coddington had long before purchased meadows there from the Indians. R. I. Col. Rec., I, 47, 319. For reasons why this strip of territory should belong to Rhode Island, as they were urged in 1666, see R. I. Col Rec., II, 164-6.

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for Rhode Island. The other colonies resisted for many years, but Rhode Island was able to satisfy the royal commissioners of the justice of her claims, and the boundaries prescribed in the charter were those that were maintained.

The charter also provided that citizens of Rhode Island should enjoy all liberties in any English dominion, thus nullifying the proscriptive legislation of Massachusetts.

The charter based the title to the soil on purchase from the Indians, being, as Governor Arnold has shown, the first patent which did this; and it also provided for the protection of the Indians.

But the great glory of the charter appears in its guarantees of liberty. After reciting the paragraph which we have quoted from Mr. Clarke's second address, the charter says:

> Now know ye, that we, being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of our said loyal and loving subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all the civil and religious rights appertaining to them, as our loving subjects, and to preserve unto them that liberty in the true Christian faith and worship of God which they have sought; ... and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same colony cannot, in their private opinion, conform to the public exercise of religion according to the liturgy, form and ceremonies of the Church of England, to take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf; ... our royal will and pleasure is, That no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others; *any law*, statute, or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage *or custom of this realm to the contrary* hereof, in any wise *notwithstanding*

These provisions, securing personal liberty under a government regulated by Christian law, are a monument in honor of Baptist principles. There were also complete constitutional provisions organizing the government; and these, some of which were entirely new features in the constitution of the state, are a monument of the statesmanship of their author. These provisions cannot be here detailed.[1] It is enough to say that this charter was hailed with joy by all parties in the state, and under it organization was promptly effected. It is more than enough to say that this charter, prepared for

[1] On the charter, see Arnold, I, 290–5.

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an infant state in a new world, answered the demands of the expanding civilization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, met the exigencies of the war of independence and the incorporation of Rhode Island in the United States, and served as the constitution of the state for a hundred and eighty years, even until 1842. An equal achievement of statesmanship the world has never known.

The charter arrived in Rhode Island in November, 1663, and its beneficent influence was soon apparent. Quarrels that had long distracted the state were, by its power, shrunk into personal and local disputes, to disappear like autumn leaves. Mr. Clarke returned in June, 1664, and was universally welcomed and honored.

In the new legislature he was a member, and the records of the Assembly have this extraordinary introduction, viz., "And this present Assembly, now by God's gracious providence enjoying the helpful presence of our much honored and beloved Mr. John Clarke, doth declare," etc. Promises were made of payment of his expenses, and some earnest efforts were made to raise the money, more than two-thirds being assessed on the southern towns. Still, although Mr. Clarke had mortgaged his property while in England, he was not repaid during his life, but his estate received payment in 1699. Roger Williams fully recognized his deserts, and wrote a noble but intemperate letter to Warwick, which town was specially backward in paying.

At the first Assembly, Mr. Clarke was[1] placed at the head of a committee to revise and codify the laws of the state. Roger Williams was second on the list of this committee. In 1666, Mr. Clarke was[2] appointed alone to make a digest of the laws, "leaving out what may be superfluous, and adding what may appear unto him necessary." These appointments are strong evidences of Mr. Clarke's legal training and abilities, and of his previous leadership in the legislation of the colony. Neither Mr. Clarke nor Mr. Williams ever held the office of President, or Governor, under the new charter. The new office of Deputy Governor was held by[3] Mr. Clarke in 1669, declined in 1670, and accepted again by him in 1671. It was never given to Roger Williams.

Mr. Clarke resumed his position as pastor, or first elder of the Baptist Church of Newport, and probably also the practice of his profession. He only accepted the Deputy-Governorship in times of special considerations, but was from 1664 to 1669, a member of the

[1] Arnold, 311.
[2] Arnold, I, 330. R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. II, 184.
[3] Arnold, Vol. I, 337, 342, 350. Backus, I, 429.

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Assembly,[1] and often deputed to perform public services. In 1664 he was[2] head of a commission to run the western line of the state. In 1665 he[3] was associated with the Governor and Deputy Governor to examine Block Island for a harbor, and the encouragement of the fisheries. In 1666,[4] he, with the Governor and a representative of each of the other towns in the state, was appointed to write an address to the king. In 1668,[5] he was appointed to write to the authorities of Plymouth about their encroachments. In 1669,[6] he was requested to write to the people of Providence, and urge them to settle their tedious quarrels. In 1670,[7] he was appointed to go to England, in case the Governor could not go, for defense against Connecticut. This appointment was repeated in 1671 and 1672, but the journey did not become necessary. In 1672, when sixty-three years old, he retired from political service.

He is reputed to have held the place of pastor, or first elder, in his church all the time that he was in this country, until his death, which occurred in his sixty-seventh year, April 20, 1676.

The second centennial anniversary of Dr. Clarke's death has come, coeval with the first centennial of our nation's life. In the midst of the horrors of King Philip's war he departed, in Aquedneck, which alone, in a wide circle of devastation, remained populous and secure. The second centennial anniversary of his death finds the glorious verification of his words,[8] which should be blazoned in golden letters:

> A flourishing civil state may stand, yea, and best be maintained, with a full liberty in religious concernments; and true piety, rightly grounded upon gospel principles, will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to truer loyalty.

But this anniversary finds Dr. Clarke forgotten by all but a few scholars, and almost unknown to the great denomination of Christians of which he was the first pastor in America, while the honors, both political and denominational, that are his, are universally ascribed to another.

And yet the story herein detailed, and the estimate herein made of him and his work, are not fancy writing. History that will endure has honored him, as the following quotations will show:

[1] Arnold, I, 412.
[2] Arnold, I. R. I. Col Rec., II.
[3] Ibid, 321. Ibid.
[4] R. I. Col. Rec., II, 153–4.
Arnold, I, 305.
[6] Ibid, 338.
[7] Arnold, I, 345.
[8] Second address to Charles II. Also in R. I. Charter.

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He was a faithful and useful minister, courteous in all the relations of life, and an ornament to his profession, and to the several offices which he sustained. To no man is Rhode Island more indebted than to him. No character in New England is of purer fame than John Clarke.

These are the words of Mr. Callender,[1] who lived among those who had known Dr. Clarke.

The town of Warwick, in 1664,[2] wrote of him to the Governor: "He was much employed (in England) about modelizing of matters concerning the affairs of England, in which, no doubt, he was encouraged by men of no small estates." These words intimate that, but for the Restoration, the history of even England might have made his statesmanship and name illustrious.

Mr. Backus[3] wrote:

Mr. Clarke left as spotless a character as any man I know of, that ever acted in any public station in this country. The Massachusetts writers have been so watchful and careful to publish whatever they could find which might seem to countenance the severities they used towards dissenters from their way, that I expected to find something of that nature against Mr. Clarke, but have happily been disappointed. Among all their authors or records that I have searched, I have not met with a single reflection cast upon him by anyone; which I think is very extraordinary. Few men ever merited the title of a Patriot more than he did, for he was a principal procurer of Rhode Island for sufferers and exiles. And when their rights and liberties were invaded, he crossed the ocean, and exerted all his influence, in twelve years' watchful and diligent labors for his colony, at the British Court, till he obtained a new charter for them, of great and distinguishing privileges.

Governor Arnold says:

[4] His character and talents appear more exalted the more closely they are examined. [5] One of the ablest men of the seventeenth century. [6] To him Rhode Island was chiefly indebted for the extension of her territory on each side of the bay, as well as for the royal charter. He was a ripe scholar, learned in the practice of two professions, besides having had large experience in diplomatic and political life. He was always in public life under the old patent, as commissioner (in the Assembly), and as General Treasurer, from the first election, until sent to England, where he was employed as agent for the colony for twelve years. On his return he served as a deputy to the Assembly, till he was made Deputy Governor, to which position he was three times

[1] Century Sermon. R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV.
[2] R. I. Col. Rec., II, 78–80.
[3] Backus, I, 348–351.
[4] Arnold, I, 298.
[5] Ibid, 235, note.
[6] Arnold I, 412.

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elected, and served twice. With all these public pursuits, he continued the practice of his original profession as a physician, and also retained the pastoral charge of his church. His life was devoted to the good of others. He was a patriot, a scholar, and a Christian. The purity of his character is conspicuous in many trying scenes, and his blameless, self-sacrificing life disarmed detraction, and left him without an enemy.

The refutation of the charges of partisans of Connecticut, Governor Arnold says—

[1] Must be gratifying to those who have steadily defended the purity of Clarke in this matter of the charter, reasoning from his exalted character in all the other relations of life. It furnishes one more proof of the fact that the general character of a man is no unsafe criterion of his conduct in particular circumstances, and that the reputation which he holds in his own community is a tolerably safe standard of his real character.

Mr. Bancroft says:

[2] Never did a young commonwealth possess a more faithful friend. The [3] modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy, who during a twelve years' mission had sustained himself by his own exertions and a mortgage on his estate; whose whole life was a continued exercise of benevolence, and who at his death bequeathed all his possessions for the relief of the needy, and the education of the young. Others have sought office to advance their fortunes; he, like Roger Williams, parted with his little means for the public good. He had powerful enemies in Massachusetts, and left a name without a spot.[4]

Dr. Clarke was thrice married, but never had children. Had he in this respect been gifted like his illustrious associates, his story might not have remained so long unwritten, nor his name so overshadowed by those who were more in office. Had he not been a Baptist he would have been far more extolled, even in the city of his home. No portrait [5] of him remains, nor any known [6] manuscript. His family Bible, from his father, of the Geneva version, of an edition of 1608, is in fair preservation, and awaits a secure depository where it may be cherished.

The last act of Dr. Clarke's life was in accord with all his history.

[1] Arnold, I, 384.

[2] Hist. of U. S., Vol. II, p. 61.

[3] No writings remain in which he vaunts or claims honor. In this respect the contrast is marked between him and Roger Williams.

[4] Hist. of U. S., Vol. II, p. 64, 65.

[5] In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a portrait which is catalogued as of him. But the courteous librarian of the Society, Mr. Arnold, informs me that the matter was fully investigated by a member of the Society, who decided that it was the portrait of Dr. John Clarke, of Newbury.

[6] Unless the addresses to the King, now in the British State Paper Office, are such.

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His will, which was signed[1] on the day of his death, bequeathed a considerable portion of his estate to trustees, as a perpetual fund, of which the rents and profits are to be distributed "for the relief of the poor, and the bringing up of children unto learning."[2] Special instructions accompanying the will directed the trustees to—

> Have a special regard and care to provide for those that fear the Lord, and in all things, and in all times, so to discharge the trust as may be most for the glory of the Most High, and the good and benefit of those for whom it is by me expressly designed.

Mr. Backus records that the first trustees were informed by Mr Clarke, "That his intent was to provide for religious as well as civil instruction, though he did not insert the word 'ministry,' lest the national clergy should lay claim to it."

Thus Mr. Clarke exhibited at the last hour, alike the devotion and the sagacity of the statesman. With far-seeing wisdom he set an example in that policy of Christian education which, on the second centennial of his death, his denomination of Christians have assumed for their grand effort. It would be well if some portion of the product of this anniversary should bear a name constituting it his monument.

But a nobler[3] monument is his. His is the glory of first showing in an actual government that the best safeguard of personal rights is Christian law, that church and state may safely be separated, and that absolute license of thought and utterance, not issuing in crime against persons and estates, may be most rightly and wisely placed, far above toleration, on the secure basis of positive statute.

The duty of cherishing the honor of John Clarke belongs not alone to Rhode Island. It belongs to all this nation. It belongs to all mankind. England and America may rejoice in it as their own, but Baptists may claim a special glory in it as an illustration and a product of their principles.

JOHN C. C. CLARKE.[4]

SHURTLEFF COLLEGE, UPPER ALTON, ILLINOIS.

[1] It must have been prepared, and its provisions communicated to the executors previously.

[2] A portion of this was then appraised at five hundred and twenty pounds. Mr. Backus says that in his time, a hundred years ago, "Its annual income has been two hundred and twenty dollars." Vol. I, p. 353, n. I am informed that it has sometimes since produced eight hundred dollars a year.

[3] Mr. Bancroft says (Hist. of U. S., I, 488), "Clarke, the pure and tolerant Baptist of Rhode Island, one of the happy few who succeeded in acquiring an estate of beneficence, and connecting the glory of their name with the liberty and happiness of a commonwealth."

[4] I desire here to record that I am greatly indebted in this article to the researches and thought of my father, the late William Edward Clarke, who hoped to complete the work himself.

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UNITARIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

NEW circumstances invest an old question with novel interest. The discovery of new facts throws a flood of light on old principles, and suggests a new examination and adjustment. This is our apology for reviewing at this late day the history of Unitarianism in New England, its origin and growth and influence. The recent biographies of Dr. Ezra Stiles Gannett, and Dr. John Todd, furnish invaluable facts for a wise judgment on this religious movement. The life of Dr. Gannett discloses internal forces, the character of the leaders, with their opinions and aims and hopes; the life of Dr. Todd reveals external results, the influence of Unitarian doctrines on individuals and a community. Both of them began their ministry when Unitarians were assuming a distinctive name and organization; Dr. Gannett, in Boston, in July, 1824, and Dr. Todd, in Groton, April, 1826. Both of them spent nearly a half-century in public labors, the former being cut off suddenly by the Revere disaster, in September, 1871, and the latter dying at Pittsfield, August, 1873.

Dr. Gannett was an enthusiastic Unitarian, the wisest organizer in the body, and the most earnest champion of its principles. He was an eloquent preacher, a model pastor, and a tireless worker, retaining till death the affections of the only church he served, the confidence of all parties in the denomination, and the esteem of the public. He believed in Christianity as a religion from God; in the Bible as

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an inspired book, of ultimate authority; and in Jesus Christ as a divine teacher, and an appointed Saviour for men. And he believed, with a faith that seemed never to waver, that Unitarianism was the religion of the New Testament, taught by Jesus and the apostles, held by the early church, better fitted to save men and to make the world religious than an evangelical creed, and destined at an early day to become the faith of Christendom. He says:

In the ultimate success of that which I have denominated the new school of theology, because, though as old as the time of Jesus and his apostles, it is of recent growth in New England, in the ultimate success of these opinions, I have the same confidence as I have of their truth.[1]

And again:

Its tendency is said to be toward skepticism. It has been pronounced, with a pert sarcasm, "the half-way house to infidelity." If this be true, I am ready to admit that our opinions cannot be very fruitful in holiness; for I have little confidence in a character that is not founded on faith in a divine revelation.

But while Dr. Gannett had such faith in the truth of Unitarianism, in its influence on character and in its ultimate success, he was troubled by facts in its history which his honesty could not overlook, nor his candor evade. He found, even in the freshness of his youthful zeal, a more earnest spiritual life among Calvinists than among Unitarians. While still a student he writes:

Last week I returned from a visit to Greenfield. I always find my mind, after a visit to this place, or to Connecticut, in a very different state from what is usual at home. My thoughts are more directed to the subject of religion, of vital and internal piety. Conferences and religious meetings are common, and religion seems more an everyday thing than it is with us. It cannot be denied that whatever may be the tendencies of Unitarianism, its effect is to produce less apparent attention to religion. We may discuss doctrinal points, or we may talk of social or relative duties; but piety, devotion, our connection with God and a future world, are less the subjects of conversation, and I never feel my own guilt and utter want of holiness so much as during one of these visits. I am almost frightened into the belief of their speculative articles. I am confident, when I think calmly, that their views are erroneous. Yet, certainly, the fruit looks fairer and more abundant.[2]

A similar impression was made on him in England:

The religious aspect of affairs does not gratify me. I doubt if Unitarianism here is progressive at present; or, rather, while Unitarianism

[1] Page 119.

[2] Page 66.

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is stationary, Orthodoxy, I suspect, gradually spreads. The Unitarians, I am afraid, are not as active, zealous, or religious as they should be. I have been very often reminded of home by what I have seen. The history and present state of Unitarianism seem to me very similar here and with us. Is it not singular that the ministers should say so much about the necessity of a partial confidence in Christianity? The wine (at communion) was poured from common bottles — a little thing, but it was in keeping with the characteristics given to the service. The word "Christian" was never introduced, I think, into the sermon—the "good man" was used in preference; the terms "sin" and "sinful" were also avoided.[1]

He contrasts evangelical earnestness with Unitarian lethargy in this country:

On the one side are seen talent busy in behalf of what it deems the truth of God; experience employing its treasures to the same end; zeal that will compass heaven and earth to make one proselyte; confidence that an immediate revelation from heaven could not increase; a policy organized by the most sagacious ingenuity; and an expenditure of money that promises soon to outstrip the profusion of the Catholic Propagandists. On the other side are found an indisposition to active labors, an unwillingness to contribute the means of diffusing light, an insensibility to the evils of comparative darkness, a dread of fanaticism that is equivalent to indifference about the progress of the truth, a distrust of the justice and worth of those tenets which are the distinctive marks of a system, and a dislike to concert that almost amounts to a distaste for religious sympathy.

It seems singular that an earnest worker, like Dr. Gannett, so clear-sighted in discerning the effects of the two systems of belief, in Europe and the United States, should not have applied the Saviour's test of truth, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Towards the close of life, though his zeal never waned, nor his attachment to the faith of early manhood, his confidence in the growth of Unitarianism was shaken, and he felt an intense sadness at the decay of unity in the denomination, and at the radical tendencies of the younger men, both ministers and laymen. He maintained his early tenet of absolute freedom of thought and inquiry, and demanded a hearing for the most radical at public meetings, when others wished to silence them by scrapings or hisses. But he would not admit them to his pulpit, nor exchange ministerial courtesies, because he thought their belief to be error, and held that he ought to call it so, both indirectly, and in the most direct and unequivocal terms. He wrote:

[1] Page 167.

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Everything is at loose ends. All sorts of opinions shelter themselves under the protection of "Liberality."—this is the favorite word just now, "Unitarian" having gone out of fashion. Our young men are bold, careless, crude, one is often tempted to say; our old men are driven too far by reaction. Mr. Parker's death has called out several sermons, which deal more in eulogy than in exposure of the serious error which belonged to his theology. Where we shall end I know not. . . . However, God will take care of his own truth; and if we are not worthy to uphold it, the charge must pass into other hands.

His sadness became extreme when his own son passed over to the left wing, and maintained that the orthodox were right in asserting that this was the goal to which Unitarianism led.

But while others changed, and a large part of the denomination moved away from faith in revelation and in Jesus to atheism or the worship of humanity, he remained anchored to his early belief. As a friend said of him, "the blood of his Calvinist ancestors was in his bones," and he never could lose his sense of need of a Bible and a Saviour.

John Todd was a man of different stuff from Ezra Gannett. He never erred by excess of humility, nor grieved his friends by self-depreciation. Morbid moods, which were frequent with him, and dyspeptic glooms, of which he had a liberal share, did not exhaust themselves in self-introspection, nor palsy the hand holding the scimetar of truth. If the blues invaded the study, and stomach and brain disturbed mental comfort, relief was found in striking heavier blows at the world, the flesh, and the devil, and the next Sunday's sermon took on a keener edge. This young athlete of a preacher was sent by the Andover professors to do battle with Unitarianism at Groton. He went, not unwillingly, like a war-horse snuffing the battle from afar. He had supreme confidence in the truth of orthodoxy, and equal confidence in John Todd as its champion. He asked no favors, sought no compromise, and dreamed not of pity or charity. Unitarianism was a heresy to be crushed. Its advocates were monsters, despoiling the Son of God of worship and honor, and despoiling the Puritans of churches and endowments consecrated to Jesus Christ. He hated them with perfect hatred, and counted them his enemies. And he had good reasons for his antipathies. The Unitarians of Groton, in their partisanship, violated precedent and courtesy and good faith. The parish committee ruled with a high hand, usurping the rights of pastor and church, and of a majority of the voters.

The pastor, Dr. Chaplin, an aged man, infirm in body, and weak in will, was anxious to save the church to orthodoxy, and wished, there-

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fore, to secure Mr. Todd as colleague and ultimate successor. He claimed the right of filling the pulpit when he could not preach, which the Committee refused. He offered to meet all the expenses of the supply, and they spurned the offer. The church voted by an overwhelming majority to invite Mr. Todd to supply, and they denied the right of the church to act. A petition, signed by a majority of voters in the parish, was presented to them, requesting them to invite Mr. Todd to the pulpit, and they would not heed the suggestion. At length, when the matter was pushed to its final issue at a regular town meeting, by a free use of rum, brought in pails to the meeting house, the Committee obtained a vote continuing them in office six months, provided they would supply the pulpit without expense to the town. The majority was a slender one, even after such unworthy measures, 156 to 143.

But, on the strength of this meagre majority, and with only nine members of the church acting with them, they stationed constables to keep Dr. Chaplin from going into the pulpit, called a new pastor, Mr. Robinson, against the solemn protest of Dr. Chaplin and the church (and a Council of Unitarian ministers did not hesitate to ordain him), and took possession of church property, and of an endowment fund of $16,000, retaining also for their party the name of the church.

No wonder that Mr. Todd's blood boiled in him at such a series of outrages on right and honor and religion; nor were his feelings soothed by later persecutions, when ropes were stretched across the Academy entry at night meetings, endangering life and limbs; and linch-pins were drawn from carriage axles, and reins unbuckled, putting in peril no less than thirty lives.

If Mr. Gannett was perplexed by Unitarian apathy in contrast with orthodox fervor, Mr. Todd may be pardoned for loathing Unitarianism, when he saw its fruits in Groton to be "earthly, sensual and devilish." He fought it, as St. George of England fought the dragon, searching eagerly for a vital point, resolute to strike a deadly wound. It is inspiring to-day to read the record of his seven years' pastorate, so crowded with work, so fertile in expedients, so enthusiastic in spirit, so sanguine in hope, so fruitful in good. The new parish drew to it the life and energy, though not the wealth and culture, of the town. It outnumbered the old two or three-fold, and in frequent revivals many scores of converts were gathered, who became earnest and efficient Christians. But a church born in storm and battle takes up wild elements into its life-blood, and the Groton Church was no exception to the general law. When external difficulties were sur-

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mounted, internal troubles succeeded, and it was many years before it settled to a quiet and harmonious life. Mr. Todd held the affections of the people to the last; but he welcomed the exchange from Groton, with its sharp conflicts, to Northampton, with its peace unbroken by Unitarian revolts against the Puritan faith.

After looking at these two opposite sides of the Unitarian movement, the one humble, devout, and spiritual; the other worldly, unscrupulous and domineering, we are prepared for the inquiry, What was the genesis of the movement? How could such a hybrid offspring come from a Puritan parentage?

Three classes of people joined in the movement, from motives as unlike as their characters. One class were truly religious, and hoped to find in the new faith a more rational creed, and a simpler Christian life. They had ethical natures rather than logical, and felt an instinctive horror at the exaggerated forms in which hyper-Calvinism had stated the truths of the gospel. They could not believe that God, by an arbitrary decree, had doomed the majority of the human race to perish, irrespective of character, nor that Jesus had died to propitiate the anger of the Father, and incline him to mercy. Nor could they believe that men were held guilty of the sin of Adam, and condemned to eternal woe for their share in the fall. They loved God with a devout sincerity, and abhorred such doctrines as an imputation on the perfection of his character and moral government. They were anti-Calvinists, but loved the Bible, trusted in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour, and aimed to lead godly lives. Channing, Gannett, and the younger Henry Ware, were good illustrations of this class, and the beauty of their character was a strong appeal for the new faith.

There was a second class, large in numbers, and of great influence, who had no special religious feeling, but thought that a respectable religion was needed to preserve good order in the community. They hated Calvinism for its views of human nature, and loved Unitarianism for its lofty views of man, and the noble philanthropies to which it gave birth. From this class Unitarianism derived much of its peculiar character as a sect; with a high morality, and little religion; with fine social qualities, but no enthusiasm; with large wealth and culture, but no power of propagandism.

There was a third class that gave to it no reputation or strength, who joined the new sect for what it denied, not for what it believed. They hated Calvinism for its religious elements, for its revivals and conversions and godly living, for its self-denials and its high aims. They wished to lead lives of pleasure without qualms of conscience;

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to make the most of this world without distressing fears of the world to come; to believe in a God whose infinite mercy relaxed all moral law, and enforced no penalties. They accepted Unitarianism because it had little to say of sin or a judgment to come, but gave to all men an easy passage to heaven.

Unitarianism did not have its first birth in New England. Like other heresies it has had distinct avatars in the evolution of Christian doctrine, which have ended in nirvana. In the early Christian ages it appeared in numerous forms, as Ebionite, Alogi, Monarchian, Sabellian, Arian and Semi-Arian, each and all of which failed to satisfy the needs of the Christian consciousness, and were rejected by the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople. Mr. Martineau claims that Hippolytus's work on the Heresies gives proof that in the western church, no less than in the eastern, Monarchianism, or the sole Deity of the Father, had a firm foothold; that it must have predominated even in Rome, as Callistus and Zephyrinus, both of them Patripassians, whom Hippolytus denounces with great sharpness, were elected Bishops of Rome by the popular vote, and retained their power until death. But, however widely Unitarian views may have been held under various phases, it is certain that they gradually disappeared, and we find no distinct traces of them again for more than ten centuries. Neither in the Catholic Church, nor among dissenters of many names, do we discover doubts of the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of his atoning work as the only ground of salvation.

The Reformation, in the luxuriance of speculation which followed the recovery of freedom of thought from bondage to tradition, gave birth to new forms of Unitarianism, ranging from the high Arianism of Dr. Samuel Clarke, in England, to the Alogistic views of Faustus Socinus, who held to the simple humanity of Christ, denying alike his divinity and pre-existence. But Socinus maintained that worship was due to the glorified Christ, and would not concede the Christian name to those who denied it. The Socinians flourished for a time in Poland, under the protection of one of the nobles, but their influence was slight on European thought or life.

In England, apart from the Arianism which obtained foothold in the Established Church through the writings of Samuel Clarke, Unitarianism, in its extreme phases, prevailed extensively among the Nonconformists. It seems to have been introduced by Dutch Anabaptists, who sought refuge in England from the bitter persecutions of the continent. These emigrants, in their antipathy to the corruptions of Romish theology, adopted ultra literal views of interpretation, and rejected not only infant baptism, as having no

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warrant in the New Testament, but the Trinity as well, and the Deity of Christ, claiming that these were not taught in explicit language, but only by implication. A large majority of the Presbyterian churches in England gradually passed over to Unitarianism, and their influence was widely felt in this country in preparing the way for the great schism. The writings of Priestley and Lindsey and Belsham found many approving readers, and won many disciples, though Dr. Channing protested against the calumny that the liberal ministers of Boston and Massachusetts were Unitarians of the type of Belsham.

But the Unitarianism of Massachusetts, though closely connected with the kindred belief in England, and forced by it to an open avowal of tenets and aims, was "to the manor born," and had its origin in the religious and political life of the Colony. It was the natural outcome of a Puritan Commonwealth, in which church members were the only citizens, and in which infants by baptism became virtual members of the church. The grand Puritan conception of a holy state ended in its last stage of development in a worldly church. The germ planted by Cotton, and watered with fond hope by the Mathers, flowered into the Arianism of Channing, the theism of Parker, the materialism of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the atheism of John Fiske.

Successive stages in the departure from the Puritan ideal may be clearly traced. The Darwinian law of variation holds good of spiritual, no less than of natural life; and the variations beget their kind, and perpetuate them when the environments favor. By frequent variations, nurtured by a parallel change of environments, a new species of religion came into life by the side of the old. The Unitarians called it an improvement, reached by "the survival of the fittest"; the orthodox called it an apostacy, like the falling away of the Jews from Jehovah to Baal.

A brief sketch of the gradual change of faith may help to an understanding of its nature and causes. The Leyden colonists came to Plymouth to found a Christian church made up of converted souls. They left Holland, because the social influences were unfavorable to this aim, as their younger members were allured into the National Church. They struggled hard to maintain a spiritual church, and to uphold freedom of conscience, but could not resist the overpowering influence of their neighbors of Massachusetts Bay.

The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay came to Salem and Boston to found a Christian state. They were satisfied with the English Establishment, if it could be purged of Papal superstitions. They

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did not sympathize with the Separatists of England, who had abandoned the church as corrupt and apostate. But they were determined to maintain unity of worship, and when they reached this country it seemed expedient to form a new church, in harmony with that at Plymouth. They organized at once a Christian state, under the control of the church. In 1631, a law was passed that "No one shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic unless he be a member of some church within the limits of the same." This law was designed to secure good government by placing all authority in the hands of Christian men. Its ultimate working was to bring the church under the control of worldly leaders.

In pursuance of the object to establish a Christian state, laws were soon adopted for the support of public worship. It was enacted in 1638, that "every inhabitant who will not voluntarily contribute to all charges, both in church and commonwealth, proportionately, according to his ability, shall be compelled thereto by assessment." It is evident, from similar acts, that the Puritans preferred voluntary action to legal compulsion; but as inhabitants who were neither church members nor citizens were slow in giving spontaneous help, resort was had to legal enforcement. In 1652 a law was passed that "all towns be supplied with a minister, a meeting house, and a parsonage," and all inhabitants be taxed for their support. Laws were passed imposing fines on towns for neglect to supply good preaching to the people; and also on the inhabitants for neglecting to attend worship on the Lord's day, or fast, or thanksgiving.

In this endeavor to found a Christian state, and compel all the people to support public worship, it was found necessary to concede to the parish some privileges in relation to the calling of pastors. In the early history of the Colony the church alone elected its pastor, and asked no concurrence from the parish. But it was felt to be unfair that the parish, compelled to support a pastor, should have no voice in his election, and in 1690 the town was allowed a separate vote. It was subsequently provided that, in case of a disagreement between the church and the town, a council should be called whose decision should be final. Later, the pastor was elected by concurrent vote, and still later by joint vote; and in 1780, it was enacted that "the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the *exclusive* right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance."

In this way the ripest wisdom of the Puritans laid, as they supposed, foundations for a permanent godly church in a Christian state.

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It sought to combine what Christ had separated; to blend in a symmetrical whole the functions of a civil government, and of a Christian church. The experiment was a disastrous failure on both sides, as might have been foreseen. It turned the state into a despotism, warping the conscience and stifling generous feelings. Quakers were hung, and Baptists whipped, fined and imprisoned; and good men, like John Cotton, defended the wrongs, as Calvin defended the burning of Servetus, and Torquemada the racks of the Inquisition. Under the pressure of public sentiment, laws were gradually passed mitigating the wrongs. Dissenters from the standing order could have their taxes transferred to their own minister, if such minister officiated in the same town. Subsequently one could be relieved from the town tax, if three members of a Society testified that he could not conscientiously worship with the standing order. But it was not till 1811 that one was at liberty to join any society he pleased, whether he had scruples against the standing order or not; nor till 1834 that taxation for public worship was wholly abolished.

The same legislation which destroyed freedom of conscience, undermined the spirituality of the church. It was natural that inhabitants who had no rights either in church or state should grow restive under the restriction. The new emigrants, flocking from the old world, demanded an extension of privilege, the opening of a wider door for entrance into church and state. The barriers began to yield on the side of the church. In 1657 and 1662, the half-way covenant was introduced, by which the children of those who were not church members were entitled to baptism, if the parents understood the principles of religion, and were not scandalous in life. The Lord's Supper was still limited to believers.

But the pressure from without continued. As baptized children were held to be members of the church, the inference was a natural one that they were entitled to all the privileges of the church, and among others to the Supper. The practice gradually obtained of admitting them to the Supper in adult years, without requiring evidence of conversion, if they maintained reputable lives. The original Puritan law implied that only Christians could be good citizens; the later interpretation implied that all good citizens, in the judgment of charity, must be accounted good Christians. It was intended to create a holy state; it reversed the design by bringing unconverted men into the church. This latter tendency acquired new force through the influence of the famous Solomon Stoddard, who maintained that the Supper was a means of grace, not a test of character, and that unregenerate men coming to it with good motives might

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receive renewing grace. Under the operation of this double pressure, of worldly men from without seeking to gain respectability and position by entering the church, and of ministers from within, investing the ordinances with converting power, multitudes of unconverted persons united with the churches, who neither understood nor appreciated the doctrines of grace. Unconverted members, in due time, became ministers and leaders, and relaxed still further the old doctrine and discipline. The way was fully prepared, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the Unitarian apostasy.

The decay of orthodoxy in the churches was clearly revealed in the great awakening under Edwards and Whitefield. It is common to look only on the favorable side of that wonderful movement, on churches revived, and converts multiplied, and the neglected doctrines of grace brought into new prominence. But the golden shield has a reverse side. The revival provoked a strong reaction. The Arminianism, long latent, took shape, and proclaimed its right to hold Puritan pulpits. Revival preaching was denounced, sudden conversions were ridiculed, and the doctrine of sovereign grace was held up to public odium. Dr. Chauncy, of the First Church, Boston, was a bitter opponent of both Whitefield and Edwards, and a large party were in sympathy with him. This opposition to the revival, and to spiritual religion, separated Arminian from Calvinist, and prepared the way for the great schism of the next century. In 1747, Jonathan Mayhew, an eminent scholar, but a decided Arminian, was called to West Church, Boston. None of the Boston pastors, Chauncy not excepted, were willing to attend the council for ordination; but ten ministers of the more liberal school, found in the neighborhood, assumed the responsibility of ordaining him.

Towards the close of the century, the Arminian wing of the Puritan churches continued to gain in numbers and influence. The Revolutionary War, with its excitements and anxieties, disturbed the old religious order, and made popular radical ways of thinking in politics and religion. French officers and soldiers brought with them to this country the scoffing unbelief current in France; and leading scholars and statesmen sympathized with Tom Paine, who identified freedom from a human monarch with revolt against a divine sovereign. Calvinistic doctrines grew unpopular, and it was said that less than two-fifths of the ministers and churches in eastern Massachusetts remained loyal to the old faith.

But the change was mainly in the reception of Arminian and Pelagian doctrine. Socinian views were of later growth, and did not assume definite form till the beginning of the present century. Mr.

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James Freeman, of King's Chapel, an Episcopal parish, adopted Socinian tenets in 1786, and persuaded his church to adopt a new creed; but he found no imitators. In 1804, Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham, was elected Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, and this election was the first herald of the new era. The battle raged fiercely. The Orthodox denounced the violation of justice and good faith in the appointment of a Socinian to a chair of Puritan theology. The liberals denied that he was a Unitarian, and declared the charge "a false and wicked calumny." In 1810, Dr. Kirkland was elected President of the College, and Rev. Francis Parkman confessed to a friend in England, that "had Dr. Kirkland been an acknowledged defender of Unitarianism, he could not have been elected."

The defection went on silently and subtly. The College became a powerful agency in undermining the old faith. The President and Hollis Professor sowed the seeds of doubt in many young men, who became leaders of the new sect in the next generation. The Liberal party were solicitous to maintain peace and quiet, assured that their growth would be more rapid if division and controversy could be avoided. As Dr. Freeman wrote to Dr. Belsham, in England: "Three years ago, I did not know a single Unitarian in this part of the country besides myself. Our friends now are clearly convinced that the Unitarian doctrine will soon become the prevailing opinion in this country." And William Wells wrote: "Unitarianism consists in not believing. . . . It must be assumed as an axiom that a persevering controversy upon this question would render the multitude bigoted and persecuting Calvinists."

But the crisis was near when concealment was impossible, and every man was compelled to show his colors. Dr. Belsham, in England, fretted over the cowardice of his brethren in this country, and published a history of American Unitarianism, in which he quoted freely from the correspondence of Dr. Freeman, Mr. Wells, and other prominent Unitarians. One letter from Dr. Freeman said:

> There are a number of ministers who avow and preach their sentiments, while there are others more cautious, who content themselves with leading their hearers by a course of rational but prudent sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it. Though the latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces good effects.

This pamphlet of Dr. Belsham was the little fire that kindled a great conflagration. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, had long been watching for an opportunity to speak. His hour had come. In the

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Panoplist, the organ of the Orthodox party, he reviewed Belsham's pamphlet, with the frank statements of American correspondents. His words were sharp, intended to be arrows in the hearts of the king's enemies. He dwelt largely on the cowardice of ministers who held Unitarian views, but were afraid to avow them. As a correspondent said: "By an open profession of unpopular truth they would risk the loss of all their temporal dignity and comfort, and incur the enmity and contempt of many who are now their warmest admirers and friends." Nor did he apply soft terms to that deceptive policy which sought, as Dr. Freeman said, to lead orthodox congregations to embrace the new faith gradually and imperceptibly. The article was a bold challenge to the Liberal party, and the gage was promptly taken up by their most accomplished champion. Dr. Channing replied to the attack in an indignant strain, denying unequivocally that the Liberals were Unitarians of the Belsham school, or that any concealment or deception had been practiced, or that proselytism was attempted at Harvard College. He asserted, and the boast is not unknown to his brethren to-day, "there is not on earth a body of men who possess less of the spirit of proselytism than the ministers of Boston and vicinity." Dr. Worcester replied to Dr. Channing, and thrice these strong leaders crossed swords, and Dr. Morse reviewed the controversy in another stinging article in the *Panoplist*, in which he demanded that Christian fellowship be withheld from the Unitarians.

Dr. Channing's letters were mainly defensive, in the interests of union and co-operation. He pleaded warmly for a larger charity. Shall the grand old Puritan church be broken up by slight differences of belief—differences no more fundamental than between the Hopkinsians and the old Calvinists? Shall men who are conscientious in their fidelity to the Bible, making vague what it makes vague, be proscribed for not holding the Trinity, when they hold firmly the one belief essential to the Christian name, that "Jesus is the Christ?" "A solemn, infinitely important question," said he.

On the points at issue in these letters and articles, the world is generally agreed that the orthodox leaders were in the right, and that Dr. Channing, though speaking truthfully for himself, did not represent his followers. Dr. Ellis, in his Half Century Discourses, assays to defend Unitarians from any conscious deception, but William Gannett, Dr. Gannett's son, is more bold and frank. He writes:

> When all allowance has been made, there can be little doubt that from 1800 there was a conscious silence on the part of the Liberals about their

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thought, *after* that thought was pretty definite in their minds. (p. 50.) Silence, practically, was concealment. The motives for it were, and may be, variously construed. It was attributed to self-denial, Christian charity, intellectual humility, prudence, policy, temporizing, cowardice, hypocrisy. Individuals—Channing and Thacher, for instance—were most certainly free from stain of cowardice or hypocrisy. *All* perhaps were not.

The lines of division grew sharper; the breach widened; the orthodox ministers gradually refused to exchange pulpits with their liberal associates, or to recognize them as Christian brethren. The Liberals complained bitterly of such ostracism, denouncing it as Pharisaic bigotry, and asserting that doctrinal differences, so small and of minor importance, ought to be no bar in the way of cordial union. In a few months these same men who protested that the differences were "not fundamental," were asserting that heaven was not farther from earth, nor light from darkness, than Liberal doctrines from the Calvinistic creed. They declared the liberal faith to be "a protest of reason against unreason; of the moral sense against inhumanity in doctrine; of common sense against strange practices; in short, a protest of the mind and heart of the early nineteenth century, against the mind and heart of the past."[1]

The dividing blow came at last from the Liberal side. Dr. Channing, in 1819, preached an ordaining sermon for Jared Sparks, in Baltimore, on the peculiarities of the Unitarian faith; in 1826 another in New York calling the cross "the central gallows of the universe;" and in 1830 another, asserting that the orthodox had set up a modern inquisition. Immediately after his Baltimore sermon, he published an article in the "Disciple," on "The moral difficulties of Calvinism." Open war was now inevitable. The great men of Andover entered the field. Moses Stuart and Leonard Woods replied in able pamphlets to Dr. Channing's charges, and Andrews Norton and Henry Ware, of Harvard, replied in turn to them. Minister after minister proclaimed himself a Unitarian; church after church flung out the new flag. Harvard University joined in the revolt against the old faith. Judges, lawyers, physicians, the wealth and fashion and culture of eastern Massachusetts attached themselves to the new sect. The excitement was intense, whole communities were in turmoil. Cold New England turned into a sea of fire. Towns divided into factions, and so did parishes and ministerial associations and families. It is hard to conceive to-day the bitterness of the strife. The picture of Dr. Todd's life at Groton may seem to many a caricature, but it fails to give an adequate view

[1] Gannett, 59.

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of the warfare which harassed many a parish. For the Unitarians, with all their elegant culture and boasts of liberality, were, like aristocracies in the Italian free cities, genuine despots, and often unscrupulous in their use of power. They aimed to absorb political and social influence. An orthodox man was ostracised from office, and letters and society. It was said with truth: "The Catholics are not more exclusive in Spain than are Mr. Otis and his associates in Boston." [1] Parsons Cooke wrote, in 1829: "The Trinitarian denominations comprise more than *three fourths* of the people of the state, while nine-tenths of the political influence is in the hands of the Unitarians." The stretching of ropes across the Groton Academy dark entry, in hope of injuring Dr. Todd, and the drawing of linchpins from carriage axles in a dark night, indicate the lengths to which the baser sort of Unitarians could go to harm their opponents.

The bitterest element in orthodox defeat was in the loss of church property and endowments, and church names, which all accrued to their opponents. They submitted, with a show of resignation, when the churches, by apostacy, alienated houses of worship built by a Puritan ancestry, and funds bequeathed for the defence of the Puritan faith. It was one of the penalties of independency, against which they did not murmur. But when the parishes turned the churches out of doors, and coolly appropriated all rights both of name and property, and no redress could be found, they might be pardoned for thinking that the foundations of the earth were out of course, that the chains of darkness in the spiritual world were loosed, and the devil had come down in great wrath. Their notions of spiritual geography were strangely confused, when court after court decided that churches had no place in law as corporations; that pastor and deacons and the whole church might secede, because the parish outvoted them, but they could carry with them neither house of worship nor parsonage, nor even the communion service nor the church records. All these were the property of the parish and could not be alienated.

No wonder they rubbed their eyes hoping to wake from a hideous dream. Could this be Puritan Massachusetts, the home of Winthrop and the Mathers? Was this the outcome of the godly Puritan state, founded in prayer and hope for the living bulwark of the church? The New Jerusalem, by some strange magic, like that of the sleeping city in the Arabian tale, had turned into Pandemonium.

It was a hard retribution—God's penalties are stern—that the sins of the Puritans, sins wilfully committed and defended in the in-

[1] Eddy, p. 26.

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terests of the church, should involve such overwhelming punishment. Baptists had protested against the alliance of church and state. They had protested against the rights of towns to assess taxes for church support. But Puritan majorities had outvoted them, and ridiculed their prejudices, and spoiled their goods without scruples of conscience. It was quite another thing when the same law plagued its inventors, and became the instrument to scourge them. It was very pleasant to look on and see Baptists compelled by a town vote to build Puritan houses of worship and support Puritan pastors. But when the same town vote turned Puritan churches out of their old homes, and alienated property bequeathed by godly ancestors, and gave to Unitarians the right to the historic names of the churches of the Cottons and Harvards and Shepards, they felt that the dark days of prophecy had come, when the woman was fleeing into the wilderness from the face of the great dragon. But, in their woe and indignation some of them must have recognized the even-handed justice meting out to them as they had measured to others. They had gained petty sums by injustice; by similar injustice they lost a thousand fold in church buildings, and munificent funds, and Harvard University. Under legal forms they had robbed Baptists; under the same legal forms they were robbed both of property and name.

It was not creditable to the Unitarian conscience, that without exception, so far as we know, its leaders justified this wholesale spoliation. It is not honorable to their sense of justice, that, after the passions of the hour have cooled, and its prejudices have passed away, the leaders of to-day can discern no wrong. Dr. Ellis modestly says he is not "perfectly satisfied" with the justice of the act, but protests against stigmatizing it as "plunder of the churches." James Freeman Clarke defends it as right and equitable, and affirms that one generation cannot bequeath monies, to hamper religious progress in the next generation. William Gannett, a man of fine insight and feeling, justifies the absorption of Harvard College with its funds:

> The Liberals had already firm possession of the College; and this was one of the cases that must always seem unjust to the neighbors who inherit the old faith in its pristine purity, or, rather, least unchanged from pristine purity, one of those cases that must arise until people believe in evolution of religion, and in their bequests allow for nature's fact of growth. The Liberals had possession of Harvard College, but they had obtained it by no intrigue. From the first the College had descended in trust along the line of Massachusetts culture. By that title of culture the Liberals held it fast.

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If such arguments have any value, Communism may yet become the accepted Liberal creed, for it will require only one or two more processes of evolution and allowance for growth, to prove that one generation has no right to bequeath great fortunes to the next, and that these great estates may be distributed for the general good.

When the schism ended, and its extent could be accurately measured, the Unitarians were exultant, and the Orthodox party were sore and despondent. No wonder they lost heart. The majority of the churches east of Worcester had gathered around the standard of heresy. About one hundred and twenty-five parishes had deserted the old faith. And, with scarcely an exception the deserters retained church edifice, parsonage and endowment funds. Never did new denomination begin an organic life with brighter expectations. They were born, like Minerva, full grown, with eloquent leaders, and a wealthy constituency, with houses of worship they had not built, and large funds they had not created, and a strong University they had not founded. The learning of the pulpit was with them, and the finest culture of the pews. The courts were on their side to confirm all doubtful claims; literary champions were numerous to sound their praises; the leaders of society undertook to marshal all potent social forces in their support.

Never was a young sect more complacent or confident. They had discovered the truth hid for ages. They had brought out the pure word of God from the rubbish in which it had been long concealed. They had freed the church from the bondage of cruel superstitions. They had torn the hideous mask of Calvinism from the moral government of God, and revealed that government in its true beauty and loveliness. They had completed the reformation of Luther, and brought in a millennium of pure truth and spiritual life, and beneficent philanthropy.

Never were prophecies of success more exultant. Mr. Gannett good humoredly punctures the vanity of his brethren. In previous years, he says, when their publications found readers, fit, yet very few, the confidence was exuberant. "Each New Year's day the editors, in a fresh preface, gallantly hugged each other before the public over the *quality*, which, they said, made good the lacking quantity of flavor." But now the triumph of the new light and truth was just at hand. Mr. Lindsey, in England, had written a few years before:

> One thing I will venture to prognosticate from Dr. Priestley's labors and those of others, to re-establish the true scriptural idea of the person and character of Christ, that posterity, and I trust not a late posterity,

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will look back on the belief of Christ's being the supreme God, or anything but the most excellent perfect human being, with divine external powers, just in the same light as Protestants now view the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Such predictions now multiplied like the leaves of Vallambrosa. The rational truths of Unitarianism would soon displace the odious dogmas of Calvinism. Even unbelief would give way to the convincing power of the new faith. Dr. Ware wrote: "I hazard nothing in asserting that in proportion as those views of religion which are generally adopted by Unitarians have become prevalent, infidelity and contempt of religion have become less and less frequent, and our most enlightened men, with scarce an exception, are among its most efficient friends and servants, and practical professors."

More than fifty years have gone by since Unitarianism began its organic life, and we are in a position to define its growth and measure its influence. Its boldest eulogists must confess its failure to achieve success as a denomination. It has had no power to keep pace with other churches. It has won neither position nor influence in the Middle or Southern or Western States. It has not grown in New England. It has not held its own even in eastern Massachusetts. There is, perhaps, room for doubt if the number of its adherents in Boston and its vicinity is actually as great as fifty years ago. There is no doubt that in relative strength, whether of numbers or wealth or social position, whether in the culture of the ministers or the power of the churches, it has been outgrown by all the leading denominations. Its literary supremacy has ceased. Its political sway is broken. Evangelical churches feel its influence, but have no more fear of its growth. And though Unitarian leaders rarely cultivate the grace of modesty, and their annual Conventions excel all others in gushing enthusiasm, and lofty self-gratulations, and poetic dreams of future progress, they have lost the sanguine hopes of youth, and are content to remain a little flock, strong in worth, but few in numbers.

Unitarianism in New England, like Monarchianism and Arianism in the early ages, and Socinianism in Poland and England, has failed to satisfy the Christian consciousness, and has proved its impotence to become a religion for the people. The verdict of past ages has been repeated with new emphasis in our century. The human heart needs a Divine Saviour, and is in despair, like Mary at the Tomb, if that Saviour is taken away.

Unitarianism has not only failed to make itself a religious force in the country at large, it has been impotent to guard the loyalty of

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its own sons and daughters to the Bible and to Christianity. It was a frequent charge brought against the new system by orthodox controversialists, that it was a half-way house to infidelity; and that it must soon lead its adherents away from Christianity to natural religion. No charge gave greater offence to Channing and Norton and Gannett, or was repelled with a higher indignation. They asserted, on the other hand, that it had won many from unbelief to a living faith; and that multitudes of others, filled with gloom and despair by Calvinism, had found rest and joy and a true Christian life in Unitarianism.

But scarcely had the new sect completed its revolt from Calvinism, and organized its internal forces for permanent work, when a new revolt began within its own borders. The younger men refused to walk in the path of their fathers. The new generation departed more widely from the original leaders, than these leaders had swerved from the early Puritans. Mr. Emerson, inspired by German philosophy and literature, cut loose from the Bible and the church, and drifted out with a large convoy on the ocean of Pantheism. Mr. Parker, with a destructive criticism, denied the inspiration and miracles of the Bible, and the perfect character of Jesus, and drew away a company of enthusiastic disciples in a search after the absolute religion of reason. And scientific thinkers, like Dr. Holmes, starting from nature rather than from man, and from matter rather than from mind, found a higher inspiration in Darwin and Huxley than in John and Paul, and abjured not only the Bible and Christianity, but even the intelligent and moral government of a personal God. Channing's lofty conception of the soul, as he says: "My one sublime idea which has given me unity of mind is the greatness, the divinity of the human soul;" and Emerson's kindred conception: "Man is an infinite soul; the earth and heaven are passing into his mind; he is drinking forever the soul of God," are curiously travestied by the latest phase of materialism, as it finds expression in John Fiske, who substitutes the law of evolution for an intelligent Creator. He writes, in the lucid Hegelian dialect: "Evolution is the integration of matter and the concomitant dissipation of motion during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity, to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation."

Unitarianism, therefore, in the experience of a large number who still cling to the name, has ceased to be a religion, and has passed into a philosophy. Beginning with the adoration of reason as an interpreter of the Bible, it is ending by exalting reason above the

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Bible as a guide to truth. Beginning with the worship of the human soul as the moral likeness of God, it is ending by the denial alike of a personal God and of human immortality. If the union of the two wings continues, the left wing can hardly fail to absorb the right, as the evil kine of Pharaoh's dream swallowed the good kine.

HEMAN LINCOLN.

NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

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THE MESSIAH.

DR. MARCH, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, defines a word to be "an elementary integer of speech. It has a mixed nature; it is thought on one side, and sound on the other."[1]

The *thought* which words express is their most essential quality. A word is the sign of an idea. Hence there must always be thought associated with a vocable to make it a word. Without thought the clatter of the tongue is as empty as a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. It sometimes happens, therefore, that the history of a word becomes the history of the progress of human thought in the direction which its meaning indicates. This is pre-eminently true of the Hebrew word מָשִׁיחַ

Most of the words which we daily use are old. They represent an antiquity more venerable than the most ancient coins, and often bear inscriptions which are more instructive. The Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ is an old word in one of the oldest tongues known on earth. It was centuries old before Homer and Hesiod were born. The verbal stem from which it is derived is found in a literary production which was undoubtedly ancient even before a line of the Rig-Veda had been written.

Since a word is of a mixed nature, part sound and part thought, we need to consider which of these is the primary element. The

[1] Page 33.

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period of formation is generally so remote, that in regard to the particular words whose history we wish to trace, there is a total lack of data which would guide us in investigating their process of early growth. We must, therefore, ascertain the law of formation from the history of more modern words, whose birth comes within the historic period.

A very interesting fact is recorded in Genesis in regard to the formation of one class of words. It is said after Jehovah God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of ths air, "He brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof."[1] This fact reveals a law which is abundantly confirmed in the history of modern discovery. The French word for railway is *chemin de fer* — a road of iron. The English word points to a more primitive form of the institution. Rails made of timber were used in England for the purpose of carrying coal from the mine to the places of shipment for more than one hundred years before iron was used as material for their construction. The term Rail-way, therefore, points to a more elementary stage of development in the conception than *chemin de fer*.

In order to develop the law of word-formation more fully, we will take another modern example, "Cotton-Gin." No such word can be found in any language previous to the year 1793. It was some time before that year that the machine for separating cotton-wool from the pod was invented by Eli Whitney. Its prominent feature consisted in a set of revolving circular saws by which the cotton fibers were drawn through a wire grating which was too fine to allow the seeds to pass. To give a name to the new invention, the word *saw* was joined with the last syllable of the word en-*gine*. Hence it was called a "saw-gin." This name describes its mechanical construction. The name cotton-gin, descriptive of its use, was afterwards adopted, and now prevails. In this example we see illustrated a universal law of word-building. The idea always precedes the word. Inventions precede the names by which they are called. The idea of the machine existed in the mind of Whitney before he built and named his invention. Hence we clearly see the law which prevails in the formation of all language. First comes the idea, then the name; first the thought, then the word by which it is expressed.

We discover the earliest sprouting of the idea which the word מָשִׁיחַ expresses in the most ancient of all writings, the book of Genesis. When Jacob went from Beersheba towards Haran, he was overtaken by night, and lay down to sleep on a bed of stones, in a place which,

[1] Genesis ii. 19.

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from that time forth was called "Bethel," or God's house. He had a dream. In his dream he saw a vision. A ladder whose top reached to heaven was set upon the earth, and on it the angels of God were ascending and descending; and the Lord himself stood above it and spake to him. In the morning he arose, took the stone which he had used for a pillow, set it up, and poured oil upon its top. In this devout transaction of Jacob, overshadowed as he was by the presence of Jehovah, his act must be regarded as an expression of the Divine will, and the foreshadowing of a Divine purpose.

It may be difficult for us to define just what this rite was intended to signify. Perhaps at that time, even by Jacob himself, its import was not fully understood. If he did not comprehend its full spiritual significance, his mind at least was quickened, and made expectant. Like all true worship, his act was the result of a Divine prompting and the unfolding of a Divine purpose. The lifeless stone became a living emblem, like Aaron's rod, budding with the promise of the coming Messiah.

The name of Bethel implies the abiding presence of Jehovah. In Jacob's prophetic act, we have the thought-germ of the word which furnished the official title of the promised Redeemer. Moreover, the word itself is first applied to describe the transaction by God himself. When God appeared again to Jacob at Haran, in a dream, his memorial reference to the stone pillar is clearly indicative of the Divine purpose which began to unfold in its erection. The thought-germ which had been deposited in Jacob's mind nearly forty years before, at length blossomed forth into a word of well-recognized meaning. In his dream God spake to him and said, "I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the pillar." This is the earliest recorded use of the Hebrew verb מָשַׁח

Some regard the stone pillar as an emblem of the future church. Without attempting to define its exact symbolic import, may we not regard the application of this term to it by God as indicative of his purpose to characterize it as Messianic? It seems to have been one object of the Levitical rites to develop more fully this budding word, and the derivatives which afterwards sprung forth from it. The verb describes the ceremonial act of anointing. The noun מִשְׁחָה, *an anointing*, is chiefly used as an attribute to the unguent applied, and with it is commonly translated *anointing-oil*. The verbal adjective מָשִׁיחַ *anointed*, describes the result of its ceremonial application. In their use all these words are mostly ritualistic. They describe the anointing which was applied by Divine direction to the Tabernacle, the Altar, the Laver, and the Priesthood. Their use, con-

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fined almost entirely to artificial rites, as it is, suggests the inquiry whether the symbols were not selected and the ceremonial instituted in order to develop Messianic ideas, and elaborate a vocabulary which would be adequate to their expression. Almost everything which received ceremonial anointing seems to adumbrate the Messiah, or something pertaining to the Messianic kingdom. Hence, what was anointed was thereby indicated to be Messianic. The term מָשִׁיחַ passed through several successive stages of development. In the first place, it was used simply as a verbal adjective to express the result of the action described by the primitive root. Hence it meant *smeared, anointed.* From this use it became an official appellative, and finally a proper name.

This progressive unfolding may be seen in three branches of the Jewish ritual, which correspond to and register the layers of growth which characterize the Hebrew nation.

God commanded Moses to anoint with perfumed oil Aaron and his sons, and thus consecrate them to the office of the priesthood. The most sacred office known in the ritual of Hebrew worship was that of high priest. He was to be holy. This idea was so prominent as to require emblematic expression. Hence the high priest was commanded to wear upon his forehead always a plate of pure gold, bearing the inscription, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD." It was to this most sacred office that *anointing* as the initiatory rite of consecration was first applied by Divine direction. Every high priest was inducted into office by an anointing with holy oil. When thus anointed he became invested with all the prerogatives which belonged to his office. Thereafter he was set apart wholly to the discharge of sacred duties. His official title was derived from the word which described his ceremonial investiture of office. Hence he was called the priest anointed (הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ). It was as the official designation of the high priest that the word מָשִׁיחַ has its earliest recorded use as an adjective. A Messiah or an anointed one, therefore, primarily meant a high priest in the Levitical sense. Aaron and his sons were the earliest representatives of this sacred office. In them were were invested by Divine direction all priestly prerogatives. The rite of consecration, and the word which described it, may be said to have been given by God himself. In the perpetuity of the Levitical priesthood, and in the official designation by which its foremost representative was called, was laid the foundation for the transmission from successor to successor of the title Messiah. Thus the office of high priest was a standing prophecy. By means of its divinely appointed rite of initiation, a title unsullied by the personal infirmities of those who minis-

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tered at the altar, grew up like a flower which gathers fragrance amid unsavory surroundings. That it was intended to become an official appellative of the high priest seems evident from the fact that, throughout the period of the Theocracy, it was invariably applied to persons of this class, and that, too, through the medium of a divinely instituted rite which was authoritatively made the badge of initiation into the sacred office. Thus far the word מָשִׁיחַ has been associated with Priesthood.

It was destined to become associated in a similar way with the Prophetic office. When one was called to be a prophet who was not in the priestly office already he was officially anointed. Thus Elijah was commanded by God to anoint Elisha the son of Shaphat to be prophet in his place. The way seems to have been opened for this enlargement of the application of the word מָשִׁיחַ so as to include the prophetic office by the introduction of Samuel into the office of high priest. He possessed both the priestly office and the prophetic gift. It would be difficult to tell which was the more prominent. But it seems probable that he was looked upon more as a prophet than as a priest for "all Israel, from Dan to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord." Thus the word מָשִׁיחַ began to be associated with the prophetic office. From the time of Elijah it would seem to have been regarded as a distinct anointed office. The writings of those prophets only would be admitted into the sacred canon who had by Divine direction received the sacred rite which entitled them to be called מָשִׁיחַ (anointed). The change which took place near the time of Samuel in the manner of designating the prophetic gift chronicled a corresponding change in the method of exercising its functions.

The Seer (רֹאֶה) saw visions; the prophet (נָבִיא) Proclaimed the word of Jehovah. When the conception of the prophetic character had become sufficiently clear and definite in the minds of the people, the badge of office was affixed by Divine direction. Elijah and Elisha embodied the prophetic character almost in ideal perfection. At this point the record is explicit; but whether previous to this time each prophet who was not already a priest received a special anointing as a prophet is not clear. It seems altogether probable that the two offices were recognized as separate from the time of Samuel, and that each received an initial anointing; for "Nathan the prophet" is spoken of in connection with "Zadok the priest." This language clearly marks a recognized distinction in office. It is recorded that Samuel "did ordain in their set offices" priests, Levites, and porters. That Nathan was duly installed in the prophetic office we may legiti-

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mately infer from the fact that he is officially recognized as a prophet, and was called to assist Zadok the priest in anointing the successor of David, King Solomon. This inference falls little short of demonstration, when we know that Elijah anointed his successor in accordance with Divine directions. It is clear, therefore, that the word מָשִׁיחַ (anointed) became the appellative of both the priestly and the prophetic offices.

It was necessary that this word should become redolent of the aroma of royalty. The office of national high priest began in Aaron who was anointed by Moses. Samuel is the head representative of the generation of prophets who succeeeed him. He was anointed by Eli. Saul was the first king. He was anointed by Samuel. Hereby the word became associated with regal dignity. The king as well as the high priest and prophet of the nation was called מָשִׁיחַ (anointed). After Saul's disobedience Samuel was commanded to anoint David the son of Jesse. Samuel uses מָשִׁיחַ as a kingly appellative immediately after anointing Saul, to whom he first applies it as a God-given title. David repeatedly calls Saul מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה (Jehovah's anointed). He also calls himself מָשִׁיחַ, and is enrolled by the pen of inspiration as "מְשִׁיחַ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב" (the anointed of the God of Jacob). Solomon was exalted to the throne under the combined sanction of all three anointed offices; Zadok representing the priestly office, Nathan the prophetic, and David, his father, the kingly. Solomon's reign was proverbial for its magnificence and splendor. In its application and association with him the appellative became perfumed with the ideas of opulence and regal glory which adorned his reign. But even Solomon in all his glory had not magnificence enough to expand the term to its proper dimensions. It needed to be made commensurate with ideal royalty. Hence oriental kingdoms are rendered tributary to its embellishment. Elijah is commissioned "to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria." The kingly growth of the word seems to have attained its largest expansion in the time of Isaiah, who applies it to king Cyrus of Persia who seems to have been divinely chosen as a type of the world-conquering Messiah. "Thus saith Jehovah to his מְשִׁיחַ (anointed) to Cyrus whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him."

We have seen how the word מָשִׁיחַ took on successively priestly, prophetic, and kingly meaning. The ideas which pertain to these three offices were developed separately. But that they were all called מָשִׁיחַ was manifestly not without design. It may assist us to ascertain what the design was, to observe that the epithet is always restricted to one of these three dignities, and is always personal,

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unless we find one possible exception in David's elegy to Saul and Jonathan. In our verson it is even there made to refer to Saul; but Gensenius refers מָשִׁיחַ to the *shield* of Saul. This interpretation is questionable; for it was not the custom to anoint shields; but Saul had been anointed and yet failed to defend himself, as if "not anointed with oil." His shield was flung away because he had been anointed to no good purpose, or in vain. Moreover, the position of the words in the sentence is not unfavorable to this view as Saul, though not the leading word, stands nearest to the phrase בלי מָשִׁיחַ (unannointed). If this interpretation be accepted there is no exception; בְּמָשִׁיחַ then always is applied to persons; never to things. It occurs in the Old Testament thirty-eight times.

That these three offices were regarded as typical and Messianic by devout Israelites seems evident from the fact that much of the language in which they are described admits only of a Messianic interpretation. In the song of Hannah there is presented a distinct conception of a kingly Messiah, before a king had been anointed in Israel.

> The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces;
> The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth;
> And he will give strength unto his king,
> And exalt the horn of his Anointed (מָשִׁיחַ).

In like manner a prophet had been foretold before prophets were consecrated with oil. For God spake through Moses, "A prophet (נָבִיא) will I raise up to you, From the midst of their brethren like thee; and I will give my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all which I command him."

The idea of priesthood is as old as religion itself. In the oldest times the head of each family officiated in behalf of the house. That Melchizedek, king of Salem, was regarded by Abraham as a prototype of a greater priest to come seems probable. At any rate the prediction that the coming one should be a priest was most explicit. "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent; thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

It was necessary that these divergent conceptions should be unified. The foundation for their unification had been laid in one common rite of initiation and common designation מָשִׁיחַ. This common appellative was bestowed on all. Every high priest was מָשִׁיחַ; so was every prophet, and every king. It is impossible to tell exactly when the three divergent elements blended into the one rotund conception of a royal, prophetic high priest. After the Jewish nation lost its

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independence, the three offices found their only expression in the high priest. In the hearts of the people he was looked upon as their national king. The only prophetic gift which was recognized resided in him. Thus the kingship of the nation, the gift of prophecy, so far as it existed, and the high priesthood all became invested in one who was called מָשִׁיחַ (anointed). This substratum of historic fact developed a unity of conception in the minds of the people. Not three Messiahs were expected, but One who would wield Kingship, Prophethood and Priesthood.

Thus far the word and the idea developed in it belonged to the Hebrew language. But by the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek about B. C. 280, the thought which had been developed in the Hebrew language was poured over into the Greek language, and deposited in a Greek word which had been sufficiently developed to receive it. This Greek word was *χριστός*. There had been given to the Hebrew people a long series of high priests whom they called מָשִׁיחַ and who were regarded as prototypes of a greater coming מָשִׁיחַ. Their prophets had also been anointed and thus transfigured into prophetic emblems each of whom foretold the coming of a greater Prophet who was to be called THE מָשִׁיחַ. Their kings, too, like Saul the son Kish, the head of the royal line, all unwittingly had been transformed into prophets, or at least compelled to prophesy of the coming of a greater king, who, like them, would be called מָשִׁיחַ. Thus the Hebrew people had seen the official title of the COMING ONE emblematically spelled out, as it were, letter by letter, in their history; first, in their high priests, again in their prophets, and yet again in their kings. And finally all three offices had been united in one august monograph which read in Hebrew הַמָּשִׁיחַ and in Greek *ὁ χριστός*. All the chosen people, therefore, the high and the low, those in Palestine and those scattered abroad, were expecting about the time of John the Baptist the coming of the Messiah. This expectation was most according to truth in the minds of those who were most devout. Aged Simeon by spiritual illumination was able to recognize the infant Jesus as the promised Messiah. But it is from the lips of John the Baptist that the first recorded utterance of the official title of the Messiah in Greek fell upon the ears of men. The Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who art thou?" And he confessed and denied not, "I am not the Christ." How definite and how common this expression had become at the time of Jesus' birth may be inferred from the colloquial reports which are recorded in the evangelists. Matthew narrates that Herod called a council of the chief priests and scribes and inquired of them, "Where

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THE CHRIST should be born." The expression ὁ χριστός occurs not less than eight times in Matthew's gospel, in Mark's five times, in Luke's ten times, and in John's fifteen times.

The woman of Samaria, who lived not above the average level of popular intelligence in her time, uses it in a way which shows that the Messiah was a common expression, and well understood among common people, "I know that Messias cometh; when he is come he will tell us all things."

If the official name of our Saviour was prepared in the way which has been described, then it was God's own work. There are the unequivocal marks of progressive, persistent, and superhuman design, reaching from the call of Abraham, to the coming of Christ, and fashioning the leading institutions and leading factors of a nation's history in subordination to its exact accomplishment. There is to be seen here a development of thought in the growth of a nation like the successive orders of animals in natural history, which in advancing series typically foreshadowed the creation of man as the climax and crown of the series. The history of the Hebrew nation was a prophecy of the coming Messiah. The process from first to last was not mechanical, but vital. Each stage of development mounts from an anterior growth, and that from its predecessor, till we trace the thought-germ directly to the hand of God. In the institution and development of the Levitical rites there was prophecy inlaid with prophecy. Their development was so interlaced with the historic events of national growth and decay, that the rites would have been meaningless if the course of events had not given them Divine significance.

In days of old there was a famous vine-gardener; he planted the seed of a curious vine; it came up, grew, budded, and blossomed, and bore a luscious fruit, within which was found a queer shaped seed. Some believed that it was a Divine emblem, and full of mystical meaning. The fruit was good and enjoyed great celebrity. The vine-gardener kept his own council, and planted another vine; and it grew up, budded, and blossomed, and brought forth a similar fruit, but of a different color and flavor. This vine was less prolific, but the fruit was fairer and more universally admired. It contained only a single seed, which was unique, and was cherished with such reverence by the people of the neighborhood, that those in remote districts regarded them as superstitious. The enterprising vine-gardener did not relax his efforts in cultivating and growing new varieties. A third seedling vine he raised, which grew more luxuriantly than either of the former ones; and it budded, and blossomed,

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and bore more prolifically. This fruit acquired a world-wide renown. It contained a single seed, which many valued, and kept as sacred, as if it had been an amulet.

Then the vine-grower performed a feat which has not been repeated in modern vine-culture. He headed-in all three vines, and so placed their stocks that the three grew into one. The triplex vine grew, and budded, and blossomed, and bore fruit in shape like that of the old vines; but it had the flavor of them all, and it gleamed in the sunlight with all the hues of the rainbow. Within it were found its seeds, so coupled together that one could not help believing that they were mystic emblems to be read from left to right as if they formed a Hebrew word. The first was in shape like the Hebrew letter מ, the second like שׁ, the third like ח, and the filament which joined them together was like י. Together they formed the word מָשִׁיחַ; and when the people saw and read the emblem they began to interpret it thus: The vineyard was the Hebrew nation. The three vines were the priestly, the prophetic, and kingly offices, which at length grew into one. The vine-gardener was Jehovah the thought-grower; the thought-grower was no other than the world-builder whose name in Hebrew is מָשִׁיחַ; in Greek, χριστός; in English, MESSIAH.

J. COLVER WIGHTMAN.

TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

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JAMES CUDWORTH; A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE world has certainly heard a great deal, first and last, of the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers of New England, and it may be the opinion of some that it is about time to have at least a brief respite from the ceremony of offering incense to these worthies. That may be very proper as to many of them, who have been made the subjects of incessant, almost indiscriminate laudation.

But there are others equally worthy, in some respects superior, who, for various reasons, some of them obvious enough, have received faint praise, or none at all, or perhaps malediction, and to these there remains a filial duty to be performed.

There are persons having no special love for New England—with whom, indeed, it is almost a synonym for narrowness and bigotry—who delight in pointing us to the persecutions perpetrated by our fathers. Whether those charges have been exaggerated or not, it is not our present purpose to inquire; but rather to show that the reproach so blindly hurled at New England has no just application to not a few of its founders. We believe it can be made to appear that the enginery of persecution was worked by a comparatively small class, who had contrived to gain control of public affairs, and who, by specious arguments, and by intimidation—often in all good conscience—were able to suppress or smother the more catholic and liberal sentiments of a large and continually increasing class within the ranks of "freemen" (or voters) and among the unrepresented.

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We have no reference to Baptists or Quakers, who, though sturdy defenders of complete religious liberty, may be supposed by some to have taken the offensive against religious oppression only for self-protection; but to others, within and without the Establishment, some of them staunch Puritans in doctrine, who yet, to their everlasting credit be it known, took an open and persistent stand, sometimes to their own serious harm, against principalities and powers in high places. These are the men who deserve monuments, but who have so often been passed by in utter neglect. The name of one of them, whom we design to make the subject of this paper, was not thought worthy by Dr. Allen, of a place in his "Dictionary of American Biography." We refer to James Cudworth, of Scituate, generally designated as Captain or General Cudworth. There is, however, what Milton happily calls "a resurrectiou of character" going on in history, and we believe that from the grave of undeserved oblivion or neglect, New England names now scarcely known, buried far out of sight and out of mind, shall come forth to light at the call of the spirit of impartial truth; and not inconspicuous among these will be that of Cudworth.

His father,[1] Ralph Cudworth, was known as "a man of genius and learning," and was chaplain to James I. Of his sons, James and Ralph, Ralph is the more illustrious, as author of "The True Intellectual System of the Universe." James, the elder brother, came to America in 1632 (the year of the settlement of Maryland by Lord Baltimore), eight years after his father's death, and when Ralph, now a youth of fifteen, but already for two years a pensioner in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and even then foreshadowing his future eminence. He came over in company with Thomas Hatherly, a London merchant, afterwards a leading citizen of Plymouth Colony; and while his younger brother, amid the luxurious haunts of Cambridge, was devoting himself to religious and philosophical speculations, catching in the Greek philosophy the echoes of an earlier and purer faith—he was acting the rougher part of pioneer in the western world, helping to build up a Christian commonwealth. We know nothing of his education; but coming of such a family, he must have enjoyed no meagre advantages for literary improvement, and his subsequent life in New England shows that he had a strong and well-trained mind which knew how to do its own thinking. Religiously he was a Puritan, and when, in 1634, a church was formed in Scituate, where he had taken up his abode, he and his wife joined it the

[1] The writer's attention was first called to this fact by Mr. John W. Dean, whose antiquarian lore is always at the service of others.

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same year. As at that time there was no meeting-house, the church used to meet at Mr. Cudworth's dwelling, it being the "best and biggest" in the town—doubtless a log-house thatched with sedge gathered from the salt marshes, according to the fashion of that period. This church, we may remark, was, during Mr. Cudworth's life, ministered to by such men as Chauncy and Dunster, the latter the first president of Harvard College, and the former his successor in the same office.

It appears that some time after his father's death, his mother was married to Dr. John Stoughton, an eminent preacher of London, and there is extant a letter to that divine from Mr. Cudworth, written in 1634. It is addressed to his "very loving and kind father," and speaks of his "most dear mother."

In 1635, Mr. Cudworth became a "freeman" of the Colony; that is, was invested with the right and function of citizenship, and having afterwards removed to Barnstable, he was chosen Deputy from that town to the General Court, in 1640 and 1642. On his return to Scituate he was sent as Deputy from that place in 1649, and for several successive years. In 1636, when the ordinances of the Colony were ordered to be revised, he was one of the committee of four appointed by the General Court for that service. Deane, the historian of Scituate, says that he was probably the author of instructions given by that town and its deputies to petition the Court to establish rules for levying costs of court, so that "the plaintiff sueing for a juste debte may not lose his labor and his charges in recovering his own"; and also of a plan of legal tender, by remedying the abuse of "paying just verdicts with old rusty barrels of guns."

In 1654, when the Plymouth Colony set up a form of government at the Kennebec, Thomas Hatherly and James Cudworth were among the commissioners who were entrusted with the business.

In 1655, Mr. Cudworth was one of the eight commissioners of the Confederacy of the Four United Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven.

In 1656 and 1657 he was one of the seven assistants or magistrates, who were next in rank to the Governor, and aided him in the highest functions of administration, forming together a Council, a sort of Upper House.

In 1657, he was again chosen a commissioner of the Confederacy.

Honors were thus beginning to accumulate upon him, when he suddenly fell under the sore displeasure of the government; only, however, to attain a more exalted position.

It was in 1656, the same year in which Mr. Cudworth first became

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Assistant, that the Quakers came to America. They appeared in Boston, and spread rapidly in the Plymouth Colony. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay, aroused by the invasion of "an accursed and pernicious sect," urged the Commissioners of the United Colonies to advise the Courts of the several Colonies to take instant measures for its suppression, which the Commissioners readily proceeded to do. The Plymouth government, as well as that of the Bay, passed severe laws against the intruders, laws which were by no means a dead letter. The next year, 1657, Mr. Cudworth being one of the United Commissioners, that body took it upon itself to stir up their too indulgent neighbors of Rhode Island to oppose the Quakers with carnal weapons; an impertinence which was resisted with courtesy, but characteristic spirit and tone: "We have no law," say they, "whereby to punish any for only declaring by words their mind and understanding concerning the ways and things of God as to salvation and an eternal condition."

This letter of advice, or dictation, was signed by all the Commissioners except Cudworth. He refused to subscribe his name, leaving his colleague, Prince, to represent the Plymouth Colony, or rather, as we shall see, the governing part of the Colony. It is enough to say, that the dissenting member was left out the next year, a broad hint to all who should think to have a mind of their own. Mr. Cudworth had, of course, no hand in the document put forth the next year (1658) by the Commissioners, in which they recommend to the General Courts of the several Colonies, that Quakers, coming within their jurisdictions, should be "imprisoned, banished, or expelled under pain of death; and if afterwards they should return, then to be put to death as aforesaid, except they do then and there plainly and publicly renounce their said cursed and spurious and devilish tenets." Mr. Winslow, Prince's colleague, refused his name, following the example of his predecessor, the year before; and John Winthrop, of Connecticut, appended to his signature, "looking to the last as a query, and not an act."

Mr. Cudworth's dissent did not at once provoke any public censure beyond his being dropped from office; but it created much prejudice against him on the part of the administration. But when he proceeded, in 1658, to entertain the Quakers at his house, and to reflect in sharp terms upon the conduct of the government in its treatment of the Quakers, as he did in a letter to his friend, John Brown, who had held important offices in the Colony, and was now in England—a liberal-minded man, in full sympathy with Cudworth —then he began to feel that to oppose Thomas Prince was quite seri-

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ous business. This letter soon found its way back to Plymouth, and its authorship being ascribed to Cudworth, which he had no wish to deny, the government gave him to understand that such sort of liberties were not at all to be allowed. Being judged "a manifest opposer of the government," he was dropped, like a viper, out of the magistracy, and flung violently back into private life. This letter, a remarkable document, showing its author to have held views infinitely in advance of most of his contemporaries, and to have possessed a singularly bold and independent spirit, has fortunately been preserved in Bishop's "New England Judged." It is in greater part as follows :

As to the state and condition of things amongst us, it is sad, and so like to continue. The anti-Christian, persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the power of this world. He that will not lash, persecute, and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth. Last election, Mr. Hatherly and myself were left off the bench, and myself discharged of my captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house, thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to do so, than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in diverse things, and so I signified to the Court, ; but told them withal, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor.

This spirit did work these two years that I was of the Magistracy, during which time I was, on sundry occasions, forced to declare my dissent in sundry actings of that nature; which, although done with all moderation of expression, together with due respect unto the rest, yet it wrought great disaffection and prejudice in them against me: so that they themselves set others to frame a petition against me, so that they may have a seeming ground from others (though first moved by themselves) to lay me under reproach. The petition was with nineteen hands. It wrought such a disturbance in our town, and in our military company, had I not been present and made a speech to them, I fear there would have been such actings as would have been of sad consequences. The Court was again followed with another petition (counter) of fifty-four hands: and the Court returned the petitioners an answer, with much plausibleness of speech, carrying with it great show of respect to them, readily acknowledging with the petitioners my parts of gifts, and how useful I had been in my place, professing that they had nothing against me, only in that thing of my giving entertainment to the Quakers..... And divers have been whipped with us in our Patent; and truly, to tell you plainly, that the whipping of them with that cruelty, as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherence to them than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon....

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In the Massachusetts (namely, Boston Colony), after they have whipped them, and cut their ears, they have now at last gone to the farthest step they can. They banish them upon pain of death if ever they come there again. We expect that we must do the like; we must dance after their pipe. Now Plymouth saddle is on the Bay Horse (viz., Boston) we shall follow them on the career; for it is well in some if there be not a desire to be their apes and imitators in all their proceedings in things of this nature. All these carnal and anti-Christian ways, not being of God's appointment, effect nothing to the hindering of them in their course. It is only the word and the Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainsayers; they are the mighty weapons of a Christian's warfare, by which great and mighty things are accomplished.

They [the Quakers] have many meetings, and many adherents; almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them. And give me leave a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is *grievous unto, and saddens, the hearts of most of the precious saints of God. It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds,* to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts, and brought into penury and want. You may say, By what means? and to what end? It is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts. The Massachusetts have banished six of their inhabitants, to be gone upon pain of death; and I wish that blood be not shed. But our poor people are pillaged and plundered of their goods; and haply, when they have no more to satisfy their insatiable desire, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their lives for a prey. . . .

What will be the end of such practices, the Lord only knows. I heartily and earnestly pray that these, and such like causes, neither raise up among us, or bring in upon us, either the sword or any devouring calamity, as a just avenger of the Lord's quarrel, for acts of injustice and oppression; and that we may every one find out the plague of his own heart, and putting away the evils of his own doings, and meet the Lord by entreaties of peace, before it be too late and there be no remedy.

Our civil powers are so exercised in things appertaining to the kingdom of Christ, in matters of religion and conscience, that we can have no time to effect anything that tends to the promotion of the civil weal, or the property of the place, but now we must have a state religion, such as the powers of the world will allow, and no other; a state-ministry, and a state way of maintenance; and we must worship and serve the Lord Jesus as the world shall appoint us. We must all go to the public place of meeting in the parish where he dwells, or be prosecuted. I am informed of three or four score last Court, presented for not coming to public meeting. Let me tell you how they brought this about. You may remember a law once made, called Thomas Hinckley's law: that if any neglected the worship of God in the place where he lives, *and* sets up a worship contrary to God and the allowance of this government, . . . he shall pay ten shillings. This law would not reach what was then aimed at, because he must do so and so, that is, all things therein expressed, or else not break the law.

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[To accomplish their purpose, *and* was changed to *or*.]

We are wrapped up in a labyrinth of confused laws, that the freeman's power is quite gone, and it was said last June Court by one, that he knew nothing the freeman had there to do. And truly it moves bowels of compassion in all sorts, except those in place, who carry it with a high hand toward them [the Quakers]. Through mercy, we have yet among us the worthy Mr. Dunster, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the spirit of persecution. . . .

Our Court and Deputies last June made Captain Winslow, Major. Surely we are all mercenary soldiers that must have a Major imposed upon us. Doubtless, the next Court, they may choose us a Governor; and assistants also; a freeman shall need to do nothing but bear such burdens as are laid upon him. Mr. [John] Alden hath deceived the expectations of many, and indeed lost the affections of such as I judge were his cordial Christian friends; who is very active in such ways as I pray God may not be charged upon him to be oppression of a high nature.

This is very remarkable testimony, coming from one who had ample opportunity of knowing the public feeling, and whose personal character is a guarantee of entire truthfulness. For Mr. Cudworth was not a disappointed politician, soured against the government, and ready to stir up disaffection. He was not what has been falsely said of his friend, Roger Williams, "conscientiously contentious." His whole conduct, as far as known to us, evinces moderation and candor. When disfranchised, he quietly bore the injustice done him, and when the Prince administration, which was notoriously illiberal, came to an end, he was welcomed back into public life, no acknowledgment of wrong being required of him—a virtual confession, however, of wrong done to him on the part of the government.

We wonder that this letter has attracted no more attention from the writers and students of New England history; for it is certainly an invaluable document, whether as regards the sentiment of its author, or its statements as to the opinions of the times.

The immediate occasion of Mr. Cudworth's political disgrace was, as we have seen, his entertaining the Quakers Copeland and Brend, though his opposition to the persecuting policy of the administration had been well known before; it only needed some overt act to call down upon him the wrath of the ruling powers.[1] Backus states that "a person took pains to go to Marshfield to procure a warrant [from Major Winslow] to apprehend the Quakers he had entertained," and take them before that magistrate, to be dealt with according to law, thus putting contempt upon the two Magistrates or Assistants, who resided in Scituate, Mr. Cudworth and Mr. Hatherly. The latter,

[1] Backus' Church History.

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the "father" of Scituate, having learned the above proceeding, said: "Mr. Envy has procured this"; and in place of the warrant, gave the Quakers a pass under his own hand, with which they went to Plymouth; where, however, three other magistrates seized and whipped them. For his conduct in the affair, Mr. Hatherby, who had been Treasurer of the Colony, Assistant, and Commissioner, was, with his friend Cudworth, dropped from the magistracy. Thus two of the very best men in the Colony were put under the ban for their tolerant principles.

By order of the General Court, Mr. Cudworth was also removed from the captainship of the military company of Scituate, and in the year 1660, having been elected Deputy, he was refused his seat. The same year, he, with some others, was disfranchised, which political disability continued, in his case, for thirteen years, until the death of Governor Prince—the man who had said in a speech, "that in his conscience the Quakers were such a people that they deserved to be destroyed; they, their wives, their children, their houses and lands, without pity or mercy," which certainly was his working theory.

In contrast with such a spirit, that of Cudworth shines forth with admirable lustre. In him we see a Puritan of the purest and noblest style. It is wonderful how clearly he apprehended the great question of religious liberty. Here Mr. Cudworth and his friend, Roger Williams, were in perfect accord. His catholic spirit, his readiness to investigate even presumed heretical opinions, his denunciation of carnal weapons in matters of religion, his declaration that the "word and Spirit of God" are the "mighty weapons of a Christian warfare," and his vigorous attack upon a state church, a state-ministry, and a state-maintenance, and every sort of compulsory worship, leaving men at liberty to go to church or not, to pay or not, as their conscience dictated—show him to have reached at a bound the advanced position of the present age. A man of singular independence he must have been, amid such surroundings, to take and maintain so bold a stand.

His letter to Mr. Brown is very important, as showing that very many, and among them some of the best part of the people of the Colony, were wholly opposed to the persecuting measures of the government.

Thus, as we have seen, the petition to the General Court, gotten up against Mr. Cudworth by nineteen persons, because of his dissent to the proceedings against the Quakers, and the action of the Court thereupon, created so intense an excitement in Scituate, as like to have broken out into actual rebellion, and did result in a counter-petition signed by fifty-four persons.

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John Alden, who was one of the Board of Assistants during the whole period of the persecution, "lost the affections of such as were his cordial Christian friends," because of his activity in forwarding the severe measures of the Prince administration, in which judgment, we may remark, the Quakers more than agreed with them, for John Norton, writing to Governor Prince and John Alden, uses the following sharp language:

> Thomas Prince, thou hast perverted justice and true judgment, and hast defrauded the poor and needy. John Alden is to thee like unto a pack-horse, whereupon thou layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein. The cry of vengeance will pursue thee; the anguish and pain that will enter thy veins will be like gnawing worms lodging between thy heart and liver.

Many of the people of the Colony also became proselytes to the Quaker faith—in Sandwich almost the entire population, as we have seen; and the same is reported of some of Mr. Cudworth's family. In confirmation of the latter, we find that in 1678, Mr. Cudworth, for frequently absenting himself from the public worship of God (that is, probably, attending Quaker meetings), was fined ten shillings by the General Court.

We are also told that the persecution "*moved bowels of compassion in all sorts, except those in place;*" it was "*grievous unto, and saddened the hearts of the precious saints of God.*" There is a deep pathos in that part of Cudworth's letter where he adds: "*It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds.*"

A letter,[1] written in 1645 by Edward Winslow, who had been three times Governor of Plymouth, to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, throws much light upon the foregoing facts, confirming the statements in Cudworth's letter, and furnishing additional proof, of the strongest kind, of the limited extent of the oppressive spirit of those times. Moreover, it shows that more than ten years before the arrival of the Quakers, the question of granting a "*full and free tolerance of religion,*" was a subject of earnest and "tumultuous" discussion, even among the members of the government, including both Assistants and Deputies, and that a majority of the latter brought in a bill to that effect, which they required should be put to vote, a demand, which was, however, overruled by the arbitrary refusal of the Governor [Bradford], by which the bill was prevented from becoming

[1] Hutchison Papers, I, 172.

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a law, and Plymouth from being brought into fellowship with Providence. It is a most noteworthy fact—strangely overlooked by historians—how very near this result came to being realized; which would have marvellously changed the future history of New England, and saved it from some very disagreeable stains.

Winslow's letter refers to an "order" to be propounded to the General Court, "against neglecting the established worship, and setting up separate meetings"; an order which was passed at a small meeting of the Deputies, but which a subsequent fuller meeting took strong exceptions to. The letter says:

..... At a Court of Assistants, ... the Governor, Mr. Collier, Captain Standish, and myself being there, took into consideration a matter of great concernment, as we apprehended, and agreed mutually in the thing as necessary to propound it to the General Court. . . . Accordingly it was propounded, and after a whole day's agitation it was allowed and entered in the waste-booke, there being but one Deputy against it, and he not direct. . . . The next weeke, being in course another of our great Courts, came more of our magistrates that live remote, and were not with us either at the Court of Assistants, or the foregoing general Court, where this act was done; and after a tumultuous manner excepted against the entry of that order as pernicious and destructive to the weal of the government, with very many unseemly termes concerning others, etc., which exception of his was strengthened by three other of the magistrates, one whereof had joined with us twice before, and now against his own act, but made beforehand by the first excepter, as well as the other two, and many of the Deputies: they cried out to have it defaced and crossed. The Governor [Bradford], Mr. Prence, and myself, would not allow it, or any other act to be defaced; but if hereafter it should be found prejudicial, it might be repealed by another act, but not otherwise. In brief (for I am ashamed to mention particulars, especially to write them), a promise was made that it should rest till the next General Court, and nothing be done in it; and then, when Court and country had duly thought of it, if they thought meet to repeal it, they might. After this, the first excepter, having been observed to tender the view of a scroll from man to man, it came at length to be tendered to myself, and withal, said he, it may be you will not like this. Having read it, I told him I utterly abhorred it as such as would make us odious to all Christian commonweales. But at length he told the Governor he had a written proposition to be propounded to the Court, which he desired the Court to take into consideration, and according to order, if thought meet, to be allowed. To this the Deputies were most made beforehand, and the other three Assistants, who applauded it as their Diana: and the sum of it was, To allow, admit and maintain *full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace, and submit unto government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turke, Jew,*

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Arian, Socinian, Nicholaytan, Familist, or any other sect.[1] But our Governor, and divers of us, having expressed the sad consequences which would follow, especially myself and Mr. Prence, yet notwithstanding it was required, according to order, to be voted; but the Governor would not suffer it to come to vote, as being that indeed would eat out the power of godliness, etc.

By this you may see that all the troubles of New England are not at the Massachusetts. The Lord in mercy look upon us, and allay this spirit of derision that is creeping in amongst us. You would have admired [wondered] to have *seen how sweet this carrion relished to the palate of most of the Deputies!* What will be the issue of these things, our all-ordering God only knows. Only we know, without him it shall never be; and that's our greatest comfort. But if he shall have such a judgment for this place, I trust we shall find (I speak for many of us that groan under these things,) a resting place among you for the soles of our feet.

I had not thought to have been so long; but if you have heard of the particulars and the persons, especially the ringleader of this rout (if a rout might be in a lawful assembly), by this general you may gather the more insight into the particulars. . . . EDW. WINSLOW.

24 (9th), 1645.

The arbitrary and illegal act of Governor Bradford, referred to in this letter, helps to explain what Mr. Cudworth says of "the freeman's power being quite gone," and of "the freeman having nothing to do" in the General Court. Bradford, it seems, with all his goodness, and a few who stood by him, scrupled at no act, however offensive or unauthorized, which should crush out the rising spirit of Christian liberality. And here, we may remark, that if among the members of the government there were so many friends of toleration, it is easy to infer the wide prevalence among the people generally of a similar spirit.

It would be interesting to know the names of those who composed the liberal party in the discussions referred to by Winslow, and especially of "the ringleaders of the rout." We know that Cudworth was a worthy successor of that disturber of the peace, and that Hatherby and Brown, and Isaac Robinson, a worthy son of the great father of the Pilgrim Church, John Robinson, of Leyden, were among the disfranchised foes of the Prince administration, for Prince was at the head of affairs during the whole period of the persecution, from 1657, and onward.

[1] One is reminded of what Roger Williams says in his "Bloody Tenent" (1644): "And I ask whether or no such as may hold forth *other worship or religion, Jews, Turkes, or Anti-Christian*, may not be peaceable and quiet subjects, loving and helpful neighbors, fair and just dealers, true and loyal to the civil government?

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The review which we have made of Plymouth history, shows us quite precisely where to fix the shame of the persecuting policy which has been made the almost wholesale reproach of the Pilgrim Colony. Let the few, the very few, who used the lash bear its burden of blame; not the many who protested with their tears, their strong words, and their sacrifices, against those un-Christian measures.

It grieves us that we cannot place the ministers of the Colony—those embraced in the "standing order" among the friends of toleration. As late as 1677, in answer to a request from the General Court of Plymouth, that they would give their views of religious toleration, they said that in their opinion none ought to be tolerated to set up any public worship, who should refuse their assent to a belief in the Holy Scriptures, the fall of man, justification by faith, the Trinity, the resurrection of the dead, and final rewards and punishments; nor any that reviled and reproached the civil authorities, the churches and ordinances of Christ, approved and established by the government; nor any that received excommunicated persons into their communion, or who called it anti-Christian to commune with churches established by this commonwealth, or who set up any public worship upon any pretence of religion. This document[1] was signed by twelve ministers, four other names being afterwards added, sixteen in all, which must have embraced nearly all the established clergy of the Colony.

The request from the General Court seems to us proof of a growing spirit of tolerance among the people, and of the consequent necessity felt by the government of re-enforcing its authority against "heretics," by a clerical "deliverance." The ministers doubtless felt the influence of the illiberal Massachusetts theocracy (always prone to meddle with Plymouth affairs) much more than did the rest of the community; and facts show that they were quite prone to quit the comparatively barren pastures of the Old Colony for the richer parishes of the Bay. It was, therefore, not unnatural, if not quite so Christian, for such a cause to keep on good terms with Massachusetts ministers and voters.

What we have said of the intolerant spirit of the Plymouth ministers applies, only with greater force, to those of the Massachusetts Bay. And here it will be pertinent to our subject to briefly consider the case of Massachusetts. We shall find substantial proof of the existence of a liberal, protesting spirit among a not inconsiderable number of her people, including some very influential persons.

[1] MSS. Cotton Papers, Vol. VII, page 30, Prince Collection. Boston Public Library.

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When Sir Henry Vane, who held similar views with Roger Williams as to the freedom of religious worship, came to Massachusetts, in 1636, he was received with such favor as to be elected governor that year, and the next year a strong party, including many members of the General Court, used the most strenuous efforts to have him re-elected; though they were defeated after much popular agitation by the friends of Winthrop, who took a decided stand against the free expression of religious opinion. The famous Antinomian controversy, in which Anne Hutchinson was the most conspicuous figure, was closely connected with the above political movement, Vane being her friend and advocate, and Winthrop her persistent opposer. And when the clergy and the dominant political party, under the lead of Winthrop, were for pushing matters to the last extreme against a Christian woman, in fact for proving herself more than a match in theology for the learned divines of the Colony, a powerful opposition was developed, as mentioned above, and also in the shape of a petition to the General Courts in behalf of Wheelwright, one of her chief supporters, signed by more than sixty persons, including some of the Deputies. Boston, including the Boston church, was especially aroused against the action of the government, and in the direction of liberality.

When, in 1658, a law was passed to banish Quakers on pain of death, the acting government being then in the hands of forty-two persons, namely, the Governor (Endicott), seven Assistants, and thirty-four Deputies, the majority of the Deputies were at first very much opposed to the law, but after long debate, and a strong pressure from the Council and some of the ministers, it was at length passed by a majority of one vote, twelve against thirteen refusing to concur. When one of the Deputies, deacon Wiswal, who was absent from illness learned the result he wept, and said: "That if notice had been given him, he would have crept upon his hands and knees, rather than it should have been." And so strong was the pressure of public sentiment in opposition to the law, that the Court was under the necessity of drawing up a formal defence of its conduct.

When the Quakers, Robinson and Stevenson were hanged, in Boston Commons, the Court fearful of "a popular outbreak," ordered out more than a hundred soldiers armed with pikes and muskets to keep the peace. The execution, says Palfrey, "increased the wide-spread resentment against the law," and extorted a second vindication, which was virtually an apology. And it was not long before public opinion expressed itself so decidedly against such bloody acts that a repetition of them was no longer possible.

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"A Declaration of the Sufferings of the Quakers in New England, addressed to Parliament," [1] published about that time by a Quaker, informs us that when William Brend was treated with excessive cruelty by the jailor who had him in charge, receiving at one time one hundred and seventeen blows, which almost proved fatal, many people came to see him, and "great indignation arose in the moderate-spirited people against the jailor." A note was put up at the meeting house, declaring that he ought to be brought up for trial; and a member of the church said that he ought to be dealt with. "Great compassion arose in several of the inhabitants, who ministered to his necessities, for which five of them were presented." The author states that if Parliament would grant "liberty of conscience," it would answer the desires of many of the inhabitants, who much desire it, and who groan under the arbitrary powers that the high-minded rulers of New England govern by.

Again, when, in 1688, several Baptists were imprisoned in Boston jail, sixty-five citizens, some of them men of distinction, addressed a petition to the General Court on their behalf, in which, after speaking of the good character of the prisoners, and of their great sufferings, they went on to say, that

> The sense of their deplorable condition had sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious Christians, . . . and the things for which they suffer seem not to be scandalous evils, but matters of religion and conscience; not in things fundamental; . . . but more dark and doubtful, wherein the saints are wont to differ, and to forbear one another in love, that they be not exposed to sin, or to suffer for conscience' sake.

They therefore beg the Court seriously to consider, whether

> An indulgence, justifiable by the word of God, . . . may not, in this day of suffering to the people of God, be more effectual, safe, and inoffensive than other ways, which are always grievous, and seldom find success.

Which words, though flung back in their faces by the Court as disrespectful and reproachful, and punished by fines for some of them, and an order for an acknowledgment of wrong for others, are a noble monument to the petitioners, and interesting evidence that Massachusetts was not wholly given up to bigotry.

It should be borne in mind, that in neither Colony was suffrage universal. A small minority of the population held the power; in

[1] This work, with other rare and valuable volumes and tracts pertaining to the early history of New England, is in the possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.

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some of the most offensive acts of legislation, a small majority of this small minority, were the responsible party. In Massachusetts, citizenship was restricted to church members, and even of these, for various causes, not all availed themselves of the privilege; in Plymouth, though church membership was not a legal requisite, yet piety, according to the "orthodox" standard, was generally considered an essential qualification. At the time of the Quaker persecution, the voters of Massachusetts formed about one-fifth of the male adult population, thus "placing," says Palfrey, "the larger number of men of ripe age in the position of mere wards of the Commonwealth, as truly as women and minors occupy that position at the present day." Down to 1643, a period of thirteen years, only 178 persons had enjoyed the rights of citizenship in Massachusetts, and in 1643, the government of Plymouth was in the hands of 230 persons, which number was probably about one-tenth of the whole population.

The government of these colonies formed, therefore, a complete oligarchy, a close corporation, retaining in its own hands the power of deciding who should be allowed to come within the charmed circle of citizenship, and share the political power. They took in, from time to time, new members, such as were believed to be of like principles with themselves; and sometimes they expelled whom they found refractory. After the fashion of Nebuchadnezzar, whom they would they kept alive, and whom they would they slew. It was a natural consequence that those outside, who had political aspirations, should be obsequious to the dominant party, and that those who had no such hopes or wishes, being so completely in the power of the authorities, should seldom venture beyond whispers against their superiors, well knowing that they must do so at their peril. For men were reprimanded, fined, imprisoned, or banished, for only expressing sympathy with the victims of theocratic oppression, or modestly suggesting a change of measures.

Thus, in the Hutchinson controversy, the petitioners above referred to, were called to account before the General Court for their so grave offence, and compelled to recant and apologize, or else to suffer punishment. Eight or nine of the signers were disfranchised, and one of them, a Deputy, was besides expelled from the Court, and banished; another, also a Deputy, for speaking approvingly of the petition, was expelled and disfranchised; and the rest were ordered to surrender their arms, a most high-handed affront to freemen.

So also, when Obadiah Holmes, a Rhode Island Baptist minister, was publicly whipped in Boston, in 1651, two citizens, one a member of the Puritan church, for saying a few kind words to the bleeding

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sufferer, were arrested, and ordered to pay each a fine of forty shillings, or be whipped; and it is reported that warrants were issued against thirteen perpetrators of this sort of Christian misdemeanor.

We have already mentioned how, at another time, high-minded citizens of Boston were punished by the General Court for sending to that body a most respectful petition in behalf of some imprisoned Baptists.

When Nicholas Upsal, a respectable and aged citizen of Boston, lifted up his voice from his door-step against the law for imprisoning, fining, whipping, and banishing Quakers, he was thrown into prison, fined £20, and banished from the colony, in the winter season, with the additional penalty hanging over him of imprisonment, should he return to his home.

These are a few specimens of the summary way in which the few men who held the reins of government, plied the lash for the purpose of bringing into due submission all who dared to question their infallibility, and of checking the spread of more tolerant sentiments.

This state of things continued, till men, denied a share in the making of the laws under which they lived, could stand the injustice no longer, and the outside pressure became so strong as to break down the walls of prescription and privilege, and bring in a more extended suffrage.

These facts have been strangely overlooked by those who have written bitter things against New England. We do not mean to say that in Plymouth or Massachusetts, the spirit of intolerance was confined to the government, or that the people generally understood the principles of freedom as Cudworth did. More or less of bigotry and severity was characteristic of the times, but we do believe that if universal suffrage had prevailed, the colonial legislation would have been of a far milder type than it was, and in Plymouth would probably have created a second Rhode Island. Certainly, the extreme measures under which the Baptists and Quakers suffered so cruelly would have been impossible.

We will add, that in view of the facts presented, the common apology in behalf of the persecuting class, that they acted in accordance with the spirit of the times, falls to the ground. There was light enough even then to take away every excuse for the extreme intolerance exercised by certain men in power.

To return to Mr. Cudworth. The year after he was disfranchised, viz., in 1661, the Quaker persecution was brought to an end, by order from England. But he was still in disfavor with Prince, and no steps were taken for his restoration to citizenship. He remained

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quietly at home, devoting himself to the management of his private affairs. In 1672, Prince died, and was succeeded in 1673, by the more tolerant Josiah Winslow, who immediately interested himself to have so valuable a man as Cudworth restored to his proper place in the Colony. A great change had now come over even the men in power, and it is to their credit that they gracefully yielded to the demands of public sentiment, as is shown by the following vote from the Colonial Record: "Captain Cudworth, by a full and clear vote, is accepted and re-established in the association and body of this Commonwealth."

Thus, after thirteen years of political ostracism, he was invited back to his old place. That same year he was unanimously urged by the General Court to take command of an expedition which it was proposed to fit out against the Dutch, from whom an invasion was expected. But he declined, for various reasons; partly because he was not clear as to the lawfulness or expediency of such an undertaking; partly, because he felt himself inefficient for the work; but chiefly, because of the serious illness of his wife, now sixty-seven years old. But he wished the Court to understand that he declines the task, not "out of any discontent arising from any former difference"; for he adds: "the thought of all which is, and shall be forever buried, so as not to come in remembrance."

Speaking of the second point, he says:

> Should I embrace and accept of the call, knowing my own insufficiency for the work, what should I less than what in me lies, but betray the cause and lives of men into the hands of the enemy? Learned, judicious and worthy Mr. Ward, in his animadversions to war, says that inexperience of a captain hath been the ruin of armies and the destruction of commonwealths; and that in the time of peace, every brave fellow desires to be honored with the name and charge of a captain; but when war is approaching, and the enemy at hand, they quake their swords out of their scabbords, and had rather make use in fight of their wings than of their talons.

Referring to his wife, in language which shows the simplicity of the times, as well as his own tenderness of heart, he says:

> My wife, as is well known to the whole town, is not only a weak woman, and has so been all along; but now, by reason of age, being sixty-seven years and upwards, and nature decaying, so her illness grows more strongly upon her; never a day passes but she is forced to rise at break of day, or before; she cannot lay for want of breath; and when she is up she cannot light a pipe of tobacco, but it must be lighted for her; and until she has taken two or three pipes, for want of breath she is not

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able to stir; and she has never a maid. That day your letter came to my hands, my maid's year being out, she went away, and I cannot get nor hear of another. And then in regard of my occasions abroad, for the tending and looking after all my creatures, the fetching home my hay, getting of wood, going to mill, and for the performing all other family occasions, I have none but a small Indian boy about thirteen years of age to help me.

The Dutch did not come; and next year, 1674, Mr. Cudworth was elected Assistant, which important office he held for six successive years. When King Philip's war broke out — a war which, as Palfrey says, "all but reached the heart of New England," he was chosen "General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces" raised in the Colony; and now, though well in years, he buckled on his armor, and braved the terrors of Indian warfare. The war ended in 1678, and in that and the following years, and again in 1681, he was one of the Plymouth Commissioners of the United Colonies. He was also one of a Commission, with the Governor and Treasurer, to divide some land conquered from the Indians, for the relief of disabled soldiers, and the widows of such as had been killed. In 1681, he became Deputy Governor; and the same year was sent as agent of the Colony to England. Plymouth had never had a charter, as had Massachusetts, and was naturally anxious to obtain a more secure basis for her government, and a stronger defence against royal assumption than the simple patent from the long extinct Council for New England; and General Cudworth was appointed to manage this delicate and difficult service. But he died, probably at the age of 75 or 76, soon after his arrival in London, after a residence in America of forty-nine years, and then says Palfrey, was the Colony "deprived of the most eminent of its citizens, now that Winslow was no more."

In the preceding pages we may seem to have reflected with considerable severity upon some of the grand men who planted our Commonwealth. We probably have done so. The only real question is, Have we trespassed the bounds of fact? There can be no good reason why the truth of history should be sacrificed for the accommodation of these worthies. It is a not uncommon practice among us to criticise the great and good men of our own day, and if truth is only adhered to, nobody has a right to complain. Truth is modest, but her friends ought not to expose her to shame on that account. She is of far more consequence than a hundred divines, sages, and patriots carefully selected, and above the average quality.

The founders of New England were generally men of great excellence, and their friends need not fear to subject them to a candid

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examination. Their fruits speak for them. But they had their full share of human nature, which, after all, is not entirely to their discredit. Among the virtues of some of them, toleration certainly had not a place.

In our early New England history, a great mistake, and a not small injustice, has been the all but invariable practice of overlooking that large class who stood, or were put, outside the politico-ecclesiastical edifice, occupying what seemed to be considered the tents of the ungodly.

Many of these were persons of unquestionable worth, some of them of high culture, and most of them capable of understanding and taking care of their rights. But they were politically proscribed by the "saints," to whom alone the earth belonged, and, since their day, they have been passed by almost as social nonentities.

Thus, far, unfortunately, the written history of the world has been the history of minorities, of kings, princes, and aristocracies. The great mass of the people have been ignored, or treated as mere chessmen, for the stronger few to play game with. The wishes, the interests, the deep-flowing life of the commonality have been compromised into a seeming compliance with the ambitious schemes of a few men who contrived to arrogate to themselves — conscientiously enough, we allow, according to a mistaken theory—the sole management of affairs, so that the acts of the few have come to be considered the acts of the many. They were sometimes the acts of the many, as these were the instruments of their accomplishment; but generally they were not their acts, as not originating with them, as not representing their spontaneous sentiments, as certain never to have been attempted but for a superinduced influence which overpowered the popular will.

It belongs to true history to go beneath the surface, to feel for the great heart of the people; and thus to bring to light the real humanity of the world.

In our New England history such an attempt may be attended with difficulties, certainly those which result from long cherished prejudices; but we are persuaded they are not insuperable. Truth must triumph. The present paper is an humble effort in that direction, showing, as we believe, that New England as a whole has borne much undeserved reproach.

JEREMIAH CHAPLIN.

BOSTON, MASS.

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THE FOURTH KINGDOM.

DANIEL II. 40-43.

AN unbiassed interpretation of the book of Daniel will give due consideration to the position of its author, and the design of his prophecies. Unless we cast the book into the limbo of myths, we must admit the reality of his personality, and allow to him a rational purpose in what he wrote. It is not necessary to assume that he combined his separate prophecies according to the order in which we now find them; but it is necessary to assume, either that he wrote them himself, or dictated them to an amanuensis, and that whether he compiled them himself or not, the chronological order in which we find them was deemed by the compiler the correct arrangement. If unity of thought is manifest, and certainly such unity is much more apparent in the book of Daniel than in the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, this unity must be the result of a definite purpose on the part of the prophet, or on that of the one who acted in the prophet's place. The fact that nearly one-half of the book is in the Chaldee language, and the other half in the Hebrew, need not prevent an acceptance of tne essential unity of the book as a whole, for the leading thoughts of the entire book are found in each of these distinct portions. In fact, so unique is the main purpose of each part, the book divided according to those two Semitic languages, might be considered as two editions of the same work, to meet the wants of

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two peoples. The Chaldaic portion is the revelation of God to the Babylonians concerning his kingdom as contrasted with all earthly kingdoms. The Hebraic portion is the revelation of God to the Jews, in captivity, destined to strange persecutions, strange internal convulsions, and a stranger overthrow, contrasted with the new, immutable and everlasting kingdom, of which the true Israel was the germ, and out of which the world-desert should yet blossom as the rose. One was a preaching of the Messiah to come to the Gentile, the other was a preaching of the Messiah to come to the Jew. Both have an exclusive application to the kingdom of God on earth as opposed to and ultimately to triumph over all human dynasties. Had we but one, we should miss no essential fact from the great book of revelation. As we have both, the second portion is a supplement and complement to the first; similar in many respects to the relation of the fourth gospel to the Synoptists.

We do not object to the terse analysis of the book as given by Auberlan, if it is accepted with proper limitations. He says:

> Chapter i, is the introduction; chapters ii–vii, give a general view of the progressive history of the powers of the world, and the principles of the divine government, as seen in the events of the life of Daniel; and chapters viii–xii, trace in minute details the fitness of the people of God as typical of the fortunes of the church in all ages.

This is correct in the main. We do not deny the typical bearing of much which the book contains. We do not deny that the Messianic portions of the book, and some of the teachings of chapter xii, are inchoative of all history—that is, the history of God's movements in antagonism with man's self-seeking, ambitious movements. But we do not think that the work was written as a brochure, or pamphlet, on universal history, a real or symbolical portraiture of all the monarchies of the earth to the end of time; but simply a presentation in miniature of such great monarchies as were, or were to be, most closely connected with God's representative people. It is a part of a sublime whole. It stands, chronologically, between the books of the Kings and the book of Ezra, and is designed to unfold the same thoughts which were poetically and prophetically unfolded by Isaiah and Jeremiah, prior to Daniel's time, and by Zechariah, Haggai and Malachi, subsequent to his time. Like Jeremiah, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Haggai, it is partly historical, and partly prophetical, and in substance historically-prophetic. It was designed, we think, to meet the necessities of the spiritually-minded Jews, during that long winter of discontent, of four hundred and ninety years, prior to the

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advent of the Anointed One, as the Apocalypse of John was designed to bear the early church over that longer winter, to the second coming of the King of kings. Daniel gives us the Apocalypse of the Old Testament, as John gives us the Apocalypse of the New Testament. "I am come to cause thee to understand," says the angel, "what shall befall thy people in the latter days." Daniel x. 14. "As Achilles," says a learned writer, "at the beginning, and Alexander at the end of Grecian history, are the mirrors of the Hellenic people, so Joseph and Daniel of Israel." If this view is the correct one, then our interpretation of the book, aside from such inchoative passages as pertain to all time, must limit itself to a fulfillment of its prophecies prior to the advent of Christ.

Admitting the unity of the book as a whole, of course there will be unity in its ruling thought, so that while we may encounter several visions at different stages in Daniel's life, and at first sight they may seem very unlike, provided that the import of them is substantially the same, the events referred to will be the same. During a period of seventy years, at least, the great and good Daniel, with all his honors of state, maintained his integrity as a pious Jew. These revelations came to him in seasons of depression, and as answers to prayer. His soul was burdened with thoughts concerning the destiny of his people. As he peered into the future, he could see little else than national annihilation. If so, where was the fulfilment of the promises of God to Abraham, Moses and David? And hence, from time to time, according to the exigencies of his mental condition, the vision and the angelic interpretation were granted to him, more and more minute, more and more definite, until in the last one, when the whole is sealed up, he dies with the dawn of the latter-day glory bursting upon him. His prophecies, therefore, are a unit in import, dissimilar in form, and progressive in character. Indeed, if we eliminate those portions of the book of Daniel which are evidently mere history, and confine ourselves, as we wish to now, to the visions which are connected with the Fourth Kingdom, they may be classified as the vision of the Image (chapter ii), the vision of the Beasts (chapter vii), the vision of the Ram and the Goat (chapter viii), and the vision of the Kings (chapter xi), each portraying similar events, though progressively, the series advancing in particulars and fulness, until the last one reads like actual history.

Another caution, however, is requisite would we interpret these visions candidly and truthfully. We need not trouble ourselves with the history of opinions concerning these prophecies, in order to find the key to unlock their contents. The belief of the Jews, who did

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not recognize Christ when he came, and who saw in the destruction of Jerusalem, "the abomination of desolations spoken of by Daniel," by no means proves the theory that the Fourth Kingdom was the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the jeering scepticism of Porphyry, that these prophecies, so-called, are prophecies *post eventum*, or real history, and that the Fourth Kingdom is the successors of Alexander, as little compels the belief that his theory, aside from the methods by which he reached it, may not be the correct one. The theories of the Church Fathers may have found as much Papacy in Daniel as in the Apocalypse, but their neighborhood to the Founder of Christianity does not necessitate confidence in them as expounders of it. Because Grotius, and recently many German rationalists, find in the Fourth Kingdom little else than Antiochus Epiphanes, and cast him out as a type of Anti-Christ, it does not follow that in theory, at least, they may not be as near the truth, as the German, English and Scotch Christian critics, who find in the little horn, Antiochus Epiphanes, Anti-Christ, Rome, Mahomet, the great king of Rome yet to be, Napoleon, or the Napoleon to come, or the Papacy with its long line of Popes, with Pius IX as the last great Infallible of all. Critics and theories on this portion of Scripture have been, and are, as numerous as the frogs of Egypt, and nearly as offensive to the nostrils of the truth-searcher. Some of them may be right. If so, the majority of them must be wrong. We need not be harassed by them, nor be biassed by them. Our method of study here, as in the study of the first chapter of Genesis, is simply to expound the text as it stands, and adjust its meaning to the historical light we enjoy. And we must do this, not because Biblical truth is so elastic it may be fitted to any plausible theory, or because the reverent interpreter, like King Canute, has bidden the tidal wave cease, and finding his edict powerless, must retreat before the irresistible ocean of modern science, but because prophecy must harmonize with facts, and *definite* prophecies, like the one we are now considering, are not so much seeds from which to evolve infinite truths, as kingdoms with limited boundaries.

The Four Visions Compared.

Premising so much, as introductory, our first step towards a truthful interpretation of the Fourth Kingdom, is to examine the context, and compare the four visions as *wholes*. Here we find resemblance and dissimilarity. Resemblance in the Image and the Beasts as to the number of kingdoms. In both they are five. In the vision of the Ram and the Goat, they are only three. The Babylonian is

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omitted as already in decay, and near its overthrow; the Messianic is not referred to. In the vision of the Kings, after sketching some of the events in the Persian dynasty, omitting in the main the Babylonian and Medo-Persian dynasty, as needless now in the rush of events with reference to the Jews; the Grecian and the successor to the Grecian fill the prophet's horizon. And so we have a portrait of only two. Progress according to the exigencies of the case, but all in harmony with the reality of the original five.

There is likewise resemblance in the first four as to destiny. They are all to be crushed by the fifth.

There is also resemblance in the order in which they stand related to each other. Following the divine seer's interpretation, the Babylonian dynasty appears first; the Medo-Persian next; the Grecian next; the successors of the Grecian or the Roman, next; and the kingdom of God last. They are also representatively similar. Nebuchednezzar stands as the representative of the first; Cyrus of the second; Alexander of the third; Antiochus Epiphanes of the fourth; and God of the fifth. And what is worthy of note, the four earthly monarchs, if Antichus Epiphanes is one of them, made the conquest of Babylon the aim of their ambition; and when it was conquered made it the seat of their empire.

They are likewise related to each other chronologically. By the current chronology, the Babylonian empire fell B. C. 538; the Medo-Persian empire, under Cyrus, came into the ascendancy at that time, and continued in existence, with a fading glory, until it was conquered by Alexander, B. C. 330; the Grecian, or really the Macedonian, then assumed the supremacy over the same territory essentially, and the same peoples, and so remained until the death of Alexander, B. C. 323. The Greco-Egyptian was founded in the same year. The Greco-Syrian, after bloody contentions, eleven years afterward. The Roman empire, if that be the next in the order of symbols, had no special relations with the Jews, and bore no part in controlling the fortunes of the Jews, until they aided Herod to the throne, B. C. 37, or nearly three hundred years after the death of Alexander. Nor until about four hundred years subsequently, can it be said truthfully, that the Roman empire assumed the position of a universal empire, if in fact, it ever did.

Geographically they are alike; Rome excepted. They were Asiatic. They were oriental. Rome never was — not therefore a legitimate successor.

Finally, all but Rome, were powers which had a close, and often a terrible, connection with the Jews, the representative people of God.

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There was, however, dissimilarity as well as resemblance. This is apparent in the fulness of the portraitures. The Image is complete in all its parts. The symolisms of the Beasts is full with reference to the fourth beast, and the interpretation of the fourth beast is especially minute. The symbolism of the Ram and the Goat, by the interpretation given, drops the Babylonian dynasty, and is strikingly minute in limning the Alexandrian, and the succeeding one; while that of the Kings confines itself so exclusively to the fourth dynasty, that even the cursory reader cannot but query whether it is not designedly a full history of the Fourth Kingdom.

There is likewise dissimilarity in the intent of the different symbolisms. That of Nebuchednezzar is from his own stand-point, and is mainly external; a broad, universal dominion, a vast empire, the same idea characterizing the wholle image, part by part. The different metals, as gold, brass, iron, etc., do not denote deterioration of sway or principles, as is generally supposed, nor the relative value of each dominion, as indexes of the changes in civilization, by an increase of materialism, and therefore, an increase of hostility to God; were this so, the stone, as the most worthless, would indicate degeneracy, likewise; the difference is an external difference, with which the monarch's mind was teeming; and the stone was to him, as Christ to the Jews, a sprout from a dry soil; in appearance earthly, rigid, dead, though in reality, firm, compact, crushing. On the other hand what the inspired prophet saw was beasts: symbols of the internal nature of these kingdoms; personifications of earthliness, ungodliness, and the evolutions of a carnal mind; all with a common origin, from the sea from beneath, and when the sea was in its wildest throes; while the Judge, the Ancient of Days, who from his internal, immutable nature, decides from the unchanging principles of rectitude, condemns and overwhelms them all. This dissimilarity makes the *tout ensemble* of a perfect world-power, in dominion and purpose, pitted against the one majestic, eternal, spiritual-power, before which the world-power must bow.

The Fourth Kingdom Considered.

We are now prepared to confine our attention to the Fourth Kingdom, the Thermopylæ of exegetes. Though the description given of it in the sacred text is very full, both in symbolisms, and in the angel's interpretation, it is nameless; and hence the battle fought over and over again to give it a name. Without discussing at present the two leading theories which have divided the Christian world respecting it; let us first consider the passages in which it is described. In chap.

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ii. 33, we read: "Its legs of iron, its feet, part of them of iron and part of them of clay": strength and weakness, a mixed, composite, brittle, incohesive power, chiefly lacking in unification and contraligation. In chap. ii. 40-43, as an exposition of this part of Nebuchednezzar's image, we read:

And the Fourth Kingdom is strong as iron, because that iron breaketh small, and maketh feeble all things; even as iron which breaketh all these, it beateth small and breaketh. As to that which thou hast seen: the feet and the toes, part of them of potter's clay, and part of them iron, the kingdom is divided; but some of the firmness of iron is to be in it, because thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. As to the toes of the feet, part of them iron and part of them clay, some part of the kingdom is strong, and some part of it is brittle. Because thou sawest the iron mixed with clay, they mix themselves with the seed of men; and they adhere not one with another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

Here we find the same characteristics of weakness and strength, more fully unfolded. The intepreter enters into particulars. The kingdom is a divided one; which might have been inferred from the doubleness of the legs, as the two breasts and arms of silver limned the divided Medo-Persian empire. But here special attention is drawn to the toes; while in that case nothing was said respecting the fingers. There must be some reason for this difference. What it was aside from the emblem of division, we could not have told, had nothing more been revealed. *Another item* is given us by the interpreter. The mixing of the iron and the clay not only indicates weakness, but in verse 43, a reason is assigned: to wit, as Stuart says: "An intermixture of party chiefs of the fourth dynasty by marriage, in order to promote their respective designs, and also the failure of these arrangements to accomplish the end proposed." At least this is the apparent meaning from chap. xi. 6, 7, 17, where this fact is referred to. Passing now to the description of this fourth dynasty as given us in chap. vii, the account is as follows:

After this, I was seeing in the visions of the night, and lo! a fourth beast, terrible, and fearful, and exceedingly strong [unnamed it will be noticed,]; and it hath iron teeth, very great; it hath consumed, yea, it breaketh small, and the remnant with its feet it hath trampled; and it is diverse from all the beasts which are before it; and it hath ten horns. I was considering concerning the horns [as if they puzzled Daniel as much as the toes without an exposition would have puzzled us], and lo! another horn, a little one, came up between them; and three of the first horns were eradicated from before it; and lo! eyes as the eyes of man are in the horn, and a mouth speaking great things.

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Here we have the horns as explanatory of the toes, and a little horn so pompous and blasphemous as to claim special attention. The seer, we shall find, never afterwards diverts his eye from him. Whoever he is, he is the monster to be dreaded. He is sagacious, dexterous, watchful—"*eyes of man.*" He is the *dethroner* of three kings. The interpreter says:

> The fourth beast is the fourth kingdom on the earth, which is diverse from all kingdoms, and it consumeth the whole earth, and breaketh it down, and breaketh it small. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are *ten kings;* they rise, and another riseth after them, and it is diverse from the former, and three kings it humbleth. And words as an adversary of the Most High it speaketh, and the saints of the Most High it weareth out, and hopeth to change times and seasons and laws; and they, that is, the saints, are given into his hands during a time, and times, and a dividing of times, or about three years and a half.

Here we have the extent of the dominion, the whole earth, perhaps a term exaggerated for the land of Palestine, the glory of the earth, and the persecuting power of the little horn with reference to the people of God.

Opening now the eighth chapter for the same purpose, out of the he-goat, or Alexander, or rather the great horn of the he-goat, comes up "a vision of four in its place, at the four winds of heaven. And from one of them cometh out the little horn," with its conquests and persecutions. Here we have a new element to consider in the interpretation; the Alexandrian empire is broken into four parts, and out of one of them arises the little horn. So, likewise, in the exposition given, it is specifically stated that the great horn being broken, "four stand up in its place; four kingdoms stand up, but not in its power." There is *decay.* "And in the latter end of their kingdom, when transgressors shall have come to the full, there shall stand up a king of stern aspect, and skilled in fraudulent devices." To harmonize the several statements, therefore, we must consider the ten kings in connection with the four fragments of the Alexandrian dynasty. Our attention must therefore be mainly fixed upon the Fourth Kingdom, as a whole, its division into four parts, the ten kings connected with these four parts, and the little horn who plays so conspicuous a part in the great tragedy.

Theories.

There are two. The first in the order of time, and general acceptance, is the Roman theory. "According to the traditional view,"

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says Westcott, "which appears as early as the Fourth Book of Ezra (2 Esdras) and the epistle of Barnabas (chap. iv), the four empires are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek and the Roman." "It originated in a time when the triumphal advent of Messiah was the object of immediate expectation, and the Roman empire appeared to be the last in the series of earthly kingdoms." Since that time the Roman empire has filled so large a space in the world's horizon, it has been so closely allied with the fortunes of the Christian church, from the time of the crucifixion, Rome, national or Papal, was for so many centuries a sort of centre to the visible church, all eyes have been naturally fixed upon her as "the legs and toes" of Nebuchadnezzar and the nameless beasts of Daniel. She has certainly been one of the great powers of the earth. If she did not come up out of the sea, she was locally a Mediterranean power. When she became an empire, so far as nationalities are concerned, they were mixed in character, and she kept them under a strong yoke. And if we may consider her, in this theory, at a period so late as the invasion of the Goths, she certainly became so mixed, that it would be difficult to decide who was victor and who were the conquered. There were "the iron and the clay." There was also in her history a history of doubleness. She was divided into the west and the east; the western empire continuing until A. D. 476, and the eastern until A. D. 1453. Did she not spread herself to the four winds of the heavens? Did she not have possessions in Europe, Asia and Africa? East, north and south? We cannot say west, for her limit was the Euphrates. And as to the ten kings, coming forth from this kingdom, we can find them in the western part of her dominion, or in the eastern by a little help from the Turk. Certainly we find them by combining the two. But where to begin and where to end may be a puzzle. Rome, also, like the other kingdoms, had her struggles with the Jews; though she was never noted for intolerance. If now we may assume that Alexander and his successors constituted Daniel's third kingdom, may we not make Caius Julius Cæsar, master of the Roman world, as virtually conqueror of the east and the west, and the subduer of the Grecian territory and peoples, and reckon all data from him? Or may we not start with the empire under Augustus, and let Augustus hold the same representative relation to Alexander, as Alexander to Cyrus, and Cyrus to Nebuchadnezzar? Now divide the Roman world into ten kings and kingdoms, and let another king arise who shall destroy three of the former kings, and persecute the saints for three years and a half, just prior to the second coming of the Son of Man, and then let the saints take the earth in

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the good time coming, and all is consistent. Or if neither of these views can be easily sustained, then we must resort to the Papacy, the incarnation of the beastly spirit of Rome, with Popes enough to make out the number ten, and with the Pope to come as furious and destructive as the little horn.

But there are grave difficulties connected with this Roman theory in whatever way it may be stated. Even Tregelles (Daniel) who adopts it, says: "If anyone chooses openly and fairly to appeal to history, he will find discrepancies at every point; for instance the tenfold division of the Roman empire, of which mention is here made, has never yet taken place, and, therefore, of course, the horn which was to arise after the others has not yet come into existence.' And as to the Papal theory, he says: "Whatever lists have been made out of ten kingdoms, they have all varied widely, both as to the kingdoms themselves, and also as to which were the three which the Papacy overcame. It has also been entirely forgotten that the Papacy existed before the breaking up of even the western empire, instead of being a horn springing up after the other ten." Havernick, likewise, though adopting the theory, speaking of the four kingdoms, and the horns, confesses that "as yet Roman history gives us no diagnostics by which we can ascertain the ten horns." "We must wait," he says, "with a believing confidence that we shall yet see a time when faith will be turned into vision, and thus will take the veil from our eyes, and make plain the secrets of the Lord." Hengstenberg does the same. He gives up the attempt, and resolves the whole into a prediction of the future, with ten Roman kings or kingdoms, and an anti-Christ issuing from them.

No matter, however, whether learned and reverent students of Scripture confess the impossibility of reconciling the text with the Roman theory or not, every careful student cannot but feel the difficulties. They are threefold—exegetical, territorial, and historical. Had we nothing but the symbolism of the image to interpret from, we should feel the exegetical difficulty. In itself it is a complete whole. Its thought is the course of empire; the success of great monarchies; four earthly, the fifth set up by the God of heaven. The first three are successive; the fourth is, therefore, naturally a successor of the third, and the fifth of the fourth. Besides being successive, each is represented as superseding the other, both as to territory and as to sway, until we come to the fifth, which destroys the whole, has no successor, becomes permanent in position, and universal in dominion. The natural inference, therefore, is that the four must pass away when the fifth appears. The little stone smites the image as a whole

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when it smites the feet, and the collossal structure as a whole becomes as the chaff of the summer's threshing-floor at its stroke. Wherever we place the establishment of Christianity, even if we wait for it until the ascension of Christ, the visible inauguration of the fifth kingdom follows the demolition of the previous four, and precludes the introduction of the Roman empire as the legs and feet of the image. Again: in verse 44, of chap. ii, the kingdom of God is said to be set up "in the days of these kings." Taking either view, namely, that the kings here referred to are the four representative kings of the entire image, or that they refer to the ten kings of the fourth beast, as explanatory of the ten toes, the setting up the kingdom could not be during any such control of the Roman empire as appears prior to the introduction of Christianity, and does not fit very well a theory which postpones these kings to the ante-second-advent of the *Son of Man.* It was not very important that Nebuchadnezzar should be informed of a Second Advent, before he had learned that there was a First Advent. Passing to the symbolism of the beasts, we find the same order of succession, and the destruction of the fourth beast and all his horns, followed by the fifth kingdom. This fact is here still more strongly emphasized by the judgment with its august array, which is set for the condemnation of the fourth beast and his horns, especially the *little* one. Following a vivid picture of the judge and his attendants, the sacred Seer sees that the beast is "slain, and his body is destroyed, and given to the burning fire." "The Judge is seated, and its dominion they cause to pass away, to cut off and to destroy to the end." "Then all dominion is given to the saints of the Most High." This surely is not the judgment spoken of by our Lord in Matthew xxv. There we have a judgment for the righteous and the wicked. Here for none but the wicked. The imagery is similar, but the purpose is dissimilar. Similar or dissimilar, however, Rome cannot well come in as the nationality for which the throne is set and the books opened prior to the first coming of Messiah.

Territorially, likewise, there is much difficulty with the Roman theory. We need not push this fact too strongly; yet the dominion of the three monarchies was mainly east of the Euphrates, while that of *Rome* never had any permanent hold except west of the Euphrates. The Emperor Augustus in his will, which after his death was publicly read in the Senate, "bequeathed to his successors the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries; on the west, the Atlantic ocean; on the north, the Rhine and the Danube; on the

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east, the *Euphrates;* and towards the south, the sandy deserts of Arabia and Africa." (Gibbon, chap. I.) This advice was followed by the more prudent emperors. There were wars between the Romans and the Parthians and Persians for the acquisition of territory beyond the Euphrates, but as a whole they were unsuccessful to the Romans. Trajan once achieved a splendid victory over the Parthians, but what he gained was soon lost by himself and his successor. If analogy is of much worth in this case, it goes against the Roman theory; for by analogy all the kingdoms should cover the same ground if three do; but Rome is not to be found there. By historically, we mean the political relations of these kingdoms to the Jews. Here, as has been already shown, the Roman theory fails. Prior to the advent of Messiah, the Roman power was feeble with reference to God's chosen people, and no great persecuting agency, like the horn making war with the saints and triumphing over them, wearing them out, and changing times and seasons and laws, magnifying himself in his heart, casting truth to the ground, taking away the daily sacrifice of the Jews, standing up against the Prince of princes, sat upon its throne. Subsequently to the Christian era we might name a Nero or a Caligula, but prior to that event no one. Inasmuch as the other kingdoms, however, so evidently shaped the history of the Jews, we expect the same result from the fourth; especially as the fullest of the revelations concerning these kingdoms pertains to the fourth, and that too with reference to its annoyance of the people of God.

Exegetically, territorially and historically, therefore, the Roman theory fails to meet the exigencies of the case.

The second theory may be called the Greeco-succession theory. It affirms that the third dynasty, symbolized by the Image and the Beast, was the Greek, or, more accurately, the *Macedonian empire* under Alexander; that at his death, when he, "the great horn," was broken and cleft into four parts, "divided according to the four winds," or in every direction, the prophecy was verified about twenty-two years after his death, when after many previous contentions among his generals four of them confederated together, and divided the whole empire among themselves, as follows: Ptolemy received Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlo-Syria and Palestine; Cassander, Macedonia and Greece; Lysimmachus, Thrace, Bithynia and other provinces; and Seleucus the east, from the Euphrates to the Indies: that these kingdoms were partly weak and partly strong, corresponding to the iron and the clay, that the doubleness as signified by the two legs appears in the notable combination of these four divisions of

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the old territory into two grand divisions, ruled over by Seleucus and the successor of Ptolemy, known in history as the era of the Seleucidæ and the era of the Lagidæ; or perhaps more generally known as the Greeco-Syrian and the Greeco-Egytian dynasties, that the Jews with varying fortunes were wedged in between these two powers, suffering from them, more or less, as they had suffered from the other previous kingdoms, that from one or both of them sprang ten kings, corresponding to the ten horns and ten toes, whose names are given, that three of the last of them were eradicated, or humbled by the Syrian, Antiochus Epiphanes, or as his subjects are said to have called him —Antiochus Epimanes, or the Mad-man, and that *he* is the *little horn.* In brief, that all the symbolisms of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel were substantially actualized prior to the coming of the Son of man a century at least.

Such is the theory. Let us examine it by the criterion we used in looking at the Roman theory—exegetically, territorially and historically. Our chief inquiry, exegetically, is to ascertain whether the theory is a fair exposition of the statements of Scripture. In the first place is there Scriptural evidence that the third dynasty was the Macedonian or Greek under Alexander, or must we group with Alexander, his successors? The language seems to point to a representative man in this case, as much as in the others. As Nebuchadnezzar corresponds to the gold, and Cyrus to the silver, so some one is expressed by the brass. The kingdom is called the third kingdom, which ruleth over all the earth; certainly corresponding to the ambition of Alexander, if not to the literal fact; certainly not true of his successors. In the imagery of the beasts the one selected for the third kingdom is the leopard or panther, with four wings of a bird on its back, indicating intense velocity of movement, as the two wings on the lion indicate the great velocity of movement on the part of Nebuchadnezzar. No reign of any monarch takes into itself such vast achievements in so brief a time as that of Alexander. The beast has also four heads, vast brain power, an ecumenical brain, eager to conquer the world, and having conquered it, weeping that there were no more worlds to subdue. He believed himself sent "on a divine mission to unite and reconcile the world." He was more Oriental than Greek, and is not to be judged by the Greek standard. He desired a universal monarchy not for Greece, but to unify the east and west, weakening nationalities by subjecting all to one sceptre. Hence the pertinency of the symbolism of the he-goat in the third of the serial prophecies, coming from the west, on the face of the whole earth, moving so swiftly as seemingly not to touch the ground, smash-

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ing everything before him in the fury of his power, "doing according to his will," and "none could deliver out of his hand." This seems very like Alexander. And when we read from the angel interpreter "that his kingdom shall not be given to his posterity, and that the fourth shall not be like the other," "but shall be plucked up and given to others," and that "the he-goat is the king of Greece"; and "the great horn between his eyes is the *first* king," "a vigorous conquering king," says Cowles, "moving on to make a kingdom"; it is so distinguished from the fourth kingdom purposely, and is so defined personally, it seems as unquestionable that the empire of brass is the Alexandrian dynasty, as that the empire of silver is the dynasty of Cyrus. Now can we make of his successors the fourth kingdom? It is to be strong, terrible, and mighty, and very powerful, with large teeth of iron, devouring and crushing and trampling the remnant under foot, differing from all that were before it; divided, incapable of cleaving together, divided to the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, with ten horns, three of whom a little horn shall humble, and becoming the one prominent king, shall make such carnage with the people of God, and do such blasphemous deeds in their most holy place, God's judgment shall sit upon him, condemn him, and destroy him. This is in brief the Scriptural description. How far do the facts of history as known correspond to it? 1. It is a fact that no legitimate descendant of Alexander ever ascended his throne. He died in the midst of his gigantic plans. He was the helper of men as his name signifies; but he helped not himself as to the succession. The city which bears his name has perpetuated the kind offices he performed for the Jews, and also for Christianity; but that is about all which is left of his fame. His dying words, "Let the worthiest have the throne," were verified as he little meant it. Eight days after his death his generals in their dispute about the succession, determined to exclude Hercules, a son of Alexander, by his wife Bersina, and to place on the throne Aridæus, Alexander's brother, an illegitimate son of Philip. They could easily consent to such a choice; for the man was an imbecile. They also agreed that if the Queen Roxanna, who was then enciente, should bear a son, he should share the throne with Aridæus. In a few weeks she bore a son, and he was recognized according to agreement. But these two kings were placed under Perdiccas as guardian and regent; and the whole empire came under Satraps. Not long afterwards Aridæus and the infant king and his mother were assassinated. And so passed away the mighty empire of Alexander.

2. It is a fact that this empire not many years subsequently was di-

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vided into four main divisions. After some twenty years of feuds and wars among Alexander's generals, each one striving to outwit and conquer the other, the territory over which he once ruled, became four empires, strong so far as power to enact war was concerned, but weak from the lack of centralization, and from mutual antagonisms. After the death of Cassander and his sons, who ruled over Macedonia and Greece, Lysimmachus, the ruler of Thrace, and Bithynia and some of the provinces of the Hellespont, secured possession of Cassander's territory, and at length Seleucus, termed the powerful or conqueror, waged war with Lysimmachus, vanquished and slew him, and added all his vast possessions to his own; so that what had constituted the great body of Alexander's kingdom was now divided between Seleucus and the successor of Ptolemy, to whom had been consigned the southern portion of the old empire. "From Phrygia to the River Indus," says Appian, "all obeyed Seleucus." "This kingdom," says Rollin, Book 16, "not only included Syria, but those vast fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire." Its era dates from 312 B. C., eleven years after the death of Alexander. That these two, or at any rate the Seleucidæ, were considered by the Jews of the Maccabean age, as the empire succeeding the Alexandrian, is evident from 1 Macc. i. 7–10.

So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died. And his servants bear rule, everyone in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves; so did their sons after them many years; and evils multiplied in the earth. And there came out of them a wicked root, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been hostage at Rome; and he reigned in the hundred and thirty-seventh year of the *kingdom* of *the Greeks*.

3. It is a fact that in the Græco-Syrian dominion ten kings, or kings and pretenders to the throne, can be found prior to the re-ascension of Antiochus Epiphanes, termed by this theory the Little Horn. As already intimated, this number can easily be found by using the two divisions of the empire, and following substantially the lists given in chapter 11. But that can be done only by omissions and by considering "ten as the round number of totality in earthly kings." (Fairbairn.) This may be so. Yet it is more natural to reckon the succession in a given line; and as the Seleucidæ had much more to do with the destiny of God's people than the Lagidæ, and as Antiochus Epiphanes was neither Greek nor Egyptian, but Syrian, it is the more candid explanation of the text to consider those who directly preceded him, than to search for facts as if from compulsory sources. Following the chronology of this period of the

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Syrian empire as given by Clinton (Fasti Hellenici), we have "Seleucus Nicator reigning thirty-two years; Antiochus Soter nineteen pears; Antiochus Theos fifteen years; Seleucus Callinicus twenty years; Seleucus Ceraunus three years; Antiochus Magnus thirty-six years; Seleucus Philópator twelve years, bringing us to B. C. 175, the date of the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes." But here we have but seven kings; Antiochus Epiphanes being the eighth. How is the gap to be filled? The advocates of this theory fill it by the names of Heliodorus, Ptolemy IV, Philométer, king of Egypt, and Demetrius I, son of Seleucus Philópator. They say that the phrase "rooted out," as explained by the interpreter, means simply "humbled," not implying that they were actual monarchs, but mere pretenders, whose ambitious schemes were circumvented by the craft of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he ascended the throne in spite of them, and so humbled them. Strictly the word translated "rooted out," means likewise to become or render barren, as though their designs were rendered fruitless. The word occurs but once; but this is one of the meanings of its Hebrew cognate. But what are the facts? Appian says of Heliodorus, "that he murdered Seleucus, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Syrian crown;" and according to Stuart, "Eumenes and Attalus, kings of Pergamos, in conjunction with Antiochus Epiphanes deposed Heliodorus." Ptolemy Philométer, king of Egypt, aspired to the throne of the deceased Seleucus Philópator, as his nephew, a claim which Antiochus Epiphanes seized upon as a pretext for invading Egypt, where he defeated the generals of Ptolemy near Pelusium about B. C. 171. Of Demetrius the record says, that he was the son of Seleucus Philópator, and therefore the rightful heir to the throne of his father; that while a mere boy he was sent by his father to Rome as a hostage in exchange for his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes; that by his position he was unable to offer any resistance to the usurpation of the throne by his uncle; that at the death of Antiochus Epiphanes he claimed his rights from the Roman Senate and was refused; but by the aid of his friend Polybius, he escaped from Italy, landed at Tripolis in Phenicia, was accepted by the Syrians, and was recognized as emperor. These three—the usurper Heliodorus, the aspirant Ptolemy, and the legitimate heir, Demetrius—all stood in the way of the ambition of Antiochus Epiphanes. The two former he dethroned; the latter he prevented from occupying his rightful throne. As Stuart say, "He was humbled as to his pretensions, and fallen as to his purpose." So far as the ascendancy of Antiochus Epiphanes was concerned they were all plucked up before him, and subdued by his artifices. In him was

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certainly verified the prophecy concerning Seleucus Philópator. "And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honor of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." (Daniel xi. 21.)

To this explanation Pusey, with his accustomed learning, objects (*a*) That Heliodorus while forcing his way to the throne, not as actually reigning, was cast out by Antiochus and his confederates. But does not forcing his way to the throne imply regal assumption? And was he not actual king until another occupied his place? The king never dies. (*b*) That Antiochus did not overthrow Ptolemy as king. True; but did he not prevent him from having his wish in regard to the Syrian throne? (*c*) That Demetrius was not dethroned by Antiochus, since he lived to succeed him. Just so. But did he not precede him? Did he not seize upon and occupy his place?

4. It is a fact that the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, so far as is known, corresponds very fully with the prophecies concerning the little horn. The sacred record, records concerning this nameless little horn, such facts as these, viz.: (*a*) That he secured the throne by flatteries; (*b*) that he was a vile, despicable person; (*c*) that he had no respect to the God of his fathers; (*d*) as pushing his conquests to the south (Egypt), east (on and beyond the Euphrates), and in the goodly land (Palestine); (*e*) as wearing out the saints or the true people of God by magnifying himself against the "Prince of the hosts," either God, as leader of his official servants, the priesthood, or the high-priest as the representative of God; (*f*) as taking away the daily sacrifice, and changing times and seasons and laws; (*g*) as standing up against the Prince of princes, and destroying many; (*h*) as executing his vile purposes upon the Jews for a definite, limited period, two thousand three hundred morning and evening offerings; (*i*) as coming to an untimely end; "without hand of man shall he be shivered in pieces."

Besides several fragmentary accounts of the noted Antiochus Epiphanes, we have trustworthy authorities in the works of Josephus, in the first book of Maccabees, by Polybius, and by Livy. If the second book of Maccabees could be as confidently relied upon, we should have a picture of this man, especially with reference to his last days as dark, disgusting, and terrible, as can be found in any portrait of Rome's most diabolical monarchs.

A group of literary men in London were once conversing about the historical man, whom, of all others, they should be specially delighted to see, when Charles Lamb, the gentle and genial, astonished the company by saying, that of all men who had ever lived, he should

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like to see Judas Iscariot. His friends paused in wonder. Nothing was replied. Everyone was left to his own conjectures. Perhaps he desired to see what he deemed the worst man that ever lived. Perhaps he wished to put to him certain questions to solve his doubts concerning the great act in the world's tragedy. Perhaps—but we will not add more. Certainly a study of the character and acts of Antiochus Epiphanes gives such a mixed chaotic result of recklessness, intolerance, fiendishness, and good-natured folly, blended with military prowess and diplomatic skill, one almost wishes the power of an enchanter to call him up and question him, to be assured whether he was a myth or the actual monster he is described to have been.

Following two of the authorities we have referred to, Josephus as the Jewish expositor of the Maccabees, and Livy, Books 41, 42, 44, 45, as the expounder of Roman and Greek history, at the period under consideration, we can easily verify the statements of Scripture concerning him. We shall quote *ad libitum* without references to the text of our authors as a relief to our readers, though we hold ourselves responsible for accuracy.

Of the conquests of Antiochus Epiphanes in Egypt, beyond the Euphrates, and in Palestine, we need not speak. They are acknowledged by all. That he came to his throne by flatteries, Livy says:

> That by the aid of a Roman party, with whom he had ingratiated himself, . . he secured the crown and subdued the nations, . . and rendered himself so gracious by his arrival, that he was named the Illustrious Epiphanes, because when strangers had usurped the sovereignty, he asserted his right to the throne of his ancestors, and shone forth like a benign star to the good, and to the consolation of his subjects; . . . but that soon after he fell into a new course of life, so unusual to monarchs, . . . and lived like a chief man in a petty republic, . . . so that his ludicrous conduct was shameful, and unworthy of a monarch. He introduced, so far as possible, the licentiousness of Roman life. He was extravagant to mad profusion, to enact the vilest scenes. He squandered the vast resources of his kingdom in obscenities, and having exhausted his own resources, he warred upon the East and upon Egypt to supply them, . . . and did not abstain from the temples and treasures sacred to gods. . . Amongst others, having by treachery gotten possession of Jerusalem, after a cruel massacre of the inhabitants, he stripped a temple which even Alexander the Great did not violate, of all the silver, gold, and rich furniture, which for many ages, and by superstitious profusion had been amassed there by a people who are most tenacious of their religious ceremonies, and who, without regard to show, and solely with a view to honor the KNOWN God, spared no cost or expense to enrich and adorn the place of his immediate presence.

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Here we have Livy, a profane author, writing out prophesy, unwittingly, almost as vividly as if he had been a companion of the divine seer himself. It is a bold outline of the principle facts; but the religious element is wanting, as we might expect.

Let us hear what Josephus says. We quote only the relevant portions:

King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city of Jeruralem, and when he was there, in the 143d year of the king of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his party opening the gates. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch. . . . Now it came to pass after two years, in the 155th year, on the 25th day of that month which is called by us Chasleu, and by the Macedonians, Apelleus, in the 153d Olympiad, that the king came to Jerusalem, and pretending peace he got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those who admitted him into it. . . But led by his covetous inclination, . . in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. . . He took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar (of incense), and table (of shew-bread), and the altar (of burnt-offering), and did not even abstain from the veils which were made of linen and scarlet. He laid the temple bare, forbade the people to offer the daily sacrifices, and when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, amounting to about ten thousand. . . He built an idol upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it; . . . he erected the altar to Jupiter Olympius; he compelled the people to forsake their own worship, and build temples and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer service upon them every day. He commanded them not to circumcise their sons. And as to those who would not submit to his decrees, they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn in pieces, and were crucified while they were yet alive. Women were strangled; and their sons whom they had circumcised, were hung upon their necks as if they were crosses.[1]

Surely, so far as the Jews were concerned, he destroyed wonderfully, and prospered and practised, and not only thought to do it, but did change times and laws, and made Jerusalem an abomination of desolation. Others had plundered the temple, but not as he. Others had profaned the temple utensils; but none as he committed sacrilege in its most holy place. Even Tacitus[1] assents to all this, when in his hostility to the Jews, he writes:

Antiochus, the king, having attempted to give the Jews the religion

[1] Antiq. 12: 5; 3, 4.
[2] Hist. 5: 8.

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and customs of the Greeks, whereby he would change the whole nation for the better, was prevented by the war of the Parthians.

Two points in his career remain to be noticed. One of them is in regard to the time permitted to this violent treatment of the Jews, and his blasphemous conduct concerning the house of God. Two statements are given in the prophecies. One that divine providence will consign this work into his hands, "until a time and times and the dividing of times." The other is, the answer to the query, how long? "And he answered unto 2,300 days; then shall the sanctuary be cleaned."

The language of the first statement, in the Chaldee and in the Hebrew is *indefinite* and *general:* עַד and סוּעַד—(iv. 18) (xii. 7) (ix. 27): so that if in the case of Nebuchednezzar, and in this case, we should consider the period as complete, but undefined, we should violate no known laws of either language. But critics generally claim that a "time and times and a dividing of times" signify just three years and a half. We very gravely doubt whether the "dividing of times" should be so sharply reckoned. If we say three years and more, whether the more be less than half a year, or more than half a year, it seems to us it is all that can be justly demanded from the term, "dividing." Josephus says in one place,[1] that Antiochus held Jerusalem by force "three years and three months"; in another place,[2] "that he caused the customary sacrifices to cease for three years and six months"; and in another place,[3] he gives the time as three years. From the statements in the Maccabees,[4] which is evidently his authority, we have a *terminus ad quem* from which to reckon back; viz., from the cleansing and readjusting of the sanctuary by Judas Maccabeus, on November 25th, B. C. 164. The *terminus a quo* is given in 1 Maccabees i. 54, as November 15th, B. C. 167, an interval of three years and ten days; and in 1 Maccabees i. 59, the writer distinguishing between the erection of the idol-altar and the actual sacrifice upon the altar, there is a difference of fifteen days, so that we have now three years and twenty-five days. And if we may interpret the "abomination of desolation" as our Lord does, making the attack upon Jerusalem by Antiochus correspond to the Roman army as surrounding Jerusalem, the attack, with its villainous purpose, in both cases being the *terminus a quo*, months may have elapsed, with all kinds of excesses and violations of Jewish laws, actually desecrating

[1] Preface to War. § 7.
[2] War, 1-1-1.
[3] Antiq. 12 7 6.
[4] 1 Maccabees iv. 52.

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the temple service, before the swinish offerings polluted the most sacred rite of the Jews. We doubt if in this case the exact day is intended. If so, the exact data are not at our command.

As to the 2,300 morning and evening offerings, not said to be as in the Authorized Version, "days"; be they days, Stuart, in his commentary on Daniel, has said about all that can be said, reckoning the term as 2,300 days; and Professor Chase has wrought out the chronology with great care in the "Christian Review," Volume 7, as being half days, or 1,150 days. The difference between the two consists chiefly in the point from which the reckoning begins. If from the first attack by Antiochus, the whole time approximates to 2,300 days. If from the swinish idolatry, about 1,150 days. The difficulty lies in our ignorance of historical facts pertaining to a period of human history for which we have no Bancroft or Motley, nor even a Froude. Approximation is all that it is to be expected, and with that we must be content. One prime fact, however, is to be noted with reference to the theory now considered, which has no place in the *Roman theory:* and that is, that unquestionably, by Antiochus Epiphanes, the daily sacrifice of the temple was temporarily destroyed, and by Judas Maccabeus restored. By the conquest of the Romans, the daily sacrifice ceased, but it has never been restored, and never will be restored, unless in the ages coming the Jews are restored to Jerusalem, and institute again their long neglected ceremonial. Though this is a favorite belief, he who believes it must cherish a crude conception of the triumphs and achievements of that kingdom which is not of this world.

The other point relative to the little horn in this theory, is its fate. A thousand miles from Jerusalem, Antiochus came to his *end.* He died in Persia, in the mountains of Paratacene. The Medes and Persians refer his death to remorse for the sacrilege of the temple of Elymais. The Jews to his remorse for his sacrilege of the temple of Jerusalem. Profane writers ascribe his death to madness. In the second book of Maccabees we have a description of his death too horrible and too disgusting to delineate. He died; but without the hand of man, or human agency, was he *broken in pieces.* No wonder that the land had rest when the monster departed. No wonder that when the sanctuary at Jerusalem was cleansed, and the sacred rites were restored, though deprived of their pristine grandeur, the day became the new birthday of the Jewish nation. No wonder that the people opened a new almanac, and began, as some suppose, to date their national existence from B. C. 164. No wonder that when the vision closed, Daniel heard the words, "Blessed is he that waiteth

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and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." All Judea might have sung with Isaiah over the fallen King of Babylon:

> How hath the oppressor ceased!
> The whole earth is at rest, is quiet;
> They break forth into singing.

Had Antiochus not fallen, so far as we can see, he would have exterminated Judaism from the earth, and cut off forever the hope of unnumbered millions, who in the Messiah are to be "saved to sin no more." But Daniel was assured that the promise made to the fathers would not fail. May our faith be as strong as his.

Comparing the two views we have examined, it is quite evident that the second is less troublesome than the first. We are inclined to *adopt* it and *endorse* it. That it is not *perfectly conclusive*, that is, *totally* exempt from difficulties, we are free to confess. But when we consider a few vital facts — that Daniel is not, apparently, penning universal history, that he keeps continually in his eye the chosen people of God, *their destiny* with reference to the coming of the Son of man, and that all that is recorded in that particular, except what is merely germinal to the ultimate fruitage of Messiah's kingdom, can be adjusted to Jewish history prior to the ascension of Christ, but has no just place in the Roman theory, we are ready to close our work where we began it, by saying that the book of Daniel is the Apocalypse of Judaism, as the Revelation is the Apocalypse of Christianity.

O. S. Stearns.

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AS TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

As to Roger Williams, and his "Banishment" from the Massachusetts Plantation; with a few further words concerning the Baptists, the Quakers, and Religious Liberty. A Monograph, by HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D. D., etc.

THE above is the title of a small quarto of one hundred and forty-one pages, abundantly furnished with references to authorities for statements made in the text. The work is a labored attempt to vindicate the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay in their proscriptive legislation, including the banishment of Roger Williams, the imprisonment of John Clarke and his friends, the whipping of Obadiah Holmes, and even the hanging of Quakers, whose religious beliefs differed from the tenets held by the Massachusetts authorities. A bold undertaking, indeed, in the latter part of this nineteenth century. This earnest defender of Puritan legislation follows, however, very closely, hints previously given by Dr. Palfrey in his history of New England, many of whose suggestions were afterwards elaborated by different members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dr. Dexter insists strongly, and certainly none too strongly, that, in order correctly to understand the Puritan fathers, and to give a just representation of their acts, we must carry ourselves back in thought to their times, and imagine ourselves to be living when they lived, and look upon things as they saw them. He assures us that the task is a difficult one; and yet he succeeded so admirably in his efforts to "put himself in their place," that we are tempted, while reading his pages, to think that he actually imbibed something of their spirit, and became, for the time being, while writing this book,

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himself a Puritan of the seventeenth century. In judging of their acts, however, as compared with those of other men with whom they had to do, we should not be wholly oblivious to the light which subsequent ages have thrown on those acts and the principles that underlay them. Nor should we enter upon the study of the controversies which arose between the Puritans and their religious opponents, either as Congregationalists or as Baptists, but simply as earnest students. We should not approach the subject in a partizan spirit, determined to make a point; but with a judicial mind to ascertain the truth. We are constrained to add that Dr. Dexter seems to have managed his mass of material after the fashion of an advocate, rather than of a judge. We do not feel called upon, however Dr. Dexter may feel in regard to the Puritans, to defend Roger Williams, right or wrong, in all the opinions he advanced, some of which were foolish enough, though to our thinking entirely harmless; which, however, were at that time supposed to be important, and in the advocacy of which he was by no means alone.

As the title indicates, the principal part of the book—one hundred and four of its pages—is devoted to the treatment Roger Williams received in the Colony and his final exclusion therefrom; and the remaining thirty-seven pages are given to other dissentients, Baptists and Quakers.

The author presents a full outline of the life of Roger Williams, and gives to its facts a setting of his own. He endeavors to make it clear that Williams was in no sense persecuted, but was himself the oppressor, the persecutor. But we have not space to notice the book in detail, and to take up *seriatim* the several points it presents. We must confine ourselves to a few particulars. If we understand him, Dr. Dexter attempts to prove, although he does not formally state them, these two propositions respecting Roger Williams: First, that he was not banished for the advocacy of the doctrine of "soul liberty;" that he did not fully apprehend it; indeed, that he was not so liberal in thought and act as were the men who drove him from Massachusetts; and, secondly, that he was not banished at all "in the ordinary sense of the word." And extremely careful is the author to avoid using the word "banishment" when referring to this event, making his language consistent with his theory. Some of the earliest writers on Massachusetts history were, however, not so guarded, but boldly and constantly employed the term to designate what was done to Roger Williams by the Massachusetts magistrates when they sent him beyond their borders. But we will not dispute with Dr. Dexter about a name; whether called banishment, expulsion, or exclusion,

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the fact remains on the pages of history that Roger Williams and others were sent beyond the limits of the Colony by act of government for venturing to express dissent from the established faith, and the fact is not softened by giving to it a softer name.

Dr. Dexter makes a strong appeal to the nature of the Puritan "Company," and to the purposes it contemplated. In his view the earliest settlers did not in any proper sense form a state, or a colony, or a civil government; only "a private trading company." As such private company they had as absolute a right to their grounds as a householder to his dwelling; and had the right to determine who might come and who might not, who might be and who might not be members of the corporation. When Roger Williams, therefore, came to Massachusetts, he stood upon private grounds; and if he remained, it was by an act of grace on the part of the Company; and if he were sent away, it was because he was not wanted; nor could he complain of the infringement of any right, for the obvious reason that he had no rights there. By questioning the wisdom of the established laws, he acted as unhandsomely as would a guest who should find fault with the household regulations of a friend whose hospitality he was receiving. He was the persecutor, not the persecuted. "Let me repeat," says our author, that this Company "was in its beginning, in point of fact, neither more nor less than a private corporation chartered by the government for purposes of fishing, real estate improvement and general commerce. It was not a state. It was not even, in the beginning, in the ordinary sense, a colony. It was a plantation," with, however, "a strong religious idea behind it, on its way to be a colony and a state." This claim furnishes one of the pivotal points of the book, and the ground on which is vindicated the banishment of Roger Williams, and all the severities visited on Baptists and Quakers. It must be confessed that this claim takes much of the poetry out of the Puritan enterprise. Can the claim be substantiated?

Into the chartered rights of the Company we cannot, of course, enter; but must remark that, while the grant obtained from the "Council for New England" was of a private nature, this, which was designed to be only preparatory, only "a transition step," was superseded in 1629, the year before the arrival of Winthrop and the settlement at Boston, by the charter of Charles I; and, to adapt Dr. Dexter's figure, the private dwelling became changed into an inn, the private company into a colony—a state.

In his Lecture on "The First Charter, and the early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts," Mr. Justice Parker, referring to the

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inquiry how far any such legislation was lawful under the original charter—the royal character—says:

Upon this question the opinions have been much at variance, according as the charter has been regarded as instituting a corporation for trading purposes, or as the constitution and foundation of a government. That the grantees who settled here regarded it as the latter, and acted upon that construction, is apparent from their action at the outset, and throughout.

But whatever may have been the provisions of the charter and the intent of the grantors, that the original settlers purposed to lay the foundations of a colony and to form a civil government, scarcely admits of doubt. Nor does it admit of doubt that this government was modelled upon the Jewish theocracy, and that the freedom of the commonwealth was limited to members of the Established Church. Appeal is made to their chartered rights in defence of their fundamental principle, the union of church and state, the right of the magistrates to regulate religion, and of their treatment of dissentients from the established faith.

They founded a civil state, upon a basis which should support the worship of God according to their conscientious convictions of duty; and an ecclesiastical state, combined with it, which should sustain and be in harmony with the civil government; excluding what was antagonistic to the welfare of either.

This principle established in the state, and proscriptive legislation necessarily follows; this principle vindicated, and the legislation is, of course, justified. Admit that the state has the right to define religion for the people, and to hold them rigidly to the definition, and there is nothing more to be said; pains and penalties must follow dissent. And this right has found its advocates. While it was not right for the Episcopalians of England to persecute, nor for the Presbyterians, nor for the Independents, nor for any other body of Christians, and has never been right since, either in England or America; just at that juncture, just then and there, when the Puritans began to build at Boston, it was right to persecute those, who, following the light they had received, should differ from the faith of the majority.[1] It is nevertheless conceded that even this right ceased if the colonists sought to promote immigration by holding out inducements for men to settle here, and at the same time gave no intimation that to be welcomed those who came must be of one religious faith. That no such intimation was given appears from the testimony of John Clarke,

[1] See "Massachusetts and its early History," page 418, seq.

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who affirms that he expected to find in the new world, to which he came in 1637, differences of opinion on religious matters, and also that he expected to find such differences tolerated. And he still further affirms that because he found a government at the Bay quite as oppressive as that in England which he had just left, he determined to depart and establish a colony where not only himself but all men should be free.

But Dr. Dexter, as though conscious that a chartered right might be in itself a wrong, that no charter from king or Parliament could make a wrong principle right in equity, enters upon other lines of defence, and mentions circumstances that would extenuate the offence of the Puritans against the consciences of those who differed from them in faith. "We are to remember," he says, "that the founders of New England lived in the earlier half of the seventeenth, and not the latter half of the nineteenth century." And then follows a long and very interesting—but at the same time, to the subject in hand, entirely irrelevant—catalogue of inventions and discoveries that have taken place since their day. And reference is made to the horrible persecutions in England and Scotland during the seventeenth century, to show how much milder were those of the Massachusetts Bay during the same period. Again he says: "We need to refer to the fact that the theory of the toleration of various and variant ideas in religion, had not then established itself in the world among reputable doctrines," which is in the main true. And true is it that "the ancient idea was of one all embracing, infallible and unchangeable church." And that "in England the Reformation had scarcely more than transferred that idea from the Pope's church to that of Henry VIII." And true also that "when our fathers dared to differ from that state church in matters of polity, they did so with the sincere belief that the government was right in its fundamental principles, only mistaken in their application." There was not a government in Christendom that recognized the principle of universal toleration in religious concernments, much less of absolute freedom of conscience. And the Puritans of Massachusetts did not recognize the principle, and hence lost a grand opportunity. And yet the doctrine of religious liberty, as an inalienable right, had long had its advocates of the highest eminence. As early as 1560, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "the Baptists of Great Britain publicly wrote and published their protestations against all persecution, for conscience sake." And nine years before the Mayflower touched the wintry shore of Massachusetts, and eighteen years before the settlement of Boston by the Puritans, the Baptists of England had issued a confession of their faith, in which

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they declare that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience." These principles were held by many in England who were longing to see them brought to the test of actual experiment; they were the principles Roger Williams and John Clarke brought to these shores, but which the Puritans dreaded as anarchical and irreligious. It should be borne in mind, also, that neither the Plymouth nor the New Haven colony would go the full lengths of severity urged by the Colony of Massachusetts.

The primary cause of Massachusetts hostility to Baptists is to be found in their "separatism." The sin of Roger Williams and the Baptists, which the Massachusetts authorities could never forget and never would forgive, was, if we mistake not, their separation from the Established Church and their teaching, which showed its unsoundness. This appears from the course of events, from direct testimony, and from necessary inference. The first charge made against Roger Williams was that he took exception to the attitude of the Boston church, and that he declared that "he durst not officiate to an unseparated people." This is the reason why the Boston authorities wrote to Governor Endicott, warning him, and the Salem church through him, against Roger Williams. This was the initial step against the new comer. In this we find the key to subsequent acts of government which resulted in his banishment.

But Dr. Dexter may ask what all this has to do with "soul liberty." We reply, much every way. His duty to separate from a church wedded to the state, was his right so to do. It was his right to act in religious matters without fear of incurring civil disabilities. His insistence upon this right was, we think, "the head and front of his offending." The doctrine of liberty presented itself in this concrete form, was discussed in its relations to events then occurring. Yet it seems to have received some attention as an abstract question. At any rate, Williams placed his right to dissent on the true foundation. The civil magistrates had no warrant to enter the spiritual realm; their "power extended only to the bodies and goods, and the outward state of men." But for this fact to which we have just referred, the various acts of Roger Williams, about which so much has been said, would have had but little effect upon the Massachusetts government. All these acts are susceptible of easy explanation, and were not by themselves remarkably significant, even according to the testimony of men who were not Baptists, and, therefore, of course, above the influences of prejudice, narrowness, etc.

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Notice, for example, what has been called his attack upon the patent. Why the indecent procedure of the chief men of Boston in demanding a private manuscript from the private desk of this young man? And why is the man charged with attacking the patent unjustly, when he simply pointed out "the evil of that part of the patent which respects the donation of lands," and when the colonists themselves are said to have generally acted on the principle he advocated? It is sufficient to quote the remark of Mr. Savage, certainly not prejudiced in favor of Williams: "Perhaps the same expressions by another would have given less offence. From Williams they were not at first received in the mildest, or even the most natural sense; though further reflection satisfied the magistrates that his were not dangerous." Yet Dr. Dexter rings many changes upon this offence.

Again, he is charged with inciting Governor Endicott to mutilate the royal colors by cutting out the cross. There is no positive evidence that Williams had anything to do in the matter. Even Cotton Mather, surely no Baptist, testifies that he could be "but obliquely and remotely concerned in it." We must add that it has since been made to redound to the glory of the Puritans. The Rev. E. E. Hale says: "Early in their history Endicott cut the cross out of the colors; and from that moment till the Restoration, I think, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had a flag of its own."

In his opposition to civil oaths, Williams has been followed by many good men since his day; a position to which he was doubtless led by his principle of the total separation of the church from the state. But the authorities were extremely sensitive in regard to these opinions on account of the nature of the oath they were at that time exacting of all the inhabitants — it being revolutionary in its effect, transferring allegiance from the crown to the colonial government. These are the several charges that had any civil bearing.

We will state the charges as preferred by the General Court in July, 1635. "1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, except when the civil peace should be endangered. 2. That an oath ought not to be tendered to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with the unregenerate, even though it be with his wife or child. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after sacrament nor after meat." These are the crimes, we repeat, for which Roger Williams was tried and finally banished. Were the crimes of a civil or a religious nature? Referring to the opinions which he held, and which justified his banishment, his great antagonist in controversy, John Cotton, says: "Under pretence of main-

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taining liberty of conscience, purity of conscience is violated and outraged."

As to the personal character of Mr. Williams, there appears to be no difference of opinion; friends and foes unite in pronouncing it above reproach, and even suspicion. Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, speaks of him as "a man lovely in his carriage." And John Milton, as "that noble confessor of religious liberty, . . . who, after suffering persecution from his brethren, persevered amidst incredible hardships and difficulties, in seeking a place of refuge for the sacred ark of conscience."

We must very briefly notice the account Dr. Dexter gives of the treatment John Clarke and his friends received from the Massachusetts authorities in 1651. He adopts the theory, proposed by Dr. Palfrey, that the visit of Clarke had a political purpose. In the first place, this, if proved to be a fact, has no bearing on the question of the rightfulness of the treatment accorded him by the Massachusetts magistrates. In the second place, there is not the slightest proof that Clarke had any such purpose in the visit. If he had, it is singular that he should have gone so far from the centre of affairs at the Bay. Why did he not stop at Boston, where we are told there were Baptists, and where he would have had a grander theatre for his political manœuvres? If not in Boston, why not in the ancient town of Salem? Why retire to Lynn? The ready answer is, because there lived the brother for whose spiritual good he had made the journey. To perform this service he had been delegated by the Newport Church. Backus, who makes this statement, refers to the "Newport church papers" as his authority, which Dr. Dexter inclines to disparage as authority. These "papers," however, though gathered by the painstaking John Comer, in 1726, were derived from Samuel Hubbard and Edward Smith, both members of the Newport Church, and contemporary with the events narrated. Dr. Dexter attempts to show the untrustworthiness of the authorities, by the description given of William Witter, the brother visited. But though he is said to be "aged," and of "advanced age," the language will not seem very strong when we recall that he was already within three years of the allotted period of human life, and also that he was infirm and blind. Dr. Dexter thinks that Mr. Witter was baptized on this visit of Clarke. If so, it must be confessed that he had been a long time "under conviction"; for eight years before he had used very strong language to express his belief respecting infant baptism, saying that it was derived from popery, and was one of its badges.

The sufferings of Holmes are made almost a subject of jest. Because

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Holmes had said, "It was so easy to me that I could well bear it, and in a manner felt it not; you have struck me with roses," Dr. Palfrey suspects, and Dr. Dexter is evidently of the same mind, the executioner had orders to "vindicate what they thought the majesty of the law, at little cost to the delinquent." Both writers, forget the rest of the story, that after his whipping, Holmes "could take no rest except by supporting himself on his elbows and knees." And what was the crime of this man? Dr. George E. Ellis makes this strong statement: "It is a very curious fact, that not a single one of these men or women, who were treated with the severest or most cruel penalties by the authorities of Massachusetts, was of immoral character, or of impure life; not one of them."

Before taking leave of our author, we cannot refrain from adverting to his views of "soul liberty," as they appear on the pages of this book. He seems completely to misunderstand it, to confound liberty with toleration, and toleration with fellowship. Because the Baptists would not fellowship the errors of the Puritans, they are accused of intolerance. Our author says, had they been permitted to remain in the colony, "congregational liberality would have been transmuted into an unlovely, unreasonable and bitter separatism." It is to be presumed that the separation in England of the Puritans from the Episcopacy, was an act much more beautiful to contemplate, than the separation in New England of the Baptists from Puritanism. Perhaps Dr. Dexter may yet learn that intense separatism is consistent with the largest catholicity, as is the strictest fealty to Christ with the broadest love for men. In shunning the errors of the Puritans, we are not to rush to the opposite, and, if possible, worse extreme. The Puritans had definite convictions, and were true to those convictions. They were a noble band of men, and were inspired by a grand idea. They sought to found a pure church of God, and a Christian commonwealth. Their fault was not that they "put themselves under the sway of, an obligation to, an external rule," that "every conception that they had of liberty, civil or religious, was of something subjected to the sway and restraint of law," that "liberty under law was their motto," for thus far they were correct; but that they attempted by force to put this rule upon others, to coerce them with the civil sword.

C. E. Barrows.

Newport, R. I.

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A RETROSPECT OF THE LIFE OF TISCHENDORF.
BY DR. K. F. A. KAHNIS.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN)

LOBEGOTT Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf was born on the eighteenth of January, 1815, in Lengenfeld, in the Saxon Voigtland. At the gymnasium in Plauen he laid the basis of the unusually deep acquaintance with the classic tongues which formed the foundation of his whole later work. But with this he evinced also a poetical gift, which later uttered itself in his "May-buds"[1] (1837), and in his novel, "The Young Mystic"[2] (1839). At the University of Leipzig, which he entered in 1834, the classical studies had their master in Gottfried Hermann. The principal teachers of theology bore their witness to the impulses which proceeded from Hermann in every direction. All spheres of theology were dominated by the grammatical-historical exposition of Scripture of which Winer was master. And thus Tischendorf's studies directed themselves to the exposition of Scripture. Two successful prize essays testified to the prosecution of these studies (Doctrina Pauli de vi mortis Christi satisfactoria,[3] 1836. Disputatio de Christo pane vitæ, awarded the prize 1838, printed 1839). He then taught in the educational institute of

[1] One of the poems in this volume, which appeared in 1838, was set to music by the distinguished Mendelssohn.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] This novel was published under the *nom de plume* of "Dr. Fritz."—TR.

[3] This essay was printed in 1837, the year after it obtained the prize.—TR.

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Pastor Lehme, his future father-in-law, in **Städteln, near Leipzig.** He qualified for the office of instruction in the university by his publication "On the so-called recensions of the Text of the New Testament, with special reference to the theory of Scholz," 1840. In this paper he announced the programme of his theological future. He had recognized, in the criticism of the New Testament text, the vocation of his life.

The day on which Tischendorf was born bears in our calendar the name Felicitas. In truth a fortunate destiny has been awarded him. Happy he who in the critical years of life recognizes the divinely willed vocation of his life. After what Tischendorf has in thirty-four years accomplished in the sphere of New Testament criticism, even his enemy must acknowledge he was called of God there. We do not assert that the restoration of the pure text of the Bible is the highest aim of theology. But this aim must be striven for by theology. As our poet has counseled every one who will achieve anything worthy:

> Let him quietly gather, with constant recourse,
> On the slightest point the highest force;

so has Tischendorf, with an energy of devotion which certainly has not too many parallels in the learned world of the present, applied his whole strength to this one aim. And his life proves that he is not poor who looks forth upon the whole from one point. The way to the pure text of the Bible has led him to France, Holland, England, to Italy and Greece, thrice to the East. He, as few learned men, has been at home in the palaces of the great of this earth. He has enjoyed, as few have, the satisfaction of seeking and finding. Frederick William IV, with reason, said to him: "You are predestined to discoveries, as was Niebuhr; where you come, there you find also." While the life of many learned men consumes itself in the chasm between ideal and reality, his was the happy lot actually to attain the attainable for which he strove. No one who knows at all what can be achieved in a literary way in a single human life, will read without astonishment what he has made possible. What a follower of theological science ought to strive for, namely, to advance the knowledge of God, and of his kingdom, in general, and in particular; he has done in the sphere of textual criticism, in a way to constitute an epoch. He who in the future will go beyond him can do it only upon the way which Tischendorf had first constructed; he who will contend with him can do it only with the weapons which Tischendorf has first given him.

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Tischendorf has advanced the textual criticism of the New Testament in a twofold way: First, by publication of the oldest and most important manuscripts; second, by presentation of a text regulated by the same. In the nature of the case the nearer the manuscripts stand to the source whence they have flowed, the higher is their worth. That was the simple principle which, before Tischendorf, Lachmann had vindicated in opposition to the artificial systems of textual criticism before his time. Lachmann's purpose was to give the text of the fourth century, on the ground of the oldest manuscripts. But even these manuscripts were very insufficiently known. Only the Alexandrine Manuscript in the British Museum, in London (A), had by English assiduity (H. Baber) and English gold (30,000 pounds sterling) been published in the course of twelve years. The older and more weighty Vatican Codex (B) was known very imperfectly. Of the Parisian Palimpsest (C) Capperonier, the head of the Parisian Library, had said that no mortal could read the original writing which had been washed, and was concealed under a treatise of Ephræm the Syrian written over it. In like manner the Manuscript of Clermont (D) in Paris, which had formerly been in the possession of Beza required a careful publication. In 1830 Lachmann had declared, "By printing the Codex regius Ephraëmi and the Claromontanus, Parisian scholars might acquire the honor of an immortal service to the criticism of the New Testament." To decipher the first Codex was the chief aim of Tischendorf's first journey to Paris, upon which he set out in the autumn of 1840.[1] And this gigantic undertaking was perfectly accomplished. The New Testament part of the Codex Ephraëmi appeared in 1843, and the Old Testament in 1845. The other Codex (Claromontanus) containing the Pauline epistles followed in 1852. Upon his first journey to Rome Tischendorf vainly hoped to be able to collate the Vatican manuscript, upon the ground of the recommendations which he had received from Prince John of Saxony, from the French government to its ambassador in Rome (Latour-Manbourg), and from the Archbishop of Paris, Affre. Gregory XVI, who received him in a friendly manner, was certainly disposed to do what he could. But Cardinal Mai who purposed himself to edit the Vatican manuscript was able through Lambruschini[2] to prevent a satisfactory collation. That however,

[1] So indigent was the great scholar, by his own account, as to be without the means of paying for the cloak he wore at this time—"tam pauper . . . ut pro pænula quam portabam solvere non possem."—Tr.

[2] Cardinal Lambruschini, among other offices, was librarian of the Vatican, and secretary of state for foreign affairs to Gregory XVI. It will be remembered that he was a prominent candidate for the succession to which Pius IX was raised.—Tr.

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which did not then succeed, was to be attained later, to a considerable degree. Tischendorf published the "Novum Testamentum Vaticanum" in 1867, some years after Mai's edition appeared. A great part of his discoveries and collations relating to manuscripts of the Bible Tischendorf deposited in his Monumenta sacra inedita (1846), of which the Nova collectio (1854–70) embraces seven volumes. Of the profit which Tischendorf's learned journeys of discovery brought to classical and oriental students, we do not purpose to speak. But it must be mentioned that by publishing the New Testament text of the Codex Amiatinus (1850, 1854) Tischendorf gave an important foundation for the criticism of the Vulgate. And his excellent edition of the Septuagint (fourth edition, 1868) has passed into general use.[1] The manuscript researches of Tischendorf received their crown in the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus. On his first journey to the East (1844) he had found forty-three parchment leaves, remains of a manuscript of the Septuagint, reaching back probably into the fourth century. He published the same under the name of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus.

On his second journey to the East (1853) he found no further traces of this discovery. His third journey to the East (1859) undertaken by commission of the Russian government had borne rich fruits otherwise, but not in this direction. Then, as he was already on the point of leaving Sinai, the steward of the cloister of Sinai showed him a manuscript which contained a great part of the Septuagint, the New Testament complete, and, still further, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. Tischendorf recognized at once that those leaves which he had named the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, had belonged to this manuscript. If the mere discovery of this, in all probability, oldest manuscript of the New Testament was an extraordinary treasure, so was there only one man of the energy, perseverance, dexterity, experience, and professional superiority, able, like Tischendorf, to acquire this manuscript, to make it known in the most thorough and worthy manner, and to turn it to account for textual criticism. If he had done nothing more than to have discovered, published, and used the Codex Sinaiticus, his name would have always been mentioned with recognition in the history of textual criticism. But where is there a theologian who, to such

[1] It must not be supposed from the above approbatory terms that Tischendorf has given us a critical text of the Septuagint. That is still an unsupplied want though a distinguished English scholar is understood to be engaged on the task. Tischendorf accumulated material by reprinting (in the above work) the text of the Vatican edition of 1587, correcting typographical errors, and annexing various readings from the Alexandrine MS., and that of Ephræm, mainly.—Tr.

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an extent, could have laid open for general use the foundations of all textual criticism?

Tischendorf might have had the greatest knowledge of the critical apparatus without being able to establish the text itself. But he has pursued this aim with restless exertions from beginning to end of his critical career. As early as 1841 appeared his first edition of the New Testament. One of the most acknowledged masters in this sphere, David Schulz, greeted this edition with words of the highest recognition. Upon his motion the theological faculty of Breslau conferred upon Tischendorf the doctorate. Upon the establishment of the New Testament text, critical talents of the first rank—we name only Wetstein, Bengel, Bentley, Lachmann—had bestowed their best powers. But the result of these endeavors depends not merely upon erudition, acuteness, and happy tact, but, and indeed before all, upon the principles of procedure. What Tischendorf has always purposed, was to establish the oldest possible text upon the ground of the oldest manuscripts, translations, and patristic citations. In the last edition, the editio viii, critica major (1864–72), he intended to embody the sum of all his critical investigations. He has been obliged, alas, to relinquish this work uncompleted; yet he has conducted the preparation of the text to its end, and we hope that a skilful hand will add the Prolegomena in accordance with Tischendorf's conception.[1] Tischendorf's text has appeared in twenty-two editions, in restless progress towards realizing the idea which inspired our friend, of restoring the New Testament Scripture, not merely in the form in which it was current at the time of the council of Nice, but in that in which it lay before the church, in the time of Irenæus.

The danger of talents which devote their strength to a particular sphere of human knowledge, is a learned specialism, which altogether forgets the connection in which the particular stands with the whole. Against such a specialism, which often is not far from narrowness, Tischendorf was guarded by the strong sense of living which animated him. At the same time, even the critical aims which he pursued could not be attained without this sense of a full life. He could not prosecute his literary journeys without the support of governments and individuals. Those impressions of the oldest manuscripts could not be issued without the assistance of powerful patrons of science.

[1] Americans may well feel pride in the statement that Professor Ezra Abbot, D. D., LL. D., of the Harvard Divinity School, the late Dr. Hackett's associate in editing Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, and a member of the American Bible Revision Committee, was prominently considered, though without his knowledge, or, indeed, the possibility of his compliance, for this great work.—Tr.

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That Tischendorf traveled not merely as a learned person, but also as a man, both his books of travel attest: "Travels in the East" (1845, 1846), and "From the Holy Land" (1862). In the regions of the court, the aristocracy, the higher science, in which he was so at home, only a man of wider interests could bear himself. The recognition which the European courts paid him found its expression in the great number of high orders with which he was adorned. The court of Saxony to which Tischendorf was attached with great devotion, gave him the rank of a Privy Aulic Councillor. Russia even raised him to the hereditary nobility. His connection with theological science was maintained by his position as teacher of theology at the University of Leipzig. Here he was Privat-docent in 1840, Extraordinary Professor in 1845, Ordinary Honorary Professor in 1851, and finally Ordinary Professor of Theology. In spite of the incessant activity peculiar to him in scientific affairs, yet his theological position remained without change ever the same. The Holy Scripture was valid to him as God's word, the Christian faith was to him a matter of heart and life, he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, he was a true son of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. His fundamental purpose in all his labors was to serve only the kingdom of God. When occasion called for relieving the oppressed condition of those of the like evangelical faith, he did not draw back, but represented the good cause even before princes, with manly frankness. Although thankful for Papal tokens of favor, yet on every occasion he avowed the Protestant faith. The consciousness of his religious obligation, it was too, which urged him openly to declare his position in the present strife as to the genuineness and credibility of the gospels. His book, When were our Gospels composed? is to be considered from this point of view. The author therein declares his conviction intact, and confirmed by his documental researches. As such an avowal, of weighty utterance, vouchsafed from a sense of duty, this book (1865) had four quickly successive editions, and translations besides into almost all European languages. A related little volume appeared in 1873: Have we the genuine writings of the Evangelists and Apostles? As the former combatted the destructive criticism of the Gospels, so the latter defends for textual criticism its freedom. The avowal, with which it concludes, sounds like a swan-song from him who was so soon after to be forever still. High as the word of the Scripture, he there says in conclusion, stands above all other words on earth, infinitely higher than every device of Romish priestcraft, and than any assumption of modern unbelief, marked with deceptive flattering speech, yet even here applies the declaration of the Lord: It is the

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Spirit which quickeneth—a declaration to which the enlighted godly man of Tarsus referred, when he wrote to the Corinthians: The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

His last considerable task in textual criticism was the third edition of the New Testament, by Bernhard Tauchnitz, conformed to the text of the large eighth edition; the Prolegmena are dated October, 1872. In the Hebrew and Latin Psalter, published by him with Baer and Delitzsch (Leipzig, by F. A. Brockhaus, 1874), he was able only partially to attend to the revision; it was likewise impossible for him to write its preface. The tasks with which he was overburdened at the beginning of the year 1873, transcend human ability. To this overtaxing of his power of work, gigantic as it was, growing out of earlier engagements, he finally succumbed, and that suddenly, unimpaired, in the midst of fresh joyous activity.

What he was as father of a family, as friend, as colleague, above all as a Christian, has been expressed, though not exhaustively, in the funeral addresses. In spite of all toilsome burdens and struggles, yet his life made upon all who knew it more closely the impression of a singularly happy one. On the fifth of May he was stricken with apoplexy, from which he was unable to rally. The fifth of May returned in the year's round without our being able to rejoice at an essential progress in recovery. Even the sojourn of several weeks near and in Teplitz worked no change. But just at this trying time, when the whole intellectual world in which he had so long moved was before him no more, the childlike, lovely, believing, inmost soul came to manifestation. The apoplectic attacks recurred at short intervals. His consciousness became obscured; but nevertheless, that which replenished his innermost man beamed through like a refulgence of the approaching glorification. He died in the faith of Jesus Christ, on the seventh of December, 1874.

We believe this retrospect could not more worthily conclude than with the words which the deceased has summed up his life in his will, written by himself on the fourth Advent Sunday of 1863.

God has bestowed on me a happy life, richly adorned by his blessing. "Trouble and toil" it has been, but it was to me in truth "precious." May God put his blessing also on that which I leave to posterity: it is His own work. My hand has served only him, according to my best knowledge and conviction, even though in all weakness. In science I pursued no other aim than the truth; to it I have unconditionally bowed the knee; I never subordinated my conviction to applause, on the right hand or the left. To the true God whose grace has been so great upon me and my life, I do then heartily commit my family. But to all good

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men also, of whom I myself have found so many, and so true, I recommend those who are mine. Wherein I have failed in charity towards mine own, towards strangers also, and even enemies, who, in spite of all bitterness have often enough advanced my welfare, may I be forgiven. I have purposed and sought only that which serves truth and the kingdom of the Lord.

May my true, most deeply beloved wife, hold fast through her life, to her pure evangelical faith. May God grant her strength from on high to bring up all the dear children in the fear of the Lord. My good, dearly-beloved children, you, too, I exhort from the bottom of my heart: Pursue the work of your life earnestly and honestly, seek your real weal only in firm faith upon the Saviour, repose a growing trust in the Lord, and serve the Lord always in holy gladness, zealously and truly.

GEORGE H. WHITTEMORE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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THE SICK AND THE PRAYER OF FAITH.

Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.—JAMES v. 14.

Grammatically considered, there is little or no difficulty in this passage. But one point in its construction seems to have occasioned any difference of opinion among scholars. It is the relation of the phrase *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου*. Some confine it to the expression *ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ*, while others attach it exclusively to the words *καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν*. But there are justifiable reasons for making this phrase qualify both these expressions. Certainly, *prayer*, to be effectual with God, must be offered in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. For this we have his own repeated and emphatic assurances (John xvi. 23, 24; xiv. 13). Every Christian service, to approve itself to God, and to answer the end designed, should be performed in the name of the Lord; *i. e.*, by his authority, and according to his specified form, and on account of his virtue, as the Holy Ghost informs us (Col. iii. 17): "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him."

The syntax of the passage is thus made regular, simple and easy to be understood. But I apprehend the real sense of the passage will not be so easy to define. To facilitate the exposition, I will

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endeavor to confine myself as closely as possible to the philological construction of the original text, and pursue the following order:

I. The persons addressed.

II. The duty enjoined.

III. The service prescribed.

I. The Persons addressed.

These are indicated by the phrase *ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν* (is any sick among you). These were in general professed Christians, who had no doubt been converted to Christ from among the twelve tribes of Israel, according to the first verse of this epistle. And they were in particular the *sick* of these Christian people individually considered; as the apostle specifies, "let *him* call," etc.

II. The Duty enjoined.

This is indicated by the words *προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας*—let him call for the elders of the church. In defining this clause it will be necessary—

1. To determine who are meant by *τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας*—the elders of the church.

2. To notice the obligation expressed by the word *προσκαλεσάσθω*—call for.

By the word *ἐκκλησίας*, must be understood not *all* Christians on earth as an organic unity, but a local, independent body—a regularly constituted New Testament church of baptized believers in the Lord Jesus Christ. And as there is no room for difference of opinion among us on this point, I pass to notice the word *πρεσβυτέρους*.

Though the term *ἐπισκοποί* is used to designate officers of a Christian church, the evidence is clear that the term is used interchangeably with *πρεσβυτέροι*, as in Acts xx. 17 and 28, and Titus i. 5 and 7; and that both words refer to but *one* and the *same* class of officers.

It may be asked: As a sick person could be a member of only one church, why did not the apostle say, Let him call for his elder or pastor, using the singular instead of the plural? Some historians tell us that in the cities among primitive Christians there was but one church, and that it was divided into several branch congregations and preaching stations, which necessitated a number of elders for preaching and pastoral labor in each church. If this were true in apostolic times it would fully meet the objection. But we are not left to such a doubtful resort. In Acts xv. 23, we read: "Then pleased it the apostles and *elders* with the whole church," etc.; and in Acts xxi. 18, Paul went in with us unto James, and all the *elders* were present. Again in Acts xx. 17, we read: "And from Miletus

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he (Paul) sent to Ephesus, and called the *elders* of *the* Church; and Acts xiv. 23: "And when they had ordained them *elders* in *every* church." Here then we have the New Testament precedent, if not the regular custom of a plurality of pastors and teachers in the individual churches.

So in each of these churches referred to in our text there might have been, and doubtless were, several elders. This then justifies the apostle's language, and removes the objection. We conclude, therefore, that the pastors and teachers spoken of in Eph. iv. 11, are the persons the sick Christian is enjoined to send for. With this understanding let us notice the *obligation* expressed by the word προσκαλεσάσθω—let him call for. This implies that the sick Christian, as a member of the flock, has a claim upon such officers, and a right to call for their services, and that they are under obligation to render him such service.

III. The Service prescribed.

This is indicated by the phrase και προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου—and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord. There is nothing like the heathen or Popish incantations inculcated here, but a religious service of divine appointment, consisting of prayer to God for the sick, and an anointing with oil. The virtue of the service depended not on the oil so much as on the prayer in the name of the Lord. This our apostle assures us of in the words that immediately follow our passage: "And the prayer of faith shall save the sick." It is true that, as in our day, so anciently, the Jews and other nations used oil, especially that of the olive, as a remedial agent in fevers and other diseases. But our apostle does not here prescribe the oil for its remedial virtue; it is designed only for a sign or symbol.

Our Lord spat upon the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of a certain blind man, and said to him, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam." He went his way, therefore, and washed, and came seeing. Certainly the means used here will not be supposed to have had efficacy to cure so stubborn a case of life-long blindness. Yet, it was the Saviour's chosen method, through which, on the man's obedience, Christ exercised his supernatural power, and gave sight to his natively blind eyes.

When Jesus sent out his apostles, he said to them: "As ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils." Matt. x. 7, 8. In pursuance of this we read the apostles went out and preached that

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men should repent. And they cast out devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them. So in the text, the anointing with oil is meant to be simply a sign of the sick man's cure, or a symbol of God's efficacious grace vouchsafed to him through the prayer of faith in the name of the Lord Jesus. It would be but an empty sign and a fruitless means without such prayer. And it is not absolutely and essentially the prayer of faith, but the gracious power of God immediately exercised on the sick in answer to the prayer of faith, that saves the man, as the context fully shows: "And the Lord shall raise him up."

It is evident this service was not employed in *all* cases of Christians' sickness. Paul says (2 Timothy iv. 20): "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." As he was a valuable assistant to Paul, through this service, had it been the invariable custom, he could, and no doubt would, have been restored to health. He tells us of another, Epaphroditus, who was sick nigh unto death, but gives us no intimation of such service in his case.

These facts, then, indicate a limitation, probably not so much in the degree of the sickness as in the specialty of the case. God bestowed upon the apostles and their co-workers and immediate successors the gifts of miraculous healing; and, as we are told, this class of gifts remained the longest of all the miraculous powers among the primitive churches and Christians. But these servants of God did not possess such powers at *all* times, nor were they able to exercise them on all cases.

Such failures, were not, however, because of a want of ability on God's part, but because it was not his will, or not best for the sick, or not for the glory of God to heal the sick as in the cases of Lazarus and Dorcas. And this is implied by the language of our apostle in the context, "the prayer of faith shall save the sick." Here, it seems to me, the faith meant is something more than ordinary. Ministers, even in this day, on some special occasion, it may be in a case of sickness thought to be hopeless by physicians, may have been seized with an earnestness and faith in prayer for it that they could not account for, and the person has recovered. But then these cases are *very* rare exceptions, and therefore may have little or no relevancy to our text.

There was, however, a faith extant among these ancient Christians that we call the faith of miracles; and this was the kind in requisition in the prayer offered in the case of our text. And to express the mind of the Holy Spirit, and to bring out fully the truth of the passage, I think it should be remarked that here at least this faith was the *mutual* faith both of the sick man and the elders.

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When Paul visited Lystra he miraculously cured a certain impotent man, and the account of it given us in Acts xiv. 9 is: Paul "steadfastly beholding him, and *perceiving* that the *man* had *faith* to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet." We read in Luke v, when "the *power* of the Lord was present to heal, that four men brought a certain paralytic to Jesus. And when he saw their faith," meaning, no doubt, the faith of the paralytic as well as the four bearers, "he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee"; that is, he cured him. So I think, in our passage, the prayer offered to be effectual required the faith of the sick Christian as well as of the elders. The very fact of his sending for the elders, if there was nothing else in the construction of the passage and its context, would strongly argue, if not conclusively prove this position.

It might be possible for a sick Christian to send for the elders of the church without such personal faith. But in such a case these ministers, whatever might be their natural sympathy for the sick, would no doubt not feel their souls so seized with faith, nor so stirred with miraculous power, and so no cure would follow, which, the language of the context—"the prayer of *faith* shall save the sick"—implies. But where recovery was according to God's will, and the sick man's sending for the elders of the church was the work of faith with power (which certainly would be a strong indication of God's will), the Holy Spirit would work thus mightily in and through them to the recovery of the sick.

If it should here be asked, Why then would not the *sick man's* faith *alone* suffice to cure him, without this service of the elders of the church? I reply, such a service was the appointment of Him who doeth all things after the counsel of his own sovereign will, even God over all, blessed forevermore. And while *every* case of Christian's sickness might not be miraculously raised to health, yet I think those that should be thus restored were of the desperate kind which, in the natural course of events, would be likely to prove fatal in spite of the best human skill, and hence called for and would justify supernatural interference. The language of the text and context seem to indicate that the apostle had reference to such extreme cases. The word *ασθενεῖ* seems to be generally used in the classics as well as in the New Testament, to denote the more serious kinds of sickness. These are most frequently the subjects of the miraculous cures of the apostles. And such were commonly, though not invariably, the cases upon which our Saviour personally exercised his miraculous power. The impotent man, who had been sick for thirty-eight years, and the woman whose sickness was of twelve years standing, and who

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had suffered many things of the physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse, are but fair specimens of the many. And it seems but natural and reasonable, as Jesus said to his disciples: "The works that I do, shall ye do also, and greater works than these shall ye do, because I go to my Father," that in confirmation of this the cases referred to in our text should be the more desperate, those that baffled human skill. Such cases as these, too, would afford opportunities above suspicion for miraculous work, and those cured would be convincing proofs, and incontrovertible credentials of the divinity of their Lord, whose name they used, and of the religion they professed and preached. And through this means, no doubt, the faith of the saints would be confirmed, unbelievers would be made Christians, and Christ's kingdom would be advanced among the nations.

Some may hold that God designed this for a perpetual service in the church as a memorial of the other gifts, and that through unbelief it has been suspended, if not lost. Were this true, the many ages of Christianity that have elapsed would have produced some return of it in the churches and among the devoted saints in the remarkable reformations and revivals of grace and salvation that have occurred.

The better view is, that as the gospel has become so thoroughly confirmed, and the character of Christianity so sufficiently understood, as no longer to need physical signs and wonders to promote its interests, therefore this gift of healing, with its anointing service, has virtually ceased. Should circumstances require it, God would bestow this gift or any other; but in the nature of the case it is the spiritual force and not the physical token or wonder that is to fill the world with the kingdom of Christ. I see here, therefore, no authority whatever for the establishment of a permanent symbolical ceremony in the Christian church for the recovery of the sick. And certainly there is not here a shadow of a reason for the Papal mummery of "extreme unction."

There is no similarity whatever between the two cases. The service of the text is for the recovery of the sick to health and life; but this Papal ceremony is designed for absolutely hopeless cases. It is the last earthly service in which they are to participate, and is performed to prepare them for death.

J. N. Folwell.

Brooklyn, New York.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A History of the Councils of the Church. From the original documents. By the Right Rev. CHARLES JOSEPH HEFELE, D. D., Bishop of Rottenburg, former professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Volume II. A. D. 326 to A. D. 429. Translated from the German, with the author's approbation, and edited by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M. A., late scholar of Baliol College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1876.

The first volume of this book was received and noticed in the QUARTERLY several years ago. The second has just come to hand from Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 743 and 745 Broadway, New York, who have imported a special edition for this country, and by whom we are requested to state that the price is six dollars. This is not high, if we consider the intrinsic value of the book, and the fact, that in the nature of the case, its sale cannot be large. It will find circulation chiefly among that small class of persons who are particularly interested in church history; and by them it would be welcomed at almost any reasonable price. It puts into their hands, in a convenient form, the materials of history; it enables them to trace for themselves the development of doctrine and discipline; to see what the church was at a comparatively early age, and how it grew to what it was in subsequent times. It gives something of the sense of certainty, of power, and of pleasure which every earnest inquirer feels when he can go back to the original

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sources of information. The two volumes translated and published cover an interesting period. The first closes with a history of the Council of Nicæa, having shown, in the accounts of earlier synods, how the church conducted herself during heathen persecutions, how she dealt with schismatics, with prevailing vices, and with those who from fear of death had denied the faith. We get a near view of Arius, Alexander, Athanasius, Constantine, and others, the chief parties in the Arian controversy; and then, of the first great Council itself. The second volume details the history of the contests between the Arians and the orthodox, and also of certain other interesting events. In this period we have the very important synod of Sardica, various synods at Antioch, at Sirmium, at Milan, the double synod at Saleucia and Rimini, the second general council, and various synods at Carthage and elsewhere. At these synods were discussed Arianism, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Pelagianism, the relations of the Pope to the church, and other matters of importance. From this brief sketch of what the book thus far contains, the reader may himself judge of its probable interest and value.

The materials for a history of the councils are abundant and easily accessible to a European scholar. In our own country, also, there are libraries in which may be found the books most needful for such a work. The chief need is the historian, a man of ability, patience, industry, impartiality. He must be learned enough to use his authorities with facility and accuracy, skilful enough to seize the chief points of interest, patient enough to be willing to spend years in study; with honesty to see the truth, and power to tell it. Bishop Hefele has many of these qualifications. He is learned, diligent, able, and patient. We regret that we cannot say as much for his impartiality. There are indications all through his work that he wishes to state facts truly; but it is everywhere manifest that he is trammeled by the necessity of defending a system. In some cases his prejudices (we use the word in its original, inoffensive sense) make him believe too easily; in others, they make him impervious to belief. He is a Romanist, and is invincibly unwilling to find anything in the early records of the church that militates against the doctrines of Rome.

The first effect of Dr. Hefele's "ecclesiastical bias," to borrow Herbert Spencer's phrase, is to determine his estimate of the general councils. These venerable bodies were of the utmost importance, and exerted a controlling influence on the history of the church; especially did they give form to the recognized doctrines of Christianity. But as we see them, they are not in themselves particularly calculated to excite our admiration and reverence. They were often violent and disorderly in their proceedings, and were sometimes flagrantly partial as well as violent. In numbers, ability and piety, they were not at all in advance of many Christian assemblies of modern times. The history of our country would show Methodist general conferences, Episcopal general conventions, Presbyterian general assemblies, and Baptist associations, inherently more respectable than the council of Nicæa, or the great council of Chalcedon. And yet, with Romanists, these general councils,

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not peculiar in piety, numbers or ability, have a character of their own —they are infallible. This is Dr. Hefele's view, and it is the view which he says the church has always held. On the other hand, the early councils themselves were profoundly unconscious of their infallibility. This was certainly the case with the council at Nicæa. In its proceedings there were the same struggles for victory on the part of opposing factions, the same efforts at compromise on the part of moderate men, and the same bitterness and distrust which in times of excitement we see in ordinary assemblies. In its parties it has been divided, as the French Parliament is divided, into Right and Left, and Right-Centre and Left-Centre. Here were Athanasians on the one side; Arians on the other; and between, Eusebians leaning to Athanasius, and Eusebians leaning to Arius. There was ample room for brow-beating, intrigue, sharp disputation, subtle definitions, trimming, and the council witnessed all these. The unanimity that was finally reached was not reached by harmony of conviction, or so far as we can see, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but through the very carnal persuasions of the Emperor Constantine. Many signed the creed only because they feared deposition and an enforced residence in some inhospitable region. In the synodic letter of the council there is a conspicuous absence of any claim to infallibility. After giving the Alexandrians an account of what they had done, the Holy Fathers conclude: "Pray for us all, that whatever has been well done may remain steadfast through our Lord Jesus Christ, being done, as we trust, according to the good pleasure of the Father, in the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever and ever." Surely there is nothing in this to indicate that the council thought itself infallible. It writes just as we might write a church or an associational letter. Its language is in strong contrast with that of the apostolic synod at Jerusalem. The apostolic body had no doubt of its inspiration, or that what it had done was well done. It is evident that the church generally had the same opinion of the council, as the council had of itself, otherwise it would not have been followed by fifty years of division and strife. Its decisions would at once have been accepted as final, and the different parties would not have anxiously sought in other councils that reconciliation which they failed to find at Nicæa.

Dr. Hefele's "ecclesiastical bias" prevented his seeing clearly the exact relation of the Popes to the general councils. If the Pope is the supreme head of the church, it is rather a strange thing that a general council should be summoned by any one else than the Pope; and yet this strange thing did many times happen. So far as appears from the records, the first eight general councils—that is, all the general councils held by the undivided church—assembled at the command of the Emperors, and it does not appear that the Emperors in exercising this high ecclesiastical function were acting as papal agents, or by papal authority. A good Romanist might find this a little embarassing; but our author is equal to the emergency. Constantine called the council at Nicæa: but Rufinus, fifty years after the council, says that he did so "at the suggestion of the priests." This is enough. "Certainly," says Dr.

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Hefele, "if several bishops were consulted on the subject, *among them must have been the chief of them all, the Bishop of Rome!*" The door is thus opened—enter Pope Sylvester. The second Œcumenical council was called by Theodosius the Great. It cannot be made out that Pope Damasus had anything to do with it: but this is easily accounted for. It was originally summoned as a general Greek council, and therefore, "if the Pope had no share in convoking it, no inference can be drawn from this fact unfavorable to his claim to summon œcumenical synods." In reference to the third general council we go a little into detail. It was convoked by the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III. Dr. Hefele says: "It is clear, however, that Pope Celestine concurred, from his letter to Theodosius dated May 15, 431, in which he says he cannot be personally present at the synod, but will send his representatives." That "concurred" is good; but we hardly find it in the Pope's letter now before us. He says nothing of his inability to be personally present. What he does say is: "We show our presence to this synod *which you have ordered* in those whom we have sent."[1] He thus explicitly attributes the calling of the synod to the Emperor. The whole letter is appropriate and creditable to the Pope; but he makes no attempt to patronize the emperor, or impertinently to sanction what did not particularly need his concurrence. Hefele continues:

> Still more distinct is his (the Pope's) letter to the council itself, dated May 8, 431, in which he sets before the assembled bishops their duty to protect the orthodox faith, expresses his expectation that they will agree to the sentence which he has already pronounced upon Nestorius, and adds that he has sent his legates *in order that they may give effect to this sentence at Ephesus.*

This is our author's paraphrase of the letter. What the Pope actually says, is:

> We have sent bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and Philip, our priest, to take part in your deliberations, and to inform you what things have already been done by us.[2] Which things, we doubt not, will be approved by your sanctity, when it appears that what is done has been decreed for the security of the whole church.

The letter contains much brotherly exhortation, but no commands, no lording it. Its reading very much pleased the synod. "All the most reverend bishops cried out at once: This judgment is just. The universal synod thanks Celestine, the new Paul, Cyril, the new Paul, etc. There is one Celestine, one Cyril, one faith of the synod, and one faith of the whole world." The peculiar circumstances of the case made it very desirable for this council, entirely ruled by the Alexandrian faction, composed, indeed, almost exclusively of that faction, to have the support of the west. In their long-continued disputes, both Cyril and Nestorius sought the aid of Rome. The Pope sided with Cyril, and his favor was

[1] Harduin, Vol. I, p. 1474.
[2] Harduin, Vol. I, p. 1471.

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grateful just in proportion as it was needed. We need not go on. The truth is, and can easily be made to appear, that the Popes had about the same share in calling the first general councils as other bishops. In some cases they joined in the request that the emperors would call them; in some cases the emperors called councils without any suggestion from the Pope or reference to him; and in others his wishes were pointedly disregarded.

In the matter of General Councils there are one or two other respect in which Hefele shows his ecclesiastical bias. He first concludes, on very slight evidence, that Hosius was president of the Nicene Council; on slighter evidence still, that he was Papal legate; and on still slighter evidence, that he "presided at the assembly as Papal legate, in union with two Roman priests, Vitus and Vicentius!" See Vol. I, pp. 36-42. In the same way he convinces himself that the decrees of the councils were confirmed and rendered binding by the sanction of the Pope as Pope. He is compelled to admit that the first eight councils had their proceedings confirmed by the emperors; but he claims that they were also confirmed by the Papal See. He says: "The signatures of the Pope's legates, Hosius, Vitus and Vicentius, subscribed to the acts of the councils before the other bishops must be regarded as a sanction from the See of Rome to the decrees of Nicæa." Again: "The third Œcumenical Council was held in the time of Pope Celestine and its decisions were signed by its legates." The fallacy here is in making the representatives of Rome (if, indeed, they were her representatives) do with peculiar significancy what they did in common with all the other members of the council. Nectarius, of Constantinople, was the first to sign the decrees of the Second Council; shall we therefore say that its decrees were, in a peculiar sense, confirmed by him? Celestine approved the decisions at Ephesus, and so, at last, did the partriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. There is nothing to show that his sanction was any more potent than theirs, except as he was the representative of a larger See. This subject of "confirmation" is easily understood when we remember that, in process of time, the church was divided into five great patriarchates, and that no council could be recognized as Œcumenical unless all these were actually represented in it, or afterwards consented to its acts.

Volumes like these naturally suggest many subjects of interest, and at the same time afford data for their intelligent discussion. We had already entered somewhat into the relations of the Pope to the church at large, intending to mark the dawning of his power, and especially to show the bearing of the third, fourth and fifth canons of the celebrated Synod at Sardica, but the length of this notice warns us to wait for another opportunity. The history of the councils brings before us, too, the doctrine of Christ from its first rudimental state to its full development in the so-called Athanasian creed. It also suggests the inquiry as to how far those who opposed Athanasius have received justice at the hands of the historian. In a word, these volumes are full of interest, and it requires an effort of will to turn away from them. The fact that Dr. Hefele has

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read into the text of the early councils the impressions of later times is to be regretted; but in the hands of the right kind of readers this will affect, only in a limited degree, the value of his book. We must know something of the history of the councils. Life is too short to enable us to plod through the huge tomes of Mansi and Harduin. Hefele is, therefore, a necessity.

A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Being a continuation of the "Dictionary of the Bible." Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., Classical Examiner of the University of London, and SAMUEL CHATHAM, M. A., Professor of Pastoral Theology in King's College, London. American edition, by M. B. Riddle, D. D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Hartford Theological Seminary. In two volumes. Vol. I. Illustrated by upwards of three hundred engravings. Hartford, Conn. A. D. Worthington and Company, publishers. A. G. Nettleton and Company, Chicago, Ill., Cincinnati, Ohio. A. L. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco, Cal. 1876.

As the title page says so much, it is not needful that much more be said. The English edition of this book is well-known, and its value acknowledged. This American reprint preserves all the most valuable qualities of the original work, and has some advantages of its own. It is an improvement for most readers to have all the Greek and Latin quotations translated. The leaving out of references that can only be of service to those having access to large libraries is also an improvement in that it diminishes the size and cost of the volume. The book is printed on good paper. The print is small but very distinct. Any reader of ecclesiastical or secular history will often meet with terms of which he can have no definite conception without the aid of such a dictionary as this.

Words; their Use and Abuse. By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL. D. Author of "Getting on in the World," and "The Great Conversers, and other Essays." Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company. 1876.

Dr. Mathews seems fairly to have entered on a career of successful authorship. His two former volumes have been well received both by critics and the public. We can see no reason why his present venture should not, also, be successful. It is a pleasant, chatty book, containing much good writing, and many very fine quotations. The author's wide acquaintance with English literature gives him a large field from which to cull. He makes his selections with great judgment, and works them into his text with rare skill. The subject on which he writes is becoming a little hackneyed; but his treatment of it is fresh and vigorous. His motto is *non nova, sed nove.* As he has occasion to write so many things he will not, of course, always have the assent of

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his readers. We fear it is a hopeless thing for him to make war on the vulgar use of *nice* in such phrases as "a nice day," "a nice man," etc. The wrong use of the word *mutual* will be almost as hard to correct. The rule which he apparently sanctions that no expression is to be used in English unless it can be translated into a foreign language is far too sweeping. *Never* in such phrases as "Charm he never so wisely," ought not to be given up without a struggle. It is stronger than "ever so wisely," and not more difficult of explanation. It means the very highest point, the *ne plus ultra*, of wise charming. And so, "ask of me never so much dowry," means to ask such a dowry as never was before asked. "Ever so much dowry" could only mean a dowry indefinitely great. Hugh Miller, a true lover of genuine old English, always used the "never" in such connections. "Differ with the gentleman in opinion—from him in appearance," would, we believe, show the proper use of the word "differ" in such phrases. Our author misses this common distinction. "The leading New York divine" who said of an ill-tempered child that it was *ugly*, meaning cross, etc., if he errs, errs in good company. But we cannot continue these slight criticisms. In a book of this kind the reader derives as much pleasure and profit from those things in which he differs with the author as from those in which he agrees with him. He learns to scrutinize his modes of speech; he is sent to his dictionary and grammar, and even to his Bible.

Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. Volume II of the Old Testament. Exodus and Leviticus. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company. 1876.

This volume, of some four hundred and forty pages, embraces an Introduction to the three middle books of the Pentateuch, of fifty pages, translated by Dr. Howard Osgood, of the Theological Seminary at Rochester, New York; a Commentary on Exodus, by John Peter Lange, D. D., translated by Professor Charles M. Mead, of the Andover Theological Seminary; and a Commentary on Leviticus, by Frederick Gardiner, D. D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School at Middleton, Connecticut. It presents the general features characterizing the other volumes of this gigantic commentary, with which the theological public are now familiar. It was to have been wholly the work, in the original, of Dr. Lange, but the delay in issuing his commentary on these books appears to have caused Dr. Gardiner to prepare an independent exposition of Leviticus. This he had done with such learning and judgment as might have almost met all wants; but when at length Dr. Lange's volume appeared, Dr. Gardiner has incorporated into his treatise whatever in that was suited to complement his labors (especially in the Homiletical and Doctrinal parts), or, possibly, to correct them by presenting different explanations of the sacred text. This portion of the

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book is certainly more valuable than it would have been if Lange's Commentary had been ready earlier.

Dr. Osgood has succeeded in turning into intelligible and clear English the peculiarly subjective and often refractory style of the original. Lange is learned and pious, but fanciful also; and while he not unfrequently suggests new ideas of great interest and value, he sometimes indulges in lucubrations which are merely curious, and not suited to engage the confidence of logical minds.

His work on Exodus is greatly enriched by the additions and corrections of Professor Mead, as every one acquainted with the qualifications of that scholar will be prepared to expect. On the whole, the volume before us will worthily fill its place in the vast storehouse of Biblical erudition of which it forms a part. Another volume, completing the Pentateuch, will soon follow.

The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version (A. D. 1811), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter, etc. Volume VI. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company. 1876.

This volume of the so-called "Speaker's Commentary" completes the Old Testament portion of another valuable commentary on the Bible. Like Lange's, it involves the co-operation of a large number of scholars, of differing capacities for their task, and with unequal results of their labor. The plan of it is more simple than that of the "Bible Work," the extent of it is much more limited, the views expressed are more homogeneous, and, being an original work, it is more directly apprehensible, and natural in style, than the best translations from the German can possibly be. The field of this volume, embracing Daniel and the Minor Prophets, is one of such special arduousness, as to test eminently the ability of the writers, *quid valeant humeri*. What we know of the reputation of the authors gives us strong confidence beforehand in the general soundness and propriety of the expositions, which confidence is sustained by some cursory attention to passages here and there. We have more particularly looked into the commentaries on Joel and Obadiah, and are highly pleased with the clearness of the whole arrangement of them, and the correctness, as we regard it, of the views expressed on the more difficult questions, the *cruces interpretum*, presented in these books. It is evident that whoever calls in the aid of this volume has a guide to whose judgment, learning, and piety he may trust with as much reliance as one ought to repose on any such helps. It leaves room for the ample discussion, at certain points, of Lange's Commentary on the same passages, or (in the Minor Prophets) of Dr. Pusey's most learned and evangelical book. In respect to conservative ortho-

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doxy and evangelical spirit, as tested by our prevailing standards, it occupies a position, we should judge, between the two works just named, but nearer to the latter. We see that, as in a former volume, it does not scruple to question the accuracy of certain dates, as commonly made out from the Historical Books, and gives valuable light from the Assyrian monuments, complementary, corrective, and at the same time, highly confirmatory of the teaching supplied by the Inspired Record.

The Life of Rev. Daniel Witt, D. D., of Prince Edward County, Virginia. By J. B. JETER. Richmond: J. T. Ellyson, 1112 Main Street. 1875.

No one who reads this little volume can doubt that it ought to have been written. We would class it with Fuller's Life of Pearce, and Edward's Life of Brainard. Dr. Witt was a man of singularly pure character, and a preacher of rare eloquence. Dr. Jeter was his life-long friend, and is one of the most honored among American Baptists. It is a book which we can commend without reservation.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D. D., Minister of Barony Parish, Glasgow; one of her Majesty's chaplains; Dean of the Chapel Royal; Dean of the most ancient and most noble order of the Thistle. By his brother, the REV DONALD MACLEOD, B. A., one of her Majesty's chaplains, editor of "Good Words," etc. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company. 1876. Two volumes, pp. 362, 432.

Pocket Manual of Rules of Order for Deliberative Assemblies. By MAJ. HENRY M. ROBERT, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company. 1876. Sixteen-mo, pp. 176.

The Doctrine of the higher Christian Life. By REV. ALVAH HOVEY, D. D. Boston: Henry A. Young and Company. Pp. 141.

Outlines of the Art of Expression. By J. H. GILMORE, A. M. Second Edition, Enlarged and Revised. Boston: Gunn and Brothers. Dueodecimo. Pp. 117.

The Doctrine of Prager, and its Utility and its Relation to Providence. By P. H. MELL, D. D., LL. D. New York: Sheldon and Company.

Commenting and Commentaries; Lectures Addressed to the Students of the Pastor's College. By C. H. SPURGEON. New York: Sheldon and Company. Duodecimo. Pp. 324.

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THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY.

THE LITERARY ELEMENT IN THEOLOGY.

IN stating and discussing the subject here proposed, we must be allowed to use the terms of it in a somewhat free and general way. We shall intend by theology, not so much formal theology as Christian teaching in the wide sense, having reference more to the substance of that teaching than to any particular form or method of it. So by literature will be meant, in this discussion, that intellectual product which serves the ends of literary improvement, or literary recreation, as distinguished from the strictly didactic, and especially the scientific.

It will be conceded, we think, that there is not at present, in all respects, that reciprocal good understanding between literature and theology which ought to exist. Indeed, if certain signs are to be trusted, a tendency of this kind, which seems for some time to have been gathering strength, is likely to become more and more pronounced and manifest. We mean, of course, literature and theology as represented by their more or less conspicuous promoters. Perhaps it ought to be admitted that the unfriendly attitude is to some extent mutual. It is true, indeed, that every well-furnished theologian both appreciates and diligently acquires literary culture as a thing

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desirable in itself, not less than as a part of his necessary outfit. It is true, also, that the best and noblest literature of the world is never either the atheistic or the rationalistic, but that which was given it by men who have a reverence for God and for his word, and with whom the substantial truths of revelation were held as beliefs, whether or not made the theme of literary discourse. Unhappily, such writings as these by no means compose the whole, nor even the largest part of the world's literature; while at the present time a drift is manifest away from these models of excellence, with a growing spirit of hostility to the very idea of a divine revelation in any sense that is not an utterly delusive one, and especially to that which is designated as "theology" — this noble word being employed so often to point a sneer or edge a satire, as to be almost changed from its proper use as indicating the highest and grandest range of all knowledge, and all thought, into an epithet of dishonor.

Meanwhile, it need not be surprising if it be found that on the part of some religious people, and even religious teachers, this spirit of unfriendliness is met by an answering one; if, sometimes, the disparaging thrusts of the writer are returned with emulous vehemence by the preacher, while in the lack of proper discrimination the reproach which is just, as directed toward individuals, passes over to the entire class, and is allowed to remain as a disparagement of literature itself.

Now, it seems impossible for any considerate mind really to doubt that between these two — literature and theology — there ought to exist a perfect alliance, or that when they are found in collision, or in any way unfriendly in their bearing toward each other, somebody has made a mistake. If there be a God and a future life, there must be a true theology; for it is with these, and our relations to them, that theology deals. There must be a genuine literature, and a service in that culture of man's highest intellect, which is, apart from religion, the noblest thing he can have, that deserves to be held high in human estimation, to be honored and rewarded. So essential, besides, are these, the one to the other, and so capable of reciprocal service, while, as allied thus, mutually helpful, they combine in so many ways to promote human development and human well-being, that it seems scarcely too much to say that whoever sets them in antagonism deserves to be called an enemy of mankind. To promote between them mutual good-will and mutual support, is the plain duty of every man who has anything to say or do with reference to either. Our purpose is, now, to show what there is in theology that invites this alliance, and has evidently been intended to promote thereby most important ends in the highest forms of human culture.

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I. The thought is a familiar one, how large a literary element is found at *the sources* of theology. Some notice of this point, notwithstanding its familiarity, must be included in the present discussion. Indeed, it is a fact so notable as to bear frequent mention — this fact that the one revelation from heaven, God's communication with men, takes the form of *a literature.* For this is what the Bible really is. It is a theology, no doubt, but a theology cast in the form of a literature. Those portions of it which are most theological, are still not purely didactic, least of all systematic formulæ. Whatever of formal theology there is in the world, whatever of definite and precise ecclesiasticism, is an interpretation of the Bible, not a copy of it. When, as in several of the epistles, the style and the matter assume for a time more or less of the didactic and the argumentative, we find the writer soon returning to a method in which personal allusion, easy illustration, counsels, encouragements, salutations, are so abundant as to make it impossible for us to class the writing as a treatise, or as any other than what it claims to be, an epistle—and therefore with the literary element largely infusing its theological one. When the preacher comes before us, in the Bible, it is not at all as that sort of preacher to which the literary man sometimes takes such exception. It is not easy, we admit, to mistake the doctrine taught; but the teaching is made so vivid by its graphic use of historical fact, or its play of imagination in the way of illustration, its practical force and its racy utterance, that it comes into the narrative to which it always belongs far more like an admirably managed monologue, than as what we commonly mean by a sermon. When Matthew gives us even the Sermon on the Mount, do not those marvelous chapters deserve to rank with, though still so much above, what has been preserved to us in somewhat similar form of the great teachers of the Athenian Academy or Market Place? The New Testament, like the Old, and each in all its parts, is a *literature;* we might almost say, in the most strictly technical meaning of the word.

This, we say, is a notable fact, that God's communication with men should assume this form; notable, but not in the least surprising. For, whoever has rightly studied what God says in nature to his intelligent human creature, is prepared to find him speaking in just this way in revelation. The divine method with us, in each of these spheres, is not to give us knowledge ready made, cast already in final moulds, so prepared for use, and needing only to be appropriated and employed. That method is rather to rouse, stimulate, develop and direct the mind itself, putting it in contact with the sources and means of knowledge, but setting for it the great and sublime task of

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finding out, with these helps, all things whatsoever, as the fruit of its own study. The Bible, then, as co-ordinate with its spiritual and moral uses, if not preliminary to them, and especially its doctrinal and didactic ones, has evidently what we may call its intellectual aim.

It is permitted us to imagine a person reading this book for the first time, and reading it as he might another book, beginning with its first page, and going through to the last. He shall be a man uninstructed in religion, with neither a faith nor a prejudice. What does he find? Not a demand made at the outset for assent to certain truths, didactically stated; but he begins with a history, the oldest in the world, concise, brief, yet wonderfully rich in matter—the history of the period in the world's life to which all other literature refers, if at all, only in fables and fantasies. He is introduced to the world's "gray fathers," and carried in the masterful appeal to his imagination of the simple yet striking narrative, back into the life which men lived when the world was young. Thenceforth the tents and flocks of the patriarch, his simple dignity, his household serving him with loyalty yet without servility, his faults in moments of weakness, his strength of faith and his robust integrity when truly himself — all this becomes from that time a picture in the mind that can never fade. Meanwhile, here at the beginning, he treads upon the verge of the grandest questions that can engage human inquiry, and already himself begins to gaze, wondering, eager, into the mysteries beyond. So, as he advances from page to page, and from book to book. It is a stimulated intellect, grasping and comprehending, even exploring and discovering, not a mere receptacle swallowing what is poured in.

If one were to select, for purposes of illustration, some example of excellence in this literature of which we speak, it might perhaps as appropriately as another be the amazing power of characterization which we observe. It is, we believe, regarded as one of the difficult things in literature, and when well done an achievement eminently noteworthy, to so exhibit *character*, whether of real or fictitious personages, as that the individuality so presented shall live thenceforth in the imagination and memory of men, distinct, peculiar, immortal. The Bible men and women have an individuality of this kind very remarkable. It would seem that even in the oldest of these books we have examples of such characterization, which have supplied to the genius of invention in poetry both suggestion and inspiration, while affording to all readers of the Bible, however unconsciously to themselves, ideas both clear, and I might almost say complete, of the world's first life and first men. Those, in some respects, very ques-

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tionable dramas of Lord Byron, his "Cain," and his "Heaven and Earth," have at least this merit, that they illustrate the wonderful suggestiveness of the few words written in Genesis concerning the primeval men and women. Montgomery's "World before the Flood," is perhaps another case in point. In truth, I suppose, we have each of us a very distinct idea in our minds of the two first human brothers; of the man who walked with God so perfectly that the path of his long pilgrimage led straight past the gates of the grave and up to heaven; of the "sons of God" in their peaceful piety, and the "sons of men," with their brutal fierceness, and their ever-encroaching greed of gain and of power. "The World before the Flood" is, after all, a very real world to us; not a dim fantasy, not a cloudy mythology. In those six or seven first chapters of the Bible you have the literature of perished races and a perished world, so suggestive, in spite of its brevity, and so complete, that to us those perished races and that perished world are as real as any whose history we read. This is mainly because the men and women of that period, and the life they led, are sketched for us, though in but mere touches of the inspired pencil, in such vivid portraiture.

As we range through the subsequent books, the amount, the variety, and the quality, of this characterization are simply amazing. Not the least striking examples might be found where there is, so to speak, least of apparent effort, and even of design. One might select from the less notable personages of the Bible, men who still are representative men, and who stand amid the throng of Bible men as truly immortal as king, or prophet, or bard. The brethren of Joseph are painted with features well-nigh as distinct as his own. Caleb, the heroic common man, we know as well as we do either the great statesman, Moses, or the great leader, Joshua. Joab has an individuality as unmistakable as David. Shimei impersonates meanness as truly as Absalom does heartlessness and folly, or Jonathan unconscious self-abnegation—a soul in which all that is gentle and gracious combines with all that is most manly. Blunt and unbending Mordecai is seen as clearly sitting in the gate as gorgeous and shallow Haman riding by in his gilded chariot. Need I mention the names of women, those who have supplied to both literature and art their choicest themes, and whose bright personality remains unequalled in either the record of history or the creations of romance? Meanwhile, before *one* picture, as we enter this Memorial Hall of history, we always find the largest group of gazers, standing hushed and absorbed, some with moistened eye, some as if in silent prayer! What a power in the mild, patient face! What love, yet what awfulness, in the eyes

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so quick to beam in pity, so gentle and tender, yet so searching to the heart's core: those "lips" *have* "language"; for even in their silence they hold the world as if under a spell. Now, if it be the office of history to teach by example, what place ought to be awarded Bible history? If the power of a literature is tested by the energy of its appeal to what is noblest and highest in man's nature, what will men say of the literature of the Bible?

We must not dwell here; yet before we leave the point we may note its more general bearing by supposing that some of these Bible books were now first of all brought to light by those patient scholars who are exhuming and reading the long-buried libraries of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. Let it be such a writing as the book of Esther; let it be a dramatic poem like the book of Job; let it be a heart history like Ecclesiastes, or a condensation of the whole philosophy of human life, as in the Proverbs, or an exquisite pastoral like the Canticles; or a piece of touching biography, like the history of Joseph in Genesis; or some episode in the history of Babylon itself, like the story of Belshazzar's feast; or the account of a nation's migrations, like the Exodus, or of its wars, and victories, and final settlement, as in the book of Joshua; or a book of lyrics like the Psalms; or even a fragment of ancient poetry, like the song of Miriam, or Hannah's hymn of thanksgiving;—just as a treasure of old-world literature, what would be said of it?

The point need not be pressed. The Bible holds its place among books by a royal right divine. It is only for the sake of emphasizing one aspect of our present theme that we have spoken of these things; that is, the truth that the spiritual culture of men is here sought, not at the expense of intellectual culture, nor in any disparagement of it, but in strictest alliance with it; so making it evidently appear that devotion was never meant to be a child of ignorance; that religion is not feebleness, but strength, and that it is never more in its place than when it brings the grace of God to perfect all the best things a man can do in the culture of his own being.

II. We pass on to *the Literary Element in Theology itself.* The incident is probably familiar which has been related of the poet Shelley: how, one day, as he and Leigh Hunt were listening to the playing of an organ in the Cathedral of Pisa, he turned to his companion with the words: "What a divine religion might be found out if *charity* were made the principle of it, instead of *faith!*" This, we suppose, may be taken as the point of view at which a very great number of those more or less famous in literature have been, and still are, acccustomed to look at religion. They are not, it is true, in so

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doing, estimating religion as literature, but as religion; and still, we must believe that it is partly due to habits of mind fostered by their pursuits, that what is dogmatic in religion so much repels them, and only what is, so to speak, sentimental, attracts. Now, it seems worthy of some consideration whether, even with reference to the higher aims of literature itself, religion, *as a faith*, does not supply an element of the highest value.

Literature aims at culture — at culture in the sense defined by Principal Shairp: "When applied to the human being, it means, I suppose," he says, "the educing or drawing forth of all that is potential in a man; the training all the energies and capacities of his being to their highest pitch, and directing them to their true ends." Enlarging upon this definition, he adds of culture, that, "*first*, it sets before a man a high ideal to aim at; *secondly*, it trains all the faculties so as to enable him to realize that ideal end." Now, it is no doubt true that into such culture other things must enter besides what literature supplies; still, the literary man who truly appreciates his noble calling would feel it an indignity — and would have reason to do so—if one were to say that in a service for humanity so worthy as this, he himself fills an inferior place; that what he properly deals with is the superficial and transient; or even what might cultivate noble sentiments, and furnish character with indispensable ornamentation, so long as it is *mere* ornamentation. He sometimes lays himself open to the criticism, yet he would be none the better pleased on that account to have it urged against him.

It seems to have been somewhat in the same spirit as this saying of Shelley that Matthew Arnold brought forward, some time since, his query as to the amount of congeniality which the two poets, Virgil and Shakespeare, would have found in the company of the Puritan Pilgrims if it had happened to them to cross the Atlantic with them at that memorable time in the "Mayflower." It seems to me that the writer just quoted, in his notice of this, concedes too much when he seems to admit its force, and to aim only at turning the flank of the difficulty, such as it is, by asking: "If the two poets, instead of the Puritan exiles, had been thrown into the company of St. Paul and St. John, would they have found their society much more to their mind?" One is reminded here of Dean Stanley's mention of the ancient Latin hymn which imagines Paul upon his landing at Puteoli, on his way to Rome, turning aside to the hill Pausilipo, "to shed a tear over the tomb of Virgil, and saying to himself how much he might have made of that soul if he had found him still on earth." "Led to the tomb of Maro," says the hymn in a free translation, "he

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poured out upon it a flood of pious tears. 'How great,' he said, 'might I have made thee, greatest of poets, if I had found thee alive!'" One is reminded also of that passage in one of the sermons of the eloquent Lacordaire, in which he represents Virgil as implying in his phrase, *inania regna*, his own sense of the utter emptiness of that highest conception even his imagination could give him of the elysian immortality, that tranquil shadow of the universe which is still only a shadow, a kind of image without substance of the things past; those souls of heroes, remembering regretfully the light of the upper world, and seeking in their noiseless play to imitate the combats and games in which they had once shared.

It is permitted us to imagine that such a thing had really occurred as that Paul and Virgil, made contemporaries in a different order of divine Providence, should have met and known and valued each other. It is certain that the poet would have found in the apostle one prepared to appreciate him and his works; while, in his turn, he would have heard things which, we are sure, might have lent a nobler tone alike to his poetry and to his life. He might then have left no occasion for doubt as to the meaning of his words in such a passage as that where he predicts the return of the age of gold under the sway of one godlike in his birth, whose coming even nature welcomes with acclamation and song. Why is it so unreasonable to believe that this "noblest Roman of them all" might have accepted for himself that faith which gives substance to the things hoped for and evidence to the things not seen, and the world thus been permitted to hear from him a strain sweeter and grander than even that which charmed his own age, and which men love still after two thousand years are past?

As for Shakespeare, we believe that there was a side of his nature at which he would have touched such a Puritan as Miles Standish, or even William Brewster, and not have found himself repelled. In one of his sonnets, we find this man, about whom we know at once so much and so little, dealing thus honestly with himself:

> Alas, 'tis true, I have gone here and there,
> And made myself a motley to the view,
> Gor'd mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,
> Made old offences of affections new.
> Most true it is, that I have looked on truth
> Askance and strangely. . . .

In another, he laments that lot which—

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Did not better for my life provide
Than public means, which public manners breeds ;

evidently referring to the effect upon himself of that way of life which his profession made necessary. Then he adds :

Hence is it that my name receives a brand,
And almost, thence, my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

Is not this the utterance of a soul loyal to itself, in spite of many faults, and in its deepest self loyal to that which is noblest and truest? This is not the sort of man to undervalue robust conviction, honest belief, nor to slight as fanaticism that spirit which dared the ocean and the wilderness in search of "freedom to worship God."

But let us come closer to the main point here. We may, perhaps, with sufficient accuracy, describe what we term "the literary element" in this connection, as that which, wherever found, supplies literary suggestion and quickening. Literature itself, when genuine, is the result of a species of inspiration. The mere mechanical making of books is, of course, not literature. You cannot define this noble product as so many pages of letter press, with so many chapters, and an adequate array of tinsel in the binding. There is not a very large amount of literature in the world, after all, oppressed as the world is with its multitude of books. In all intellectual product this distinction of what is genuine from what is merely pretense, is a distinction radical and inexorable. What the intellect produces in forms having real intellectual life, it produces as the earth bears its harvest. Upon the teeming soil, with its precious germs, sun and shower fall, and there is a birth and a growth, a ripening and a fruitage. To all this, that which we term inspiration is essential. It is the shower and the sun, with a mysterious something, besides, in the genius which responds to the masterful spell, outbursting in beauty and blessing, like the fresh young life of spring, and the joyful exuberance of summer. Goldsmith, it is true, wrote for bread, but there was that in him which glorified his task-work, and transmuted the very sordidness of poverty into literary inspiration, while also it had responses for what was highest and tenderest in the themes he chose, as there was, besides, that which redeemed his plain features, his absurd garniture, his "brogue" and his "blunders" from all contempt save that of ignoble minds. The satirist who said of him that he talked like a parrot,

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could not deny that he wrote like an angel. To such men, nature, life, the past in human history, the future in human destiny, the things open and the things secret, things vast and things little, man in his various fortunes, nature in her constancy and in her capriciousness — no one can anticipate what it shall be — supplies suggestion, and in the suggestion intellectual quickening.

Now, the question before us here is, how wide or how restricted shall be the sphere within which this sort of inspiration shall be sought. We can have no reason for wishing to disparage that literature which deals with human nature in its strength or weakness, its passions, its virtues or vices, its failures or triumphs; nor that which makes of the universe a picture-gallery, and leads us through it as if under a spell. Let the excellence and value of all be conceded. Still, they who have done this best, have themselves shown how conscious they were of that which is better still. The crowning verse, the climacteric burst of eloquence, soars always beyond the material, the visible, the transient; for apart from that in man which in some sort compels this, the true literary artist knows well that his work becomes all he could wish it to be, only as the light out of heaven falls upon it. So it is that Bryant closes his "Thanatopsis" with a strain that is all the more poetical because it is religious. He even touches some of the vital things in theology itself when he exhorts us to make our life noble that our death may be restful. Again, in his "Song of the Sower," he draws upon higher sources of inspiration than nature, and gives to the strain yet a purer and sweeter note, when he sings:

> Strew silently the fruitful seed,
> As softly o'er the tilth ye tread,
> For hands that delicately knead
> The consecrated bread;
> The mystic loaf that crowns the board
> When, round the table of their Lord,
> Within a thousand temples sat,
> In memory of the bitter death
> Of him who taught at Nazareth,
> His followers are met,
> And thoughtful eyes with tears are wet
> As of the Holy One they think,
> The glory of whose rising, yet
> Makes bright the grave's mysterious brink.

Nor do we believe that there is anywhere in that exquisite picture of New England scenery and New England life, Whittier's "Snow-

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Bound," a touch of the glowing pencil that can seem guided by a truer inspiration than that in which he apostrophizes his sister, lately "gone before":

> The birds are glad; the brier-rose fills
> The air with sweetness; all the hills
> Stretch green to June's unclouded sky;
> But still I wait with ear and eye
> For something gone that should be nigh,
> A loss in all familiar things,
> In flower that blooms and bird that sings.
> And yet, dear heart! remembering thee,
> Am I not richer than of old?
> Safe in thy immortality,
> What change can reach the wealth I hold?
> What chance can mar the pearl and gold
> Thy love hath left in trust with me?
> And while in life's late afternoon,
> When cool and long the shadows grow,
> I walk to meet the night that soon
> Shall shape and shadow overflow,
> I cannot feel that thou art far,
> Since near at hand the angels are;
> And when the sunset gates unbar,
> Shall I not see thee waiting stand,
> And white against the evening star
> The welcome of thy beckoning hand?

But perhaps this is not theology? It is nothing to our present purpose how far either Bryant or Whittier may be in accord with what is taught in the schools of theology. Our argument insists only upon this—how immensely they, and such as they, would be, even in a strictly literary sense, the losers, if some veil were now suddenly and blindingly to drop down between our humanity and the high things of that other sphere where theology finds its appropriate range; what a strain we should miss in their song if there were not this point of contact between what is theology and what is poetry. And what is this point of contact? Evidently, it is in so much of religion as is *faith*, not that which is *charity* merely, even if we were to admit that there *can be* charity without faith. What I have quoted is sentiment, no doubt, but it is sentiment which could not possibly exist without belief.

To illustrate the point further, let us ask how it would have been possible for Dickens to close his "Tale of Two Cities," unhelped from

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this same source, without leaving his readers shocked and chilled? As the man about to die for his friend and the poor little seamstress, the victim, like a multitude of others without knowing why, of that reign of terror history knows so well, ride in the death-cart to the guillotine, what thoughts shall he who has brought them here, and in doing it has interested us so deeply in their fate—what thoughts shall he put into their minds, what words upon their lips? Some frivolous Frenchman, writing for readers as frivolous and heartless as himself, might have borne them through the gazing and jeering crowd chanting some patriotic ditty, or exchanging jests with those to whom such scenes were the gayest of pastimes; or possibly stunned, despairing and dumb. But Dickens was not such a one, nor did he write for such. The man and the girl, brought to know each other just as they were setting forth on that dreadful ride, she looking up into his brave, strong face with sudden trust, so soon as she learns that he is one who saves his friend's life by the sacrifice of his own, he filled with a pity for her keener even than the sense of his own terrible doom, as they ride on side by side, his strong hand clasping her weak and trembling one, there is in their fate something of the dignity of martyrdom, and we watch them on their course with a painful sympathy. Even the true literary artist will not leave it to be a scene of mere blood and gloom; he will cause to be heard there something better than the clash of the guillotine and the triumphant hoots of the crowd. It is with a just sense of what belongs to his art, whether with a higher motive than this or not, that he makes them discourse of that far different scene lying beyond the scaffold and the axe, into which these sorrowful ways of human life conduct, like valleys of the shadow of death opening out into sunshine and peace. And every reader must feel what a fitting climax it is when, as these two, one after the other, ascend to their death, he makes us hear those words which, while they sum into one refrain all that is best and dearest in human hope, combine as well all that we hold as most precious in our theology: "I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." Even with a view to the best literary impression, how could the artist here have acted more wisely than in bringing thus the fullness of comfort to meet the dire necessity of that climacteric of sorrow? Yet what is theology, but the method wise and good men use in making these very realities upon which for such occasions human need draws, definite, clear and certain; interpreting for us those supremely precious words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life"?

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III. But leaving also this point, we pass forward still one step more in the argument we are tracing. Through the large literary element treasured at its sources, and in that other literary element which it treasures in itself, theology is brought into vital, influential, and most beneficent relations *with* literature.

Mr. James Russel Lowell has, we think, entitled himself to the thanks of those who have the real interests of literature at heart, as well as of those who desire to see religion duly honored in its place, when he closes his essay on Dante with these fine and true words:

> At the Round Table of King Arthur there was left always one seat empty for him who should accomplish the adventure of the Holy Grail. It was called the perilous seat because of the dangers he must encounter who would win it. In the company of the epic poets there was a place left for whoever should embody the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly, all defeat, inwardly victorious, who should make us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ. He who should do this would achieve the perilous seat, for he must combine poesy with doctrine in such cunningwise that the one lose not all its beauty, nor the other its severity, and Dante has done it. As he takes possession of it we seem to hear the cry he himself heard when Virgil rejoined the company of great singers:
>
> **All honor to the loftiest of poets.**

We understand Mr. Lowell to lend his weighty suffrage, here, to the principle that in all supremely excellent literature there must be religion; that this religion must be more than a sentiment, it must be a "*doctrine;*" and that to answer its high end this doctrine must be there in its "*severity.*" Here is, if we mistake not, the real point of that controversy which the accomplished Englishman, whose name we scarcely need mention, has provoked. Mr. Arnold is, indeed, willing that there shall be a God in literature, provided we will not insist too much upon our old-fashioned idea of him, and let him be just "the power that makes for righteousness"; and that there shall be a Bible and a revelation, if we will consent to have all the divine life banished from both; and to man's faith an immortality, if we will understand by immortality just a living "in the eternal order." If we will substitute for all severity of doctrine, all clear, intelligent, definite *faith,* vague generalities which simply show how *little* words may sometimes be made to mean, if we will cut down our theology to these dimensions, we shall have Mr. Matthew Arnold's condescending patronage, and he will allow that literature may walk the world's

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highway along with theology, and not be *too much* ashamed of its company. It is cause for congratulation that there is a New England scholar who, without being a theologian, holds that literature, with a view to its own highest ends, has need of theology.

There is nothing, let us say, which literature in these times has so much reason to dread as the *materializing*, and so the *belittling* tendency that is so rife. The noblest uses of science are suffering heavy loss through this cause, and the same sinister influence is at work in literature. There is a process of demoralization here which advances by regular steps; first the "*earthly*," then the "*sensual*," then the "*devilish*." The history of the French, and even the Italian literature affords only too sad confirmation of the inexorableness of the law by which this process advances. When the literary man has ceased to see any nobler aim in his calling than to furnish transient entertainment; sacrificing, in this interest, perhaps even decency itself; when his subjects take no higher range than this low world in which men are only too content to live absorbed; when at the best his highest ambition is the grace of style, flavored perhaps with occasional eccentricity, and so converting literature into a species of intellectual millinery; when to be serious on any subject is considered an offense against good breeding, and religion to be always mentioned with a laugh; when the great writers of the past are models no longer, and men write just for present praise and present pay, dismissing all thought of a future, whether in this life or the next—then that process of deterioration is begun whose end is deeper down in the abyss of infamy than any of us would care to look. And we do not hesitate to say that the one effectual preservative from all this is *religion;* that the literature of any country, any age, will be saved from ultimate demoralization and contempt only by its theology. And exactly for the reason that all intellectual, as all moral life, can be preserved in purity, nobleness, strength, only as it grasps and lifts itself by that life which is higher than itself.

We do not overestimate the importance of this. What a power a literature may be history shows. Who can begin to measure the effect upon formative natural life of even the ballad-lore once so abounding, most of which has perished, yet specimens of which remain, at those periods in Grecian, Roman, German, Celtic history which antedated books and manuscripts even, when the very annals of the nation, and notably the deeds of its great ancestry, were preserved in these poetic forms, treasured only in the memory of the people, recited by father to son, by the mother to her little children, and at the banquets of nobles

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by the fauns and bards?[1] Who shall undertake to say what share the poems of Homer, thus preserved and transmitted, must have had in fashioning Greek character and Greek life? Who shall say how much we ourselves may be indebted to the German Minnisinger or the Saxon minstrel for the hardier elements that struggle so manfully in the Anglo-Saxon race against all that tends towards enervation and enfeeblement? That manly fibre once well wrought in the character of a people or a race may long survive the most hostile influence; an heroic force in the national life coming grandly to the rescue in times of emergency. On the other hand, how well we know in what way a nation's literature and a nation's power may go down together. As some writer has said, alluding to a well-known period of Roman history: "In the pedantry of Statius, in the puerility of Martial, in the conceits of Seneca, in the poets who would go into emulous raptures on the beauty of a lap-dog and the apotheosis of a eunuch's hair, we read the handwriting of an empire's condemnation." No man who has the interests of his country really at heart can be indifferent to the character of its literature.

That there are reasons for apprehension, here, so keen and just a critic as Macaulay testified twenty years ago:

> Our lighter literature [he said then] as far as I know it is spasmodic and eccentric. Every writer seems to aim at doing something odd—at defying all rules and canons of criticism. The metre must be queer; the diction queer. So great is the taste for oddity that men who have no recommendation but oddity, hold a high place in public estimation.

Do not these sentences justly characterize the newer literature now most popular, and is there not, in such a fact, cause for both humiliation and alarm? When intellectual life becomes mere trifling, however refined the trifling, must not the whole man feel the degrading effect?

That passage in one of the poems of T. B. Aldrich must have been often read, where he pictures the Judith of the old Hebrew legend standing at midnight on one of the towers of her loved city, Bethulia, looking out into the night, toward the hills where lay the beleaguering Assyrian camp, with prayer to the God of Israel and busy meditation how by some great deed to save the city and the nation. While she stands there a faint rustle of wings is heard, and an angel leans over her. And then—

[1] Macaulay quotes, in the preface to his "Lays of Ancient Rome," the following passage from Valerius Maximus, referring to the long-lost Latin ballads: Quas Athenas, quam scholam, quæ alienigena studia huic domesticæ disciplinæ prætulerim? Inde oriebantur Camilli, Scipiones, Fabricii, Marcelli, Fabii.

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> The angel stoopt, and from his radiant brow,
> And from the gleaming amaranth in his hair,
> A splendor fell on Judith, and she grew,
> From her black tresses to her arched feet,
> Fairer than morning in Arabia.

It was in that beauty that she went forth to become the saviour of her people. Such an angel is religion; in such transcending beauty and might may she invest human thought till it becomes itself angelic. Just in this way, and no other, does the genius of a great man arrive at its best, and become through long generations, a blessing and a praise.

Let it be well born in mind, besides, that there can be no great literature without great themes. The mind of the writer must own the mastery of such a theme before it can master other minds in such a way as to summon up in them all their best energy, and make them capable of best things. Were our literature to become exclusively conversant with the limited, the transient, the material, it would first itself shrink, and then in its action upon intellect and the whole spiritual nature, would belittle and degrade. Who can doubt that this conception of the infinite which we have was intended, partly, perhaps chiefly, as an instrument of growth and expansion for the whole nature of man? That, try how we may, we cannot grasp this infinite, only helps the good effect. It is by struggle and effort that man grows, and there is and can be no other means of growth so effectual as intellectual and spiritual converse with the unseen and the infinite; rising up toward their sphere he expands in the very effort of the flight; looking boldly, humbly, upon their awful beauty, he is changed into the same image, from glory to glory. Is it not, therefore, disloyalty to man's own nature when it is claimed that nothing must be conceived of as existing which we cannot comprehend, and nothing to be believed which we cannot so grasp as to explain? It is the boast of rationalism that it claims for intellect its just prerogative; in point of fact, rationalism robs the intellect of its noblest privilege, and by banishing faith from the sphere of man's intellectual life, immerses his free soul in the dungeons of sense. Materialism, rationalism, atheism, never can and never will give the world a great literature. Paganism is better than these; for in this interest, it is better to believe in the gods of Olympus, than to be without any God. Paganism gave us at least the Iliad and the Æneid; though Christianity alone could give us the "Divina Commedia" and the "Paradise Lost." For it is true what a preacher has recently said:

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Great as Homer is, his poetry has only the attractiveness of ambition and of the emblazonry of arms, of the marshaling of troops on a battle-field. Great as Homer was, he could not have written one verse of the "In Memoriam," in all his gifted life. The Christ had not yet come to empty the urns of love, and purity, and immortality, into the human heart.

This article ought not to close without some reference, however inadequate, to those who, either as theologians, or as trained at the feet of such, and having their spirit, have in their own writings showed what a benign power in literature is faith. Indeed, it would be easy to quote such example in a far wider range than what is just intimated. The Essays of Bacon must remain while the language in which they are written endures, models in their kind of every excellence; yet who that reads them doubts that their richest quality is their absolute saturation with religious thought and Scripture allusion? Did not the piety of Addison have much to do in shedding through his writings such a spirit of sweetness and all human kindness, and are they not placed in contrast with the morose effusions of Swift quite as much by that "meekness and gentleness of Christ" which is in them, as by their nobler thought and purer style? The greatest of English essayists, Macaulay, felt all his life long the power of that religious faith in which his childhood was trained, and it is just about the highest tribute that can be paid him to say that the trenchant blade he wielded was never turned against that truth which his father loved and taught him, nor ever was so used as to hurt the Christian sensibility of any humble believer. Of our own Irving let it be remembered how he stood, one day in his later life, gazing at a print of the suffering Saviour in a shop-window on Broadway, absorbed in its contemplation, with tears upon his cheek; and let it be said of him, what is true, that there is no line of his writing which, as a Christian, he need "wish to blot."

But meantime let it be especially said how, during at least three centuries, on both sides of the sea, there have been men who, not forgetting that their chief business in this life was to teach religion, have at the same time contributed large store of wealth to the treasures of our English literature, and have had their part with those who have done most for culture in its intellectual as well as its spiritual sense. These, too, were men of genius, and worthy of their renown; but their best service to the world was in demonstrating in their works as in their lives, how much a diviner thing, after all, is faith than genius.

In view of all, it is certainly not too much to claim that neither

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can literature, upon the one hand, with any justice disparage theology, nor upon the other, ought theology to undervalue, or fail in its own high service to literature. We are not using language too severe when we characterize as utterly superficial and false all that in the current literature which treats with disrespect what religion teaches and Christians believe. It is a sign of weakness, not of strength, in any intellect, that it lacks faith, and what such intellect produces is deficient in the very noblest intellectual element in proportion as it is skeptical or unbelieving. Nor can theology ever surrender its right to teach the intellect of the world while seeking to draw the world's affections toward what is highest and best. While our theology should hold always a friendly attitude towards whatever is true and pure in the intellectual life of our times, it can never surrender its title to lead the thought as well as control the faith of every age, and to represent in the world that mind of God which it is the highest glory of the human mind to know, to worship, and to resemble.

J. A. Smith.

Chicago, Ill.

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HORATIO BALCH HACKETT.

Memorials of Horatio Balch Hackett. Edited by George H. Whittemore. Rochester. 1876.

THIS is Rochester's very appropriate tribute to the memory of the great scholar whose recent death the friends of sacred learning, at home and abroad, so deeply deplore. In its mechanical execution the volume leaves nothing to be desired, thanks to the generous benefactor of the Seminary, Mr. John B. Trevor. The memorials, too, are worthy of the beautiful dress in which they appear. The editor has performed his task lovingly and faithfully. A favorite pupil at Newton of him whose life he sketches with such tender appreciation, and later his esteemed colleague at Rochester, Prof. Whittemore possessed admirable qualifications for the service to which he was called by the family and friends of the departed; and he deserves, and we are sure will receive, the hearty thanks of those who love the name and cherish the memory of Horatio B. Hackett.

The more prominent facts in Dr. Hackett's life may be very briefly stated. He was born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, December 27, 1808. His father, Richard Hackett, was a ship-builder, as was his grandfather, John Hackett, who superintended the construction of the Continental frigate Alliance. His mother, Martha Balch, was the daughter of Rev. Benjamin Balch, of Barrington, New Hampshire. His early years were spent in Salisbury and vicinity. September 11, 1823, he entered Phillips Academy, Andover, and graduated in August, 1826, with the valedictory addresses. In September, of that

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year, he was admitted to the Freshman class in Amherst College. In his Sophomore, or early in his Junior year, occurred his conversion, and he united with the college (Congregational) church, November 2, 1828. Graduating at Amherst with the highest honors August 25, 1830, he entered the Theological Seminary at Andover. At the close of his first year he returned to Amherst as a tutor in the college. Resuming his studies at Andover, in the autumn of 1832, he completed the course, and graduated in 1834. September 22, of that year he was married to Mary W. Balch, and at once proceeded to Baltimore, Md., where he had received an appointment as classical instructor in Mount Hope College. During the latter part of his course at Andover he had found himself no longer in agreement with his Congregational brethren on the subject of infant baptism. He now found himself no longer in agreement with them as to the mode of baptism, and in July, 1835, he united with the First Baptist Church in Baltimore. In September following, he became Adjunct Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literatures in Brown University. August 5, 1839, he was elected Professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation in the Newton Theological Institution, a position which he occupied until June, 1868, when he resigned, intending to devote himself wholly to private studies. But he missed his classroom labors; and when in the autumn of 1869 the professorship of Biblical Literature and New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Rochester was tendered to him, he accepted the position, and entered upon his labors in September, 1870. There, November 2, 1875, just forty-seven years from the day he united with the College Church at Amherst, his life-work was brought to a close. He had had his usual morning exercise at the Seminary with the students of the Middle Class. On his return home he complained of a severe pain in his side. He was at once laid upon a bed, the best remedies at hand were applied, and physicians were summoned. But before they arrived life was extinct, so suddenly had the dying scholar been called from the noblest employments of earth to the yet nobler employments of heaven.

The interpretation of the word of God, therefore, was the great work to which his life was devoted. His preparation for that work is especially worthy of consideration. In one sense he was a born exegete. He possessed in a marked degree those mental qualities, clearness, comprehensiveness, tact, imagination, good judgment, etc., that are requisite to the highest success in mastering the thought of the sacred writers. But philological attainments were necessary. He must be familiar with the languages in which the Scriptures were

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written. He must possess himself of the amplest stores of Biblical knowledge. To reach the beginning of his long and laborious preparation, therefore, we must go back to his school-days in the Academy at Andover. There, in his classical studies, he acquired the most "minute and rigid accuracy." He was even then a "ferocious" student. Dr. O. W. Holmes, who was one of his fellow-students at Andover, says that when he first saw him in the school-room, "his head was between his hands, and his eyes were fastened to his book as if he had been reading a will that made him heir to a million." And he adds:

> Thousands of faces and forms that I have known more or less familiarly, have faded from my remembrance; but this presentiment of the youthful student, sitting there entranced over the page of his text-book—the child-father of the distinguished scholar that was to be—is not a picture framed and hung up in my mind's gallery, but a fresco on its walls, there to remain so long as they hold together.

It was truly a presentiment. The young scholar was aware that great opportunities were his, such, we may suppose, as he had long coveted; and he used them conscientiously, diligently. His mind was all aflame with the desire to seize the treasures of knowledge. Others might esteem them as of little value, but he was determined to bend all his energies in the endeavor to make them his.

The same enthusiastic devotion to his studies he manifested at Amherst. Prof. Tyler, his distinguished classmate, said at the funeral services at Newton:

> I always think of him in study hours, as I saw him more than once, in a partially darkened bed-room, with his coat laid aside, in his shirt sleeves, standing beside his high desk, with every thought and every power manifestly concentrated on his books.

From the same authority we learn that he was in no sense a "dig." For honors, in themselves considered, he cared nothing. He loved learning for its own sake. But honors came to him in the college as in the academy. He easily led his class, a position not grudgingly nor contemptuous acknowledged. Indeed then, and to his latest years, he was regarded by his classmates with peculiar affection and pride.

It was at Amherst, too, as we have already seen, that his religious life commenced. The same intensity of purpose that he had manifested in seeking earthly things was now manifested in the search for heavenly things. There was a revival of religion in the college, one

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of the many that have marked the history of this seat of learning. As the Spirit of God moved upon his heart he felt that the time had come when by him the question of questions, "What think ye of Christ?" must be answered. And so he laid aside his studies, resolved to seek the Lord if haply he might find him; and he did not open his books until he had found peace in believing.

His thoughts were soon directed to the Christian ministry as his future sphere of activity; and accordingly, at the close of his collegiate course, he entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, and commenced the more immediate preparation for what was really to be his life-work. Moses Stuart then occupied the chair of Biblical exegesis. He had entered upon his work in 1810, "with little more than a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet," according to his own confession, "and the power of making out, after a poor fashion, too, the bare translation of some chapters in Genesis, and a few Psalms, by aid of Parkhurst's Lexicon, and without the vowel points." He was a man, however, who would break a road if one were needed. In his investigations, finding here and there references to German sources, he determined at length to possess himself of the treasures locked up in the German language. With great zeal he entered upon the task. On account of his German studies, however, it was not long before the report was circulated that he had become a rationalist, and even his friends were alarmed at his growing interest in this department of study. The experience was a painful one to him; but he believed he knew better than his friends the value of the sources to which he had betaken himself, and soon they, too, were satisfied that he was right. Thus shortly after the appearance of his famous reply to Dr. Channing's attack on the doctrine of the Trinity he was riding with his colleague, Dr. Porter. The latter took occasion to express his appreciation of the service thus rendered.

> I thanked him for his kind and generous feelings [said Prof. Stuart]; and then added, looking him fully and tenderly in the face: "What if I had followed the advice of my friends, and abstained from all pursuit of German study? Could I have written this pamphlet?" His eye glistened with tender emotion, and he frankly answered, at once, and without a moment's hesitation: "No, you could not; you are in the right in this matter, and your friends in the wrong; take your own way for the future."

And he did. When Dr. Hackett entered the Seminary Moses Stuart for ten years had read more in the German language than in his native tongue, assured, as he said, that there was "more *scientifical* knowledge of Biblical criticism comprised in the German

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(including the Latin productions of Germans), than in all the other languages of the world taken together." He was at that time in the fullness of his intellectual strength, at the height of his fame, a master in Israel.

Associated with him, as Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature, was Dr. Edward Robinson, now so well known by his celebrated "Researches in Palestine." He had at that time just returned from a four year's residence abroad, and was even more at home in the German language, and its literature, than was Prof. Stuart.

It was under the influence of these great and inspiring teachers that Dr. Hackett came on his return to Andover. With passionate energy he at once devoted himself to the studies of his class. Dr. Park has given us a vivid sketch of this "fiery scholar." "He was so eager to put himself into the exact position of the author whom he studied, to enter with the author's distinctive method of thinking and feeling; he was so annoyed when he failed to stand at the precise angle of vision which the author stood at, and to catch the particular shade in which the author was looking at his subject, that he would sometimes leave his study-chair, rush from one side of his room to the other side, throw himself on the floor, and there toss himself to and fro, laboring and struggling for just the right thought and just the right word. His spirit was like a storm all the day; and when the day was gone his body was like the sea after it had been agitated by the wind. It would not rest. The darkness of the night brought him no repose." In this way at Andover the work of preparation was carried forward. Of couse there was progress, rapid progress. He was the glory of his instructors, and both they and his fellow-students predicted that his course would be onward and upward.

It hardly need be said that such a student followed his instructors to the German sources of Biblical knowledge. Richly was he rewarded, as he ever afterward confessed. An illustration of his eager pursuit of truth, and his hearty acceptance of it, we have in the investigations by which he was led to change his denominational relations. In his last year at Andover he was requested to prepare an essay on infant baptism. A re-statement of the usual arguments by which the validity of the ordinance is supported would not of course satisfy so thorough a scholar. With open mind he went to the word of God, examined the passages to which appeal is commonly made, turned to the pages of church history, the writings of the fathers, and at length, satisfied that the doctrine had no warrant either in the Scriptures or in the history of the primitive churches, he communicated his views to his instructors. Counter arguments could not

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shake the rocky strength of his position. "With all his deference to his teachers," says Dr. Park, "he was too honest to coincide with them when he did not regard them as coinciding with the truth." Still further investigation, after his graduation, satisfied him that he and his brethren were in error not only in their views of the subjects of baptism, but also of the mode of baptism. His place, therefore, was with the Baptists, and honestly accepting the results to which by his studies he had been led, he entered our ranks, an accession for which as a denomination we can never be too grateful to Almighty God. It was not easy thus to break the ties that he had formed during those never-to-be-forgotten years at Andover. Indeed in one sense they were never broken. Through life he had no dearer friends than his old associates in the Seminary. With words of affectionate remembrance Dr. Park spoke for them at the funeral service at Newton, when he said: "His friends loved him when he agreed with them, and they continued to love him when he differed from them. They believed him to have one single aim, and that was to learn and do the right."

In his translation of Buttman's Greek Grammar, published in 1833, Dr. Edward Robinson, in the preface, made mention of the assistance he had received from "Mr. H. B. Hackett, late Tutor in Amherst College, and Mr. A. Crosby, Professor elect of Languages in Dartmouth College, from both of whom the public has a right to expect much in future, for the advancement both of classical and of sacred learning in our country." At first, in Dr. Hackett's case, it seemed as if classical learning was especially to be benefited by his enthusiastic and accurate scholarship. For five years after his graduation at Andover, he was chiefly engaged in giving instruction in the languages of Greece and Rome. It is noticeable, however, that in the last year of his work as an instructor in Brown University he was made Professor of Hebrew Literature; and that an article published in the "American Biblical Repository" in the same year, a translation from the Latin of Tzschirner, was entitled, "On the Infrequency of the Allusions to Christianity in Greek and Roman Writers." Biblical studies, it is evident, had an attraction for him which no others had; and when in 1839 he was called to the chair of Biblical Literature and Interpretation in the Newton Theological Institution, he recognized the guiding hand of his heavenly Father, and accepted the position with the earnest desire of advancing the cause of sacred learning.

Great, however, as was the preparation he had already made for his work at Newton, he by no means regarded it as complete. He

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was aware how much in their attainments Dr. Robinson and Prof. Stuart were indebted to German Biblical scholars, and he determined to avail himself of the same help and inspiration. The translations made by him from Hemsen's, "Der Apostel Paulus," in the "Christian Review" for 1840 and 1841, afford evidence of his early attention to German authors. But he desired a greater familiarity with the language, literature, and Biblical scholars of Germany, than it was possible to obtain in this country. Accordingly, September 1, 1841, he sailed from Boston with Prof. John L. Lincoln, of Brown University, for a year's residence at the Universities of Halle and Berlin. At Halle he was especially interested in the lectures of Tholuck and Gesenius. With Tholuck he formed a friendship as beautiful as it was lasting. Prof. Lincoln says of that season of study at Halle:

> I am inclined to think that Hackett never spent six months of more intense intellectual activity than during that fall in Halle. I know that we often said to each other, at the close of a hard day's work, that we were never so conscious of daily progress in study, under the perpetual pressure of the noblest incentives, as in those five months of study in Germany. It was far less common then than now for Americans to study in Germany, and we felt in their full force intellectual influences which are now more widely diffused.

In Berlin, where Dr. Hackett came under the influence of Neander especially, there was the same intense activity in his work; and he returned to Newton, at the close of his year abroad, laden with richest spoils.

But even then he did not regard his preparation for his work as complete; and when in December, 1851, from the sales of the first edition of his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, he had provided himself with the necessary funds for a second journey abroad, he asked for a leave of absence, and at once made his way to Egypt and Palestine, with the conviction that in those lands he might add "something" to his power as an interpreter of the sacred word. He added much. A new revelation, as it were, was there made to him; and to his latest days he referred with the greatest satisfaction to the benefits he derived from that memorable journey.

But even then he was not content. He believed that a knowledge of the modern Greek language, "the still extant form of the dialect through which the gospel was first spoken, and still speaks to our race," would be of great use to him in his New Testament studies; and on entering the service of the American Bible Union as a translator, the opportunity of visiting Greece was afforded him. In Greece

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he was amid scenes of hardly less interest to the Bible student than those which had so thrilled him when in Palestine. He stood on Mars Hill, where Paul, "the matchless Paul," had discoursed to the men of Athens. He went to Thessalonica and Philippi. He crossed over into Asia Minor, and visited Smyrna. But his main purpose was study, and with characteristic energy he devoted himself to his task. In a letter written at Athens while thus engaged, he said:

> I have never had a moment's misgiving as to the utility of this journey. I feel much stronger for the work, and am sure that I can now perform it with much more satisfaction to myself, and that the result will vindicate fully the wisdom of the course.

It certainly did. The language in which the New Testament is recorded was henceforth to him a living tongue; as Dr. Strong has so well said, "the rhythm and grace of it had entered into his brain and blood."

Such, in briefest outline, was what we have called Dr. Hackett's preparation for his work. We pass now to consider his prosecution of this work.

And here we notice first the fact that with all his preparation, preparation so thorough and so long continued, he was devoutly sensible of his dependence upon the presence and aid of the Spirit of God. He never made a parade of his piety; but those whose privilege it was in his years of instruction at Newton, and at Rochester, to bow with him in prayer, either in the class-room or in the chapel, still better those who were associated with him in the private walks of life, know how reverently, and with what childlike faith, he walked and talked with God. The glimpse of this "humble, prayerful, penitent believer," which we have in the words of the cherished friend who accompanied him on his last European tour, will in others recall like glimpses which they have had in their association with him.

> In our journeyings abroad [says Dr. Furber] it was his desire that we might have prayer together as often as we conveniently could. And whenever a convenient time occurred, whether morning or evening, he was usually the first to take up his Testament and signify his readiness for a season of devotion. And repeatedly, on entering a room which we used in common, did I find him in a kneeling attitude, engaged in secret prayer.

This was in the last year of his life; but so it had been in all the years of his busy labors. "Help me ever to consecrate to Thee the fruit of my studies," was a petition recorded in his diary in 1848;

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and after he was elected to a professorship at Rochester, but before he had entered upon his work, he recorded this prayer:

> Be pleased to smile upon my future contemplated labor in the new sphere which Thy providence has opened to me. May I have health and vigor of mind to make me still useful as a teacher of those whom thou dost call to serve thee in the ministry, who may look to me for instruction and guidance.

That prayer was assuredly answered. The smile of the Lord followed him to Rochester, and his last years, as he desired, were among the most useful of his laborious life.

Sensible of his dependence upon God, therefore, and with the ever-present desire to benefit those who should place themselves under his instructions, Dr. Hackett devoted himself to his work. In the class room he required of his students what he ever required of himself, thorough work. Carelessness, inexactness he regarded as inexcusable anywhere, especially in the study of the sacred word. Attention first of all was directed to the text of the passage which formed the lesson for the day. In his later years, in the class-room, Dr. Hackett used Scrivener's Greek Testament, and recommended it to his students as a convenient textual help. Holding up his copy on one occasion, he said: "I am willing to lend any book I have in my library, but *no one* can have my Scrivener." At Newton, about the same time, a Junior, reading a verse in the lesson, was suddenly stopped by the question, "Whose Testament have you, sir?" "Greenleaf's," was the reply. Never shall we forget the tones with which the words leaped from Dr. Hackett's lips, "And who is Greenleaf?" After the examination of the text, the language of the sacred writer was scrutinized. The precise shade of meaning of important words in the passage, the force of prepositions and particals, facts archæological, geographical, historical, necessary in order to the full understanding of the author's meaning, were brought to view in rapid succession; and then, oftentimes, lifting his eyes from his notes, and seizing the writer's thought as it filled his own soul, he would unfold it in words so thrilling as to stir even the dullest mind, and bring every heart into warmest sympathy with the inspired and the inspiring word. Not unfrequently, by way of illustration, he would read a passage from one of the poets, or from a recent book of travels in Palestine, or from some new German work. On one occasion he brought from his home his large framed engraving of Raphael's Transfiguration, which was a favorite picture with him. The lesson for the day was Mark's account of that sublime scene in the Saviour's

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life. With his usual thoroughness, the passage was examined, its lessons unfolded, and then, placing the engraving on the desk in full view of all, he called the attention of the class to the artist's conception, spoke of his feelings on witnessing the original in Rome, and with thoughts that breathed, and words that burned, contrasted the scene as presented by the sacred historian with that presented by the great painter.

Though he was strict, therefore, in his requirements in reference to grammatical details, urging his students to have always within reach the latest edition of Winer's Greek Grammar, Dr. Hackett did not make his class room a place for the exhibition of the bones of exegesis merely. The sacred writings interested him on account of their literary and historical value, but not on this account alone. They have a practical value, he believed, yes, the greatest practical value. "I do feel," he once wrote in his diary, "that all the certain light which shines upon that spirit-world which lies beyond this, comes to us through the medium of the inspired volume." And so as the great truths of revelation came before him in his class-room, and stirred his soul in its lowest depths, he could not but speak, and it was given him to speak with almost apostolic fervor.

It follows that Dr. Hackett was an inspiring teacher. His fiery ardor was contagious. Burdens he laid upon his students, but they never complained. They rather rejoiced when he called upon them to do some additional work in which they could show their appreciation of the value of his instructions. Of course, not all were equal in their attainments; but he was as much pleased with the scholar of low as with the scholar of high degree, if he discovered equal diligence, equal striving after the mastery. Like Arnold of Rugby, he was ready to take off his hat to a man of moderate abilities, who by his faithfulness in his studies shamed the efforts of more gifted classmates.

In his class-room work Dr. Hackett took great delight. In the preface to his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, he says: "The author can recall no happier hours than those which he has spent in giving instruction on this book of the New Testament to successive classes of theological students." But a good class, one in which there was not only enthusiasm, but more than average scholarship, was his especial delight. In a letter to one of the members of the class of 1864, dated Newton Centre, October 8, 1862, he wrote:

> The last year's work with your class dwells in my memory like a delightful dream of which I love to think, but with sadness that it has passed away so swiftly and forever. I never enjoyed myself so much in

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my studies during the more than twenty years of my life as a teacher here, as I did last year in connection with your class.

He seemed to regard himself not so much as the teacher of such students, as an associate in common investigations; and when he met them after they had completed the studies of his own department, he would speak, as in this letter, "of the interesting inquiries in which it was our pleasure to be employed." And so if he was proud of them, much more were they proud of him; and they gave him a place in their affections always sacred, but how sacred many did not imagine till he had closed his earthly labors, and entered into rest.

At times, it is true, he was severe, and in his severity not always just. A student, whose preparation for the class room was scanty, vexed his righteous soul, and if he did not vex the student it was not for the lack of suitable questions. Yet, if in this at any time he was unjust, how ample his apology! Dr. G. W. Samson has given us an illustration from Dr. Hackett's earliest years as an instructor:

> One morning, in his half-playful, half-inspiriting way, he stopped a pupil who was reciting, and called suddenly on another, whose eye he saw off his book. The true scholar, as he proved to be, began first two or three words after his predecessor, and then sat down displeased with his Professor. At the close of the recitation he called the aggrieved boy to his side, and with wonderful compliment, as well as sympathy, exclaimed: "*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*" — sometimes good Homer nods. When informed that weakness of eyes was the pupil's excuse, he was won to a friendship lasting as life.

Another illustration belongs to his later years. A student had been summoned home by the sudden death of a sister. The first exercise after his return to Newton was a review of the work of the class in Hebrew during the preceding week. He had gone over the review hastily and imperfectly, and went to the class-room not expecting to be called up. But the fact and the occasion of his absence seemed to have been forgotten, and he was soon asked to read. He blundered badly as may well be imagined, and the questions that followed left him in still worse plight. At length, with an air of disgust, and an expression of impatience, he sat down. A few days after there was a knock at the student's door. "Come in," he called. The door opened, and there stood Dr. Hackett. The student saw his opportunity, and rising hurriedly, he said: "Doctor, I was very much ruffled in the class-room a few days ago, and wish to say I have been heartily ashamed of myself ever since." The apology, so frank and spontaneous, touched Dr. Hackett's heart. He grasped the student's hand, and the tears gathered in his eyes, as he replied, "Say no more.

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I was wrong myself. You have done well in your studies." Then, after a warm pressure of the hand, he was gone. That was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two. "I was ever glad such an opportunity had occurred for enabling me to understand you better and love you more," were the words with which, not long after, in a letter to this student, Dr. Hackett referred to that occasion.

But his work with his students did not consume all his energies. Shortly after his return from his first journey abroad, he prepared the following list of books which he thought he would like to write: 1. Chaldee Reader; 2. Syriac Grammar and Chrestomathy; 3. Introduction to Old and New Testaments; 4. Theological Dictionary; 5. Critical Studies in the Gospels; 6. Analecta on the Psalms; 7. Hebrew Guide for Writing; 8. Commentary on New Testament. One does not often follow the path of his appointment, and Dr. Hackett was no exception to the general rule. In his literary work, although he made several attempts, he never learned the art so well understood by German professors, of employing students in gathering materials, and in executing various details which could be done as well by them as by himself. His list of published writings is nevertheless a long one, and attests the fact that he prosecuted his work with his pen in his hand. In 1844, he published, with notes, Plutarch's work "On the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked." In 1845, appeared his translation of Winer's "Grammar of the Chaldee Language." His "Exercises in Hebrew Grammar" followed in 1847. The first edition of his "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles" appeared in 1851. In 1855 he published his "Illustrations of Scripture," suggested by a tour through the Holy Land three years before. In 1858, a new, revised, and greatly enlarged edition of his "Commentary on the Acts" appeared. His "Notes on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to Philemon," followed in 1860. In 1860–63 he wrote thirty articles for Dr. William Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." His "Christian Memorials of the War" he published in 1864. In 1868, he published a translation of Van Oosterzee's "Philemon" in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, and added many notes of his own. In 1870, appeared his translation of Braune's "Philippians,' also in Lange's *Bibelwerk*. In the same year he completed his well-known edition of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," commenced in 1867, and carried on with the co-operation of Dr. Ezra Abbot, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1873, he published an edition of Rawlinson's "Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament," with notes and appendices. Since his death, the American Bible Union has published his revised translation of the "Book of Ruth."

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The last work was prepared while he was in the service of the Union, a service which he entered in April, 1857, and from which he did not retire until he removed to Rochester, in 1870. He believed that in the work in which the Union was engaged, he could advance the cause of sacred learning, and as Dr. Armitage has very justly said, he gave to it his name, his influence, and his ripe scholarship, at a time when there was an unrelenting and narrow opposition to a popular revision of the English Version of the word of God. When, a few years ago, the American Board of Revisers was organized, to co-operate with the English Revision Committee, in the work they had undertaken, Dr. Hackett was invited to a place in the New Testament section, and so far as his other duties and his delicate health would allow, heartily engaged in labors from which, believing as he did in the necessity of the work, he anticipated so much good to the churches of Christ.

Mention in this connection should also be made of his numerous and valuable contributions to periodical literature, especially to the *Christian Review* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

For several years before his death it was Dr. Hackett's wish to rewrite his "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," and the recent literature of this, to him, so attractive portion of the word of God was carefully studied with a view to a new edition. But certain obstacles, which he had not anticipated, were encountered, and the work was deferred. It is greatly to be regretted that he was unable to accomplish the desire of his heart.

In prosecuting his work, therefore, there was the same enthusiasm, diligence and thoroughness as in his preparation for it; yet he was not a book-worm. The course of public affairs he carefully watched, and in the dark days of the Rebellion, when the noise of war filled the land, there was no one who followed our armies with a more anxious, prayerful interest. Some of the young men in the Institution entered the service of the country; and one of his nephews and a namesake, a member of the 35th Massachusetts Volunteers, was among the slain at the battle of Antietam. One or two of his anniversary addresses during the war will long be remembered for the fullness of their patriotic fervor. His "Christian Memorials of the War" was a labor of love. He would have it known in after times that so large a class of the men who served in the armies of their country were animated by Christian principle and heroism. But grandly thrilling was his address, in the summer of 1864, at the dedication of the soldier's monument in the cemetery at Newton, not far away from the spot where he is now buried. It was not only a fitting trib-

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ute to the men of the town who up to that hour of the conflict had died in the service, but also an eloquent vindication of the wisdom of the government in its vast expenditure of treasure and blood in the endeavor to maintain the nation's sovereignty.

It only remains for us to consider his attainment in his work. Doubtless it was not beyond what was anticipated by his early instructors; and yet unquestionably the limit reached fell short of that which he himself had fixed. Indeed, at every stage of his work, the language of the apostle he might very properly have made his own, "I count not myself to have apprehended," with those added words, indicating the ruling purpose of his heart, "but this one thing I do." For as we have seen he was always pressing on, and with great singleness of aim. In this connection, we are reminded of an incident which occurred at Eisenach, in Germany, in one of his journeys abroad. He wished to visit the Wartburg, the famous castle which crowns the height that overlooks the town; and as he inquired the way, when at times his course seemed uncertain, the answer returned was this, "*Immer hinaus und hinauf*," straight forward and upward. So it was with him in his course through life. His eyes were ever fixed on the fair heights above and beyond: and as if with these words as his motto, "*Immer hinaus und hinauf*," he moved on straight forward and upward, if not, in his later years, with old-time endurance, certainly with old-time ardor.

Although, therefore, even at the close of life, Dr. Hackett could not say that he had already attained, there was attainment such as might have gratified the noblest ambition. In scholarship, he was certainly pre-eminent. He had made himself a master in whatever pertained to the languages in which the Scriptures were recorded. Then, too, he was familiar with the latest results of archæological and geographical investigations in Bible lands. Concerning the history of those lands, also, both political and religious, he was thoroughly conversant. Indeed, he had so richly stored his mind with Biblical knowledge in all its departments, that, as he once remarked, the revision of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" afforded him a relief most welcome, in that it enabled him to unburden himself of so many facts concerning the Scriptures, which he had not had an opportunity of using elsewhere. It was unquestionably his breadth of scholarship, so remarkable, which was the occasion of his selection for this important work.

As a teacher, he was equally pre-eminent. Great scholars are not so rare as great teachers, and among the few in our land who have distinguished themselves alike as scholars and teachers, a place in the

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very first rank must be assigned to Dr. Hackett. In his own department of Biblical exegesis, even in the old world, he certainly has not had a superior as an instructor, and we doubt if he has had an equal. He knew how to invest the minutest grammatical details with a fascinating interest. It was a pleasure to listen to the language of the Scriptures as it flowed from his classic lips. But when he had reached the thought of the sacred writer, as he poured forth the stores of Biblical learning with which to illustrate it, what student at the close of the hour—hour closing all too soon—did not find the words of the sorrowing disciples at Emmaus leaping to his lips, "Did not our heart burn within us while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?" President Anderson, at the funeral services at Rochester, had all this, and more than this in mind, when he said, "I delight to think of him as a typical representative of the Teacher's Profession."

Dr. Hackett's written commentaries lack the fire and the brilliancy of his oral instructions; and yet his eminence in these, also, is conceded. Compared with commentaries like those of Stuart and Hodge, the best that any of our American commentators have produced, what a value has his "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles"! Even when the first edition appeared, the *New Englander* (February, 1852), said of it: "We do not believe that a commentary in which the rule *ne quid nimis* is more observed, while nothing important is withheld, has ever proceeded from the American press." Dr. A. P. Peabody, in the *North American Review* (July, 1858), after the appearance of the second edition, said: "This commentary leaves nothing to be desired;" and called it, "one of the very few works of the kind in the English language which approaches in massive erudition the master works of the great German critics, differing from them only in possessing a soundness and accuracy which they sometimes lack."

And such was the general judgment in reference to this great work, not only in this country, but in England, and on the continent. An edition published in England, was received with great favor. Dr. Paton J. Gloag, of Scotland in his own commentary on the Acts, speaks of the "admirable commentary" by Dr. Hackett, as "decidedly the best work on the subject in the English language." Tholuck once expressed to us the same opinion. We have in our possession a letter written by Meyer, in 1869, in which the distinguished German commentator makes mention of his high appreciation of Dr. Hackett's "Acts." His own commentary, by its references to it in the discussion of important passages, attests his familiarity with it.

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We may say, therefore, that in this department of sacred learning in which the larger portion of his life-work was done, Dr. Hackett achieved the very highest distinction. The five talents entrusted to him he used, not for his own, but for his Lord's sake; and he made them other five talents. When, therefore, at last, at the coming of the Lord, he laid at his feet the treasures he had accumulated in a service so full of honor, who can doubt that to him the approving words were spoken: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!"

In 1869, Dr. Tholuck closed a letter to Dr. Hackett with these words:

> As to myself, the relief from my watchpost will soon come; for, although in my labors God has preserved my strength in so great a degree, I have now reached my seventieth year. That he who has preserved me to this hour, however, may preserve you joyfully in your work even beyond this limit of life, is the heartfelt prayer to God of my wife, and yours faithfully, AUGUSTUS THOLUCK.

But Providence ordered otherwise. Dr. Hackett was the first to be released; and now the devout Tholuck, though laid aside from the labors to which his life has been consecrated, "preparing himself for a blessed end," as Mrs. Tholuck writes, sends his tribute to the memory of the friend of so many years, and closes his letter with this wish: "May God keep his memory alive in many hearts in America, and among the young raise up many who shall follow him!" It is a wish in which the lovers of sacred learning in our land may most appropriately join. One great need in our Theological Institutions is more such "fiery scholars," more such enthusiastic, inspiring teachers, and especially in the institutions of our own denomination. It has been our glory that we have had such men as Hackett, and Conant, and Kendrick, in the department of Biblical exegesis. The succession must not fail. And so we join in the wish of the venerable Tholuck, himself through all his course a "fiery scholar," "May God keep the memory of Horatio B. Hackett alive in many hearts in America, and among the young raise up many who shall follow him!"

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

PORTLAND, MAINE.

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THE FUTURE OF CATHOLIC NATIONS.

A STUDY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE. BY PROFESSOR STEPHEN H. CARPENTER.

De l'Avenir des Peuples catholiques. Étude d'économie sociale, par Émile de Laveleye, Membre de l'Institut de droit international des Académies royales de Belgique, de Madrid, et de Lisbonne; Correspondant de l'Institut de France; Officier d'Académie de l'Université de France, etc.

THE decadence of the Latin races has of late been a frequent subject of remark. They decline rapidly, it is said, and the future belongs to the Germanic and Slavic races. I do not believe that the Latin races must be condemned to a decline because of the blood that flows in their veins, that is to say, in consequence of a predestined cause, predestined because a people cannot change their nature, or modify their physical constitution; but what seems to be indicated by history, and especially by contemporaneous events, is that Catholic nations progress less rapidly than those that have ceased to be catholic, and that, relatively to the latter, they have apparently retrograded. This fact is so evident that even the bishops and their organ in France, *l'Univers*, have made it a text for reproaches upon unfaithful Catholics.

Various reasons prevent me from attributing this fact, which cannot be denied, to the influences of race.

The destiny of nations certainly depends in part upon their physical constitution. If we recur to their origin, we find but two causes which can explain the different destinies of nations: race and loca-

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tion; the constitution of man on the one hand, and on the other the influence of external nature—climate, geographical situation, products of the soil, the aspect of places, the means of support. But, in fact, when we have to treat of nations, of such mingled blood as the Europeans, and which have, furthermore, descended from a common stock, it is extremely difficult to connect with any scientific certainty the social facts with the operation of race.

The English know how, better than the French, to put in practice a parliamentary government and political liberty. Is this due to the influence of blood? I do not think so; for until near the sixteenth century France, Spain, and Italy, possessed provincial liberties very similar to the English liberties. The only noticeable difference was that the English had a centralized government with a single parliament as an organ which showed itself strong enough to cope with royalty. The Norman conquest having unified England, a united parliament could be established, and the royal power being very great, the nobility and the commons united to oppose it, while elsewhere they were continually in conflict.

The destinies of France and of England became wholly different only after the sixteenth century, when the Puritans had conquered the Stuarts, and when Louis XIV, by banishing the Reformers from France, had extirpated the last remnants of local self-government, and the only elements that could offer any serious resistance to despotism.

When we see that the Protestant Latins surpass the Germanic peoples that are still Catholic; when in the same country, and in the same neighborhood, of the same language, and the same origin, we see that the reformed progress more rapidly and more regularly than the Catholics, it is difficult not to attribute their superiority to the religion which they profess.

There has been too frequently brought to the study of these questions the passions of sect or the prejudices of irreligion. It is time to apply the scientific method of observation, and the scientific impartiality of the physiologist and naturalist. From the mere statement of facts irrefragible conclusions follow.

The Scotch and the Irish are admitted to be of the same origin. Both have been subjected by the English. Down to the sixteenth century Ireland was more civilized than Scotland. The Green Isle was during the earlier middle ages a centre of civilization, while Scotland was yet the resort of barbarians. Since the Scotch adopted the reformed religion they have outstripped even the English. The climate, and the nature of the soil, prevent Scotland from being as

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rich as England; but Macauley states that since the seventeenth century, the Scotch have surpassed the English in every particular. Ireland, on the contrary, devoted to Ultramontanism is poor, miserable, disturbed by the spirit of rebellion, and seems incapable of recovering itself without aid. What a contrast, even in Ireland between Connaught, wholly Catholic, and Ulster, where Protestantism predominates! Ulster is enriched by industry; Connaught presents a picture of the last extremity of human misery!

I abstain from drawing a comparison between the United States, and the states of South America, or between the nations of the north and those of the south of Europe. The differences might be assumed to be due to climate or race. But let us go to Switzerland and compare the situation of the cantons of Neuchatel, of Vaud, and of Geneva (especially before the recent immigration of the Catholic Savoyards), with Lucerne, Haut Valais, and the forest cantons. The first, in a remarkable degree, surpass the second in reference to education, literature, fine arts, industry, commerce, wealth; in short, in civilization under all its aspects and in all its acceptations. The first are Latin, but Protestant; the second German, but subject to Rome. It is then religion, and not race, that is the cause of this superiority. Let us go to a single canton, that of Appenzell, wholly inhabited by a Germanic population wholly identical. Between the inner Rhodes, Catholics, and the outer Rhodes, Protestants, exactly the same contrast may be seen as between the inhabitants of Neuchatel, and those of the canton of Lucerne or Uri. On the one side are education, activity, industry, relations with the exterior world, and consequently wealth; on the other side are laziness, routine, ignorance, poverty.

In every instance, even in the same country, where the two religions come face to face, the Protestants are more active, more industrious, more economical, and consequently richer than the Catholics.

"In the United States," says Tocqueville, "the Catholics are for the most part poor." In Canada the great undertakings, the industries, commerce, the principal shops in the cities, are in the hands of Protestants.

M. Audiganne, in his remarkable *Études sur les Populations ouvrières de la France*, notices the superiority of the Protestants in industry, and his testimony is the less to be suspected as he does not attribute this superiority to Protestantism.

> The majority of the workmen of Nismes [says he], particularly the silk weavers, are Catholics, while the leaders in manufactures and com-

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merce, in short the capitalists, generally belong to the reformed religion. . . Even when the same family is divided into two branches, the one holding to the faith of their fathers, the other having enlisted under the banner of the new doctrines, almost always may be observed on the one side increasing poverty, and on the other increasing wealth. . . . At Mazauret, the Elboeuf of southern France. All the leading business men, except one, are Protestants, while the great majority of workmen are Catholic. There is less information among the latter, than among the laboring families of the Protestant class.

Previous to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants excelled in every branch of labor, and the Catholics who could not maintain themselves with this competition caused them to be forbidden, after 1662, by several successive edicts, the practice of the different industries in which they excelled. After their expulsion from France, the Protestants carried to England, Prussia, and Holland, their spirit of enterprise and economy; they enriched the district where they settled. It is to the reformed Latins that the Germans owe in part their progress. Refugees from the Revocation introduced many industries into England, among others silk manufacture, and it was the disciples of Calvin who civilized Scotland.

At present, in Germany, all business requiring culture, the production of books, reviews, maps, journals, is almost wholly in the hands of Jews and Protestants. In consideration of all these concurrent facts, it is difficult not to admit that religion, and not race, is the cause of the extraordinary prosperity of certain nations.

The Reformation communicated to the countries which adopted it a power of which history can hardly give an account. Look at the low countries: two millions of people upon a soil half sand and marsh; they resisted Spain, which held all Europe in its grasp, and when scarcely freed from the Castilian yoke, they covered every sea with their ships, took the lead of the intellectual world, owned as many vessels as all the rest of the continent together, became the soul of all great European coalitions, held their own against England and France, allied against them, offered the United States a type of federal union which allows the indefinite expansion of that great republic, and furnished an example of financial combinations which so powerfully aid the actual development of wealth, banks of issue, and stock companies. Sweden—a million of men on a granite soil, buried under snow for six months of the year, comes upon the continent under Gustavus Adolphus, with well-known power, conquers Austria by those wonderful strategists—Wrangell, Torstensen, and Banner, and saves the Reformation. To-day England is the queen of the

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seas, the first of industrial and commercial nations; she governs in Asia two hundred millions of men, and overruns the globe with the colonies she sends forth. The power of the Anglo-Saxon race in the whole world can be seen in Sir Charles Dilke's *Greater Britain.* The United States have grown with a startling rapidity. They contain forty-two millions of inhabitants. By the end of the century they will have one hundred millions. They are already the richest and most powerful people on the globe.

In two centuries America, Austria, and Southern Africa, will belong to heretic Anglo-Saxons, and Asia to schismatic slaves.

The nations subject to Rome seem struck with barrenness; they do not colonize; they have no power of expansion. The words used by M. Thiers to portray their religious capital, Rome, *viduitas et sterilitas,* may be applied as well to them. Their past is brilliant, but the present is dark, and the future full of apprehension. Is there a sadder situation than that of Spain? France also, which has rendered the world such great services, is greatly to be pitied, not because she has been beaten on the field of battle—military reverses can be repaired—but because she seems destined to be forever tossed between despotism and anarchy. Even now, at the moment when she has need of all her citizens to recover herself, extreme parties dispute for predominance, at the risk of again unchaining civil war. It is ultramontanism that is the cause of the misfortunes of France; it has weakened the country by that pernicious influence which we shall analyse further on. It is ultramontanism that, through the Empress Eugénie, agent of the clerical party, caused the expedition to Mexico to be undertaken in order to elevate the Catholic nations in America; and the Prussian war to throw an obstacle in the way of the progress of the Protestant states of Europe.[1]

Italy and Belgium seem to be more prosperous than France and Spain; but is liberty definitely established in those two countries? Careful observers doubt it. A journalist of Rome recently published a remarkable work on the situation of Italy under this significant title, *Italia nera.* "The nations subject to the Pope are already dead, or dying," exclaims this author with terror. He adds:

If Italy seems less diseased, it is because the clergy, waiting for the restoration of the Pope, at first by Austrian intervention and now by French intervention, have not yet attacked liberty and the constitution from within. The clerical party has kept aloof from the elections, but

[1] The Empress said, in July, 1870, "*This is my war.*" It was she who, in the Supreme Council of Saint Cloud, caused the war to be decided upon, the peril of which the Emperor saw clearly. This is a fact well-known to history.

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all this will change. It has already entered the arena at Naples, at Rome, and at Bologna. The church covers the country with associations inspired by the Jesuits, and the congregation take possession of the new generation which they bring up to hate Italy and her institutions.

This estimate is just. Italy is to-day in the situation of France after 1789, and Belgium after 1830; the inspiration of liberty carries before it the entire nation, even the clergy. Patriotism, the hope of a brilliant future, the enthusiasm of progress fire every heart, and cause all differences to be forgotten; but soon the incompatibility between modern civilization and Romish ideas will manifest itself. The clergy, especially the Jesuits, subject to the voice of Rome, have already gone to work to undermine the edifice of political liberty, but just now built upon their soil. This is exactly what has taken place in Belgium since 1840.

One of the authors of the Belgian constitution, and perhaps the most eminent, recently said to me, with his soul filled with sorrow:

We thought that to establish liberty it would be enough to proclaim it, in separating the church and the state. I begin to believe that we are mistaken. The church, supported by the country, wishes to establish its absolute power. The large cities, having embraced modern ideas, will not suffer themselves to be subjected without endeavoring to defend themselves. We are drifting towards a civil war, as in France. We are already in a revolutionary situation. The future seems to me big with trouble

The last elections have made the danger evident. The elections for the Chambers have strengthened the clerical party, while the elections for the Commons have given the power to the Liberals in all the large cities. Thus the antagonism between city and country, one of the causes of the civil war in France, shows itself also in Belgium. So long as the government is in the hands of prudent men, more disposed to serve their country than to obey the bishops, grave disorders are not to be feared; but if the fanatics, who openly accept the *Syllabus* as their political programme, should ever come into power, terrible collisions will follow. Of late they came near letting loose upon us civil war and foreign invasion.

Catholic countries on both sides of the Atlantic are a prey to intestine strife which exhausts their powers, or at least prevents them from advancing so regularly, or so rapidly, as the Protestant nations. Two centuries ago the supremacy incontestably belonged to the Catholic states. The others were only second-rate powers. Now, place on one side France, Austria, Spain, Italy, and South America,

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and on the other Russia, Germany, England, and North America, and it is evident that the predominance has passed over to heretics and schismatics. M. Levasseur lately read before the Institute a curious paper, in which he showed that France, in 1700, represented herself thirty-one per cent., or one-third of the force of the five great powers, while to-day, counting six great powers in Europe, she represents only fifteen per cent., or one-sixtieth of their total force.

It must be clear, then, to every man who will study the facts without prejudice, that the Reformed religion is more favorable than Catholicism to the development of nations. It is worth while to seek for the causes of this fact; I do not believe that it will be difficult to point them out.

II. It is now universally admitted that the diffusion of knowledge is the first condition of progress. Labor is so much the more productive as it is directed by greater intelligence. The application of science, in all its forms, to production, creates the wealth of civilized man. The frightful destitution of the savage comes from his ignorance. Economical progress will then be in proportion to the application of scientific discoveries to industry.

Knowledge, widely spread, is also indispensable to the working of constitutional liberty. Where the power is based upon an election, the electors must have knowledge enough to make a good choice of their representatives, or the country will be badly governed; it falls into mistake after mistake, and hastens to ruin. In a despotism, education is useful — it is not indispensable. In a free state, or in one that wishes to be free, it is an absolute necessity, at the risk of a decline through inaction or dissension. Education is, then, the foundation of the liberty and the prosperity of nations. Now, Protestant nations alone have succeeded in insuring education to all. Catholic states have decreed education obligatory in vain, as in Italy; or have spent to no purpose large sums for this object, as in Belgium; they do not succeed in dissipating ignorance.

With respect to elementary education, Protestant states are incomparably in advance of Catholic. Only England is on their level, probably because the English Church is the one of the Reformed churches which is most closely connected with the Church of Rome. All Protestant countries take the lead, with none or few illiterate, as Saxony, Denmark, Sweden and Prussia; Catholic countries remain far behind, with at least one-third illiterate, as in France and Belgium, or with three-fourths, as in Spain and Portugal.

Take the case of Switzerland. What a difference in this respect between the Catholic and Protestant cantons! The wholly Latin

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but Protestant cantons of Neuchatel, Vaud and Geneva are upon the same level with the Germanic cantons of Zurich and Berne, and are superior to those of Tessin, Valais or Lucerne. The cause of this contrast is evident, and has been frequently noticed. The reformed religion rests upon a book — the Bible; the Protestant must, then, *know how to read.*[1] The first and the last word of Luther was: "Teach the children; it is the duty of parents and magistrates; it is a command of God." The Catholic worship, on the contrary, rests upon the sacraments and certain practices, like the confession, the mass, the sermon, which do not require reading. To know how to read is not necessary; it is more frequently a danger, for it of necessity weakens the principle of passive obedience upon which the entire Catholic edifice rests; reading is a road that leads to heresy. The evident result is that the Catholic priest will be hostile to education, or, at least, that he will not put forth as great efforts to increase it as the Protestant minister. The organization of popular education dates from the Reformation. Education being favorable to political liberty and to the production of wealth, and Protestantism favoring the diffusion of education, we see one manifest cause of the superiority of the Protestant states.

III. It is agreed that the power of nations depends upon their morality. We read everywhere this maxim, which has almost become an axiom in political science, "When the public morals are corrupted, the state is lost." Now, it seems to be proven that the moral level of Protestant nations is higher than of Catholics. Religious writers themselves say so, and they explain it by the fact that the former remain more faithful to their religion; an explanation that I believe correct. Read the literary works of France, witness, at the various theatres, the pieces in demand: adultery, in all its varieties, and in all its forms, is in every instance the foundation. The novels and comedies which have been successful, must be strictly shut out from the circle of an honorable family. In England, in Germany, it is not so. Literary works, which do not bear the stamp of foreign imitation, are of a tone and style at which chaste ears need not be alarmed.

In French literature the evil has been of long standing. The Provencaux having inherited the Gallo–Roman corruption, have sung and rendered pleasing, under the name of gallantry, a relaxation of morals and illicit love. Gallantry has become the key-note of all works of imagination, and one of the national traits of character. The king

[1] During the war of 1870, it could be seen that the Protestant soldiers had much more education than the Catholics. In the ambulances and hospitals, the first, when they began to convalesce asked for books, the others for cards.

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most noted for gallantry [*vert galant*] is the most popular of the French sovereigns. In the countries that adopted the Reformation, the Puritan spirit has checked this relaxation of morals, and has brought in a severity which may seem excessive, but which has given them an incomparable moral character.

In Catholic countries, those who have wished to combat the omnipotence of the church, have taken their arms, not from the Gospels, but from the spirit of the *Renaissance*, and from Paganism. The church can be attacked in two ways; either by showing that it has departed from the doctrine of Christ, and by preaching a purer and severer Christianity, or by attacking its dogmas with irony, and setting the reason in revolt against its moral prescriptions. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Zwingle, took the first course; Rabelais and Voltaire, the second. It is plain that the former, resting upon the gospels must strengthen the moral sentiment, while the latter can succeed only by ruining it. Hence it comes that almost all French authors that have labored for spiritual emancipation, have had an immoral tone. Would one place, without apprehension, the complete works of Rabelais, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Courier, or Beranger, I will not say in the hands of a young woman, but even in the hands of a young man? The authors which respect morality, and which we give the young to read, Bossuet, Fénelon, Racine, are almost always devoted to the church, and steeped in absolutist doctrines. Hence comes the marked Catholic character of the most of those who in France are not revolutionists.

In England and America it is otherwise; the most decided partisans of liberty are the very persons who profess the strictest morals — the Puritans and the Quakers. While Bossuet was formulating the theory of absolutism, Milton wrote that of the Republic, and it was the Puritans who established liberty in England and the United States. On the one side, the writers who are moral and religious preach servitude; while those who desire liberty, respect neither religion nor morals; on the other side, the same persons defend at the same time religion, morality and liberty.

Look at the consequences; compare the private life of the men who engaged in the revolution of 1648, in England, or of those who founded the Republic in America, with the private life of the men of the French Republic. The first were all of irreproachable morals, of spotless integrity, of an almost ultra severity of principles. The latter, excepting a few fanatics like Saint Just and Robespierre, were generally of very loose morals. The most powerful among them, the true representative of the French Revolution, Mirabeau, that great

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genius, that prodigious orator, sold himself to the court, wrote obscene books, and pushed depravity to its lowest limits. Place in comparison the austere Calvinists, who conquered despotism, and established liberty in England and America. What a contrast!

Edward Quinet remarks, in his admirable work on the French Revolution, that the men of that period, so full of enthusiasm at the outset, soon grew weary of the struggle, and either sought or tolerated the repose of servitude under the Empire. The Beggars of Holland struggled much longer, endured greater trials, without becoming discouraged. Their cities were taken by assault, their entire population massacred; they maintained the struggle — they, a mere handful of men, against an adversary who had at his disposal the treasures and the forces of two worlds. They felt neither weariness nor discouragement, and they ended by conquering; they had faith.

Pride, the outbreak of personality and vanity, threw the partisans of the French Revolution into a deadly and fratricidal struggle; they cut each other's throats, instead of uniting to found a Republic. In Holland, in England, in America, under the influence of a certain spirit of charity, humility, and mutual support, those who had freed their country from tyranny succeeded in working in harmony to consolidate their work. To found a state, the Christianity of Penn and of Washington is a better cement than the philosophy of Vergniaud, of Robespierre, and of Mirabeau. Without judging the two systems, the results that they have produced can be given.

When the religious sentiment has become weak, the motive which induces right action, the impulse of the moral life, is the sense of honor, vanity, desire for the approbation of others. Alfred de Vigny has shown this in eloquent terms in a chapter of his book, "Military Greatness and Servitude." M. Taine says, in his "Notes on England": "In France the moral principle is based upon the sentiment of honor; in England, upon the idea of duty; now, the first is arbitrary, its power varies with the person."

In his "New France," Prévost-Paradol wrote as follows:

> To the eyes of every clear-sighted and honest observer, our country to-day presents the spectacle, almost unique in the world, of a society in which the point of honor has become the chief guarantee of good order, and secures the performance of the greater part of the duties and sacrifices which religion and patriotism have lost the power to command. If our laws are generally respected, if the young soldier docilely rejoins his flag and remains faithful; if the public officer respects the public treasury; if the Frenchman, in fine, acquits himself respectably of his duties towards the state, and towards his fellow-citizens, it is to his notion of

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honor that we are beholden for it all. It is not respect for the divine law, for a long time held in question; it is not philosophical devotion to an uncertain duty; and still less to that abstraction, the state, overturned and dishonored by so many revolutions; it is the fear of being obliged to blush in public for an action reputed dishonorable, which alone among us maintains a desire of doing right.

A faithful and discouraging picture Prévost-Paradol traces, with a wounded spirit, as he adds: "To have only the notion of honor as a support, and to feel that giving way under our hand, like the broken reed of which the Scriptures speak!"

Read the French proclamations to the people and to the army: when it is sought to rouse them, to excite their enthusiasm, appeal is made to their sense of honor, or their vanity. Hear Napoleon: "From the heights of the pyramids forty centuries look down upon you"; or again: "Soldiers, when you return to your homes, you can say, 'I was at Jena, at Austerlitz.'" To speak of self, or to be talked about, this is the end and the motive. Nelson, at Trafalgar, simply said: "I expect that every one will do his duty." In the productions issued by the Revolutionists of the Low Countries, or of America, love of country, duty, and the law of God are invoked. These incentives are clearly surer than the former. In fact, to be talked about is an unsubstantial advantage. When one has a spirit bold enough to prove it, the point of honor loses its power as a rule of conduct; besides, public opinion may be perverted, and in such case, it cannot be invoked in aid of virtue.

Almost all French writers have exalted the Renaissance at the expense of the Reformation, because, larger in its view, it brought to humanity a completer freedom. Facts do not support their statement. The countries which adopted the Reformation are manifestly in advance of those who have held to the Renaissance. The Reformation possessed a moral force which was wanting in the Renaissance. Now, moral force, together with science, is the source of the prosperity of nations. The Renaissance was a return to antiquity; the Reformation a return to the gospel. The gospel being superior to the old traditions must yield better fruit.

IV. The Reformation has favored the progress of the people who adopted it, because it permitted them to found free institutions, while Catholicism leads to despotism, or anarchy, and frequently to each alternately. The natural government of Protestant nations is a representative government. The natural government of Catholic nations seems to be a despotism. So long as they remain subject, they live in peace; they have the government that suits them; when they

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attempt to become free, they fall into disorder, and become weak; they are in a state contrary to their nature. This is what the *Univers* and the *Civita Catholica*, organs of the Court of Rome, hold, and unfortunately the facts seem to support their view.

The question has often been asked, why the revolutions of the Low Countries, of England and America succeeded, while the French Revolution seems to have proved a failure. M. Guizot has even published an essay to clear up this question, which holds the secret of our destiny. "I do not hesitate to answer: it is because the former were in Protestant countries, the latter in a Catholic country." Voltaire saw it long ago. He asks how it happens that the governments of France and England have become so different from those of Morocco and Venice. "Is it not," says he, "because always complaining of the Court of Rome, the English have wholly shaken off the shameful yoke, while a people of lighter temperament have worn it, while pretending to laugh, and while dancing in their chains." Voltaire tells the truth; but was it not he who roused the laugh, and led the dance?

We are now able to demonstrate by evidence, what the clear-sighted only begun to suspect in the eighteenth century. The decisive influence which the forms of religion exercise over politics and political economy had not been clearly discovered. But it comes into full view, and manifests itself more and more clearly in contemporary events.

The influence which religion exerts over men is so great that they are always apt to organize the state according to forms borrowed from their religious organization. Wherever the sovereign passes as the representative of the Deity, liberty cannot be established, because the power of him who speaks and acts in the name of God, is necessarily absolute. The orders of heaven are not discussed. Simple mortals can only bow and obey. I know no exception to this rule. Under the ancient empires of Asia, and under those of to-day, in Mahometan, as in Catholic countries, where the kings reign by divine right, the people have been completely subjugated. They were free at Athens and at Rome, because those who governed, elected by their fellow-citizens, did not hold themselves as the representatives of the Deity. The priesthood was not a caste, and exercised but little influence in the state.

Primitive Christianity was singularly favorable to the establishment of free and democratic institutions. No doubt, on its ascetic side, it detached men from their terrestrial interests, and did not urge them to claim their rights as citizens. But in elevating and purify-

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ing their morals, it rendered them more apt for self-government and freedom. In the Christian congregations of the first centuries perfect equality reigned, and all powers emanated from the people. Speech and opinion were the mainspring of government. The primitive Christian churches were veritable democratic republics. So, when the Presbyterians in the seventeenth century re-established the ancient organization of the church, they were led on to establish republican institutions in the state.

The advocates and the opponents of the Romish church both alike confound Christianity and Catholicism. Those who attack Christianity charge it with the principles, the abuses, and the crimes of the Romish Church; and those who defend the Romish Church claim the merits, the virtues, and the good acts of Christianity. It is an error on each side. Christianity is favorable to liberty; Catholicism is its deadly enemy; it is its infallible head that affirms it. The history of the institutions of the church shows a constant march towards a concentration more and more strict of power. It has left the equality-loving representative democracy of the first centuries to end in the nineteenth century by the proclamation of the Papal Infallibility in a despotism the most absolute that can be imagined. A democratic republic at first, it became an aristocracy, when the bishops had enlarged their power without losing their independence before the popes; it was yet a constitutional monarchy while the councils exercised the supreme control; to-day it realizes the ideal of the theocracy and absolutism. If civil society tends to model itself after the religious society, it should be subject to a government purely despotic. So the partisans of the church understand it. Bossuet, in his *Politique tirée de l'Écriture sainte*, traces the conditions of government suitable to a Catholic country: "God sets kings as his ministers, and reigns by them over the nations." "The royal authority is absolute." "The prince should give account to no one of what he orders." "We must obey princes as justice itself. They are gods, and in some sort share the divine independance." "Subjects can oppose to the violence of princes only respectful remonstrances, without mutiny and without murmuring." So, logically, in a Catholic country the government must be despotic; first, because such is the church which serves as a type; secondly, because the kings hold their power directly from God or the pope; his power can be neither limited nor controlled.

The Reformation, on the contrary, being a return to primitive Christianity, begot everywhere a spirit of liberty and resistance to absolutism. It tended to bring forth republican and constitutional institutions. The Protestant recognizes in religion but one sole

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authority—the Bible. He does not yield to the authority of a man like the Catholic; he examines and discusses for himself. The Calvinists and the Presbyterians having re-established the republican organization in the church, the Protestant, by a logical sequence, carries into political society the same principles and the same habits. The accusation which Lamennais brought against the Reformation is wholly true. Said he:

> They have denied the authority of the religious society, it is necessary to deny also the authority of the civil society, and to substitute in each the reason and will of each man, for the reason and will of God; hence each one, dependent only on himself, must enjoy entire liberty, must be his own master, king, and god.

Montesquieu also says: "The Catholic religion agrees best with a monarchy; the Protestant accords best with a republic."

Neither Luther nor Calvin preached resistance to tyranny; they rather condemned it, and praised obedience. No more did they tolerate full liberty of conscience. But in spite of them the principle of political and religious liberty, and of the sovereignty of the people followed logically from the Reformation. Such are unquestionably its natural fruits everywhere. The reformed writers demand the rights of the people, and where Protestants triumphed they established free institutions. Their enemies were not mistaken; they have pointed out as an evil this connection between the Reformation and liberty.

"The Reformers," said a Venitian envoy to France, in the sixteenth century, "preach that the king has no authority over his subjects. Consequently we are hastening towards a government like that of Switzerland, and towards the ruin of the monarchical constitution of the realm."

"The ministers," says Montluc, "preach that kings can have no other power that what pleases the people; others preach that the nobility are no better." This is indeed the liberal inspiration of Calvinism. Tavannes frequently remarks upon the democratic spirit of the Huguenots. He says: "These are republics in the royal states, with their powers, their soldiers, their separate finances, and desirous of establishing a popular and democratic government." The great jurisconsult Dumoulin denounced the Protestant pastors before Parliament, saying:

> They have no other design than to reduce France to a popular state to make it a republic like Geneva, the count and the bishop of which

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they have expelled; and they are equally endeavoring to abolish the right of primogeniture, wishing to make the plebeian equal to the noble, and the younger equal to the elder as being all children of Adam, and equal before divine and natural law.

These are evidently the ideas of the French Revolution; and if France had gone over to the Reformation in the sixteenth century, she would from that time have enjoyed liberty and self-government, and would have kept them. In 1622 Gregory XV wrote to the king of France to engage him to break off with Geneva, focus of Calvinism, and republicanism. In France, after the death of Henri IV, the Duke of Rohan, a Huguenot, wished to set up a republic, saying: "The time of kings has passed."

The Protestant nobility has been charged with wishing to divide France into small republican states as in Switzerland, and it has been made a merit of the league that it maintained the unity of France. What the Huguenots in fact wished, was local independence, decentralization, and a federal government, preserving local and provincial liberty. This is yet what France vainly seeks to secure, and it is the Catholic passion for unity and uniformity which caused the failure of the Revolution, and which always brings on despotism.

Calvin wished that the minister of the holy Gospel should be chosen with the consent and approval of the people, the pastors presiding at the elections. This is the regime that the Calvinists wished to introduce into France. Says Tavannes:

> In 1620 their state was really popular, the mayors of the cities and the ministers having all authority, which they shared with the nobles of their party only in appearance, so that had they succeeded in their designs, the state of France would have become like that of Switzerland to the ruin of princes and gentlemen.

As soon as the Reformation had put the Gospels into the hands of the peasants, they demanded the abolition of slavery, and the recognition of their ancient rights in the name of Christian liberty. The Reformation everywhere inspired energetic demands for natural rights, liberty, tolerance, equal laws, and the sovereignty of the people. They are presented in a great number of the written documents of the time, among others in the celebrated pamphlet of Languet: *Junii Bruti celtæ, Vindiciæ contra tyrannos de principe in populum populique in principem, legitima potestate*, and in the dialogue *Of the authority of the Prince and the Liberty of the People.*

Those ideas which lie at the base of modern liberties have always found eloquent defenders in Protestantism. The minister Jurieu

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defended them against Bossuet in a well-known discussion, and Locke has presented them under a scientific form. It was from him that Montesquieu, Voltaire, and the political writers of the eighteenth century borrowed them, and from them the French Revolution proceeded. But long before they had been applied with a steady success in the Protestant states; in Holland first, then in England, and especially in America.

The famous edict of July 16, 1581, in which the States-General of the Low Countries proclaimed the forfeiture of the king of Spain, precisely fixed the sovereignty of the people. To dethrone a king they were compelled to invoke this principle: "Subjects were not created by God for the prince, to obey him in whatever he pleases to command, but rather the prince for his subjects, without whom he would not be a prince, to govern them according to law and right." The edict adds, that to escape the tyranny of the king, the inhabitants have been obliged to withdraw their allegiance. "No other means remained to preserve and defend their ancient liberty, and that of their wives, their children, and their posterity, for whom, according to the law of nature, they should risk their lives and fortunes." The English Revolution of 1648 was made in the name of the same principles. Milton, and the other republicans of that epoch, defended them with an admirable vigor of spirit and character.

The French Revolution did not invent what have been called the principles of '89, it only served to spread them in Europe; and unhappily in France these liberties have never been respected, not even the most sacred of all—liberty of conscience.[1] The Puritans and the Quakers have proclaimed and practised them for two hundred years in America; and from America and England, Europe received the idea towards the end of the eighteenth century. As early as 1620 the constitution of Virginia established representative government, trial by jury, and the principle that taxes should be voted by those who pay them. At its orgin Massachusetts established compulsory education, and the complete separation of church and state. The sects lived under the common law, and chose their own ministers. Representative democracy existed there as completely as in our day. Even the judges were annually chosen by the citizens. But a still more important fact comes forward: A man appears (1633) demanding not only tolerance, but complete equality of religious sects before the civil law, and upon this principle he formed a state. It was

[1] Read on this subject a very instructive article of Prevost-Paradol, in La Revue des Deux Mondes (1858) in which he shows that neither the law nor the magistrates have tolerated liberty of worship in France. It does not yet exist there.

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Roger Williams, a name but little known on the continent, but who deserves to be inscribed among the benefactors of the race. The first in this world, blood-stained by intolerance for four thousand years, even before Descartes had laid the foundation of free inquiry in philosophy, he enunciated religious liberty as a political right. He repeats:

> Persecution for matters of conscience is manifestly and lamentably contrary to the teachings of Jesus Christ. . . . He who commands the ship of state can maintain order on board, and steer towards the port, if all the crew are not compelled to be present at divine service. . . . The civil power has control only over the bodies and property of men; it cannot interfere in matters of faith, even to prevent a church from falling into apostacy or heresy. . . . To free souls from the yoke of tyranny is not only to do an act of justice towards oppressed people, it is as well to establish public liberty and peace upon the interest of the conscience of all.

Read in the admirable history of Bancroft how Roger Williams founded the city of Providence, and the State of Rhode Island, upon these principles, then everywhere unrecognized in Europe, except in the Protestant Low Countries. When a constitution was adopted in Rhode Island, in 1641, all the citizens were called upon to vote. The founders themselves called it a democracy, and it was, indeed, such in the full force of the term, and such as Rousseau understood it. The people directly governed themselves. All citizens, without distinction of religion were equal before the law, and every law had to be confirmed in the primary assemblies. It was the most radical self-government that human society has ever known, and it lasted for more than two centuries without trouble and without revolutions.

The Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey laid down similar principles as the basis of their states. "We put the power in the people;" such is the foundation of the constitution of New Jersey. These are the principal articles: No man, or body of men, has power over the conscience; no one, at any time, by any means, under any pretext, shall be prosecuted, or interfered with in any manner for his religious opinions; the general assembly shall be chosen by secret ballot; every man shall vote and be eligible to office; electors may give their deputies obligatory instructions; if the deputy does not discharge his duty he may be prosecuted. Ten magistrates chosen by the assembly exercise the executive power. Judges and constables are chosen by the people for two years. The judges preside over the jury, but the judicial power is exercised by the twelve citizens who compose it. No one shall be imprisoned for debt. Orphans shall be cared for at the expense of the state. Education is a public service

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paid for from the public treasury. Nearly the same principles are found in the constitutions of Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

These ideas that man is his own master, that he is free, that no one can demand of him a service or a contribution without his own consent, that government, justice, all powers, emanate from the people, this group of principles which modern society endeavors to apply, have unquestionably come from the Germanic tradition, and may be found in the possession of most races at first, before the growth of the royal power. But if these principles, stifled in the middle ages by the feudal system, and from the fifteenth century, by royal authority, centralized and absolute, have taken new life in Switzerland, England, Holland, and the United States, it is due to the democratic inspiration of the Reformation, and it is only in Protestant countries that they have maintained themselves, and have secured to the people order and prosperity. If France had not persecuted, murdered, or exiled those of her children who had been converted to Protestantism, she would have been able to develop these germs of liberty and self-government which had been preserved in the provincial states. This fact is fully established by a work of M. Gustav Garrison, published several years ago. Further studies and contemporaneous events each year bring new proofs to its support. In the assemblies of Rochelle and Grenoble, in the States-General of Orleans, the spirit of liberty and the parliamentary spirit showed themselves as powerful as in the English Parliament, and there was spoken that clear and firm language of Calvin, so well fitted to deal with the weighty interests of religion and public policy.

"We can defend our cities against the king without a king," said the Huguenots, and no doubt had they triumphed, they would have founded a constitutional monarchy as in England, or a federative republic as in the Low Countries. Had the French nobles preserved the spirit of independence and legal opposition which they had borrowed from Protestantism, they might have imposed limits to the royal power, and France would have escaped the oriental despotism of Louis XIV and his successors, which has broken down the character of her citizens. Francis I, by giving the signal for the persecution of the Reformers, and Henry IV, by abjuring protestantism, betrayed the real interests of France, just as the nobles had done. This saying: "Paris is well worth a mass," in which most French historians see a proof of practical sense, is a revolting indecency. To sell one's self, to deny one's faith for a material advantage, is evidently an act which ought to disgrace any man. France pays the penalty for it to-day, as she still suffers the deadly consequences of St. Bar-

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tholomew, and of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—those two great outrages on liberty of conscience.

The greatest want of France is men who, without breaking with tradition, can yet adopt new ideas. The republicans are generally hostile or indifferent to every religious idea, and like their ancestors, the revolutionists of the last century, lack a foundation on which to build a solid edifice. Those who defend religious ideas wish to restore the ancient régime, and throw obstacles in the way of every reform. France has now the opportunity to establish free institutions. But do not the partizans of monarchy open the way for the return of a Napoleon, by throwing the country into anarchy by their blind obstinacy? Under Louis Philippe, in 1850, and again to-day the conservatives lose their country by their attachment to old forms. A republic is at present, the only government possible for France, and the republicans hinder it from taking root, because Catholicism has deeply impressed them with its spirit of intolerance and despotism. France will with difficulty escape a new restoration of absolute power if she does not abandon the Catholic tradition. The Romish religion has poorly prepared the French to live free and to govern themselves.

Tolerance is sometimes in the laws of Catholic countries; it is never in their customs. Unlucky he finds himself who wishing to exercise liberty of conscience decides to follow the inspirations of his own. He is reviled even by his relatives and by the indifferent even more than by believers. The unbelievers find it more convenient to laugh at or attack the priest, while they bow before him in all the important circumstances of their life. Resigned to the orthodox yoke at which they mock and to which they submit, they do not allow others, finding it too heavy, to have the courage to openly throw it off. By intimidation and ridicule, uniformity is secured, and liberty is only a word.

All modern nations endeavor to establish representative and constitutional governments. This régime, born in England, upon the soil of the ancient Germanic institutions, rendered fruitful by Protestantism seems unable to be firmly fixed in Catholic countries; that is, the head of the state, king or president, cannot be a real constitutional sovereign; if he is a devotee, and if he confesses like an obedient penitent, he is governed by his confessor who obeys the pope. By means of the confessional the pope is the real sovereign, unless it may be the Jesuits who control the pope. The prerogatives which the constitution gives the one exercising the executive authority are exercised by a foreign power, and to the detriment of the country. History furnishes plenty of examples. Too obedient to the demands of their

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confessors, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, James II of England, and Charles X of France, lost their crowns, and Louis XVI his throne and his life. Ferdinand and Leopold, of Austria, ruined their states by the most frightful persecutions; Augustus and Sigismund, of Poland, paved the way to the partition of that country by introducing the Jesuits and intolerance. With a pious and confessing sovereign constitutional government is a fiction or a fraud; it subjects the nation to the will of an unknown priest, agent of the pretensions of his church, or it leads to a revolution if the country refuses to wear the humiliating yoke. The Emperor Francis-Joseph has remained the constitutional sovereign of Austria only by resisting his confessor. In a Protestant country the constitutional régime is naturally developed; it is on its natal soil; while in a Catholic country, a heretic importation, it is undermined by the priest if it will not assist in assuring his domination; and so it is either perverted by the clergy or overthrown by revolutionists.

V. Another cause of the inferiority of Catholic nations is that the religious sentiment among them is weaker than among the intelligent leading classes in Protestant countries. This fact is, I believe, denied by no one. The Episcopal journals affirm it daily, and demand for religion the same respect which it enjoys in England and America. The opponents of all religion reproach the Americans and the English with what they call their narrow bigotry, their rigorous observance of Sunday, their public prayers and fasts, in short, their rigid piety. Two reasons explain why religion preserves more life and authority among the enlightened classes of Protestants.

First, Catholicism, by its numerous dogmas, its ceremonies, often puerile, its miracles and pilgrimages, places itself outside of the current of modern thought; while Protestantism, by its simplicity and its varied and perfectible forms, can adapt itself to it. M. Renan well says:

> The formation of new sects, with which Catholics reproach the Protestants as a mark of weakness, proves, on the contrary, that the religious sentiment still lives among them, as it is creative. There is nothing so dead as that which does not change.

The apathy with which two new dogmas have lately been accepted, dogmas which formerly would have roused the sharpest opposition, and led to schism, is a symptom of an incredible weakening of intellectual life in the bosom of Catholicism. Excess of superstition inevitably leads to unbelief. The challenge given to reason by the church leads those who refuse to surrender reason to reject all religion. A

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French writer, M. Géruzet, has depicted this situation in a tract which goes to the bottom of the matter: "A father who believes in God without believing in Saint Cupertin, is in a strait between daughters who are devotees, and sons who are atheists. May God deliver us from atheism and *Cupertinage*." Evidently *Cupertinage* leads to atheism, and both have brought France where we now see her, because there is no room left for a rational religion.

Catholicism engenders an indifference so complete in matters of religion, that the force required to openly leave the church is wanting. We see Protestants becoming Catholics, because, preserving some faith, they seek the true worship, and believe that Rome offers it. Few Catholics become Protestants, because they have become hostile or indifferent to all forms of religion. This indifference still serves the church, as it prevents a complete abjuration of its authority, and it ends by again seizing the children of its adversaries.

The second motive that leads Catholic peoples to incredulity and a dread of priestcraft, is that the church showing itself hostile to modern ideas and liberties, all those who believe in these ideas are frequently led, in spite of themselve, to detest and oppose the church. Voltaire's cry of hate, "Crush the wretch," becomes logically and generally the avowed or unavowed watchword of liberalism. The liberal constantly attacks and must attack the priests and the monks, because they desire to subject society to the pope, and to his legates, the bishops. He cannot respect the dogma by which they seek to deprive him of liberty.

We have stated the fact, and the causes of the fact; let us now look at the consequences.

The first is, that no countries that rebel against the authority of Rome succeed in throwing off her domination, in the name of a simple denial or of a rational doubt. No nation ever made a more violent effort than France to carry out this design. She made use of every means with an incomparable vigor and brilliancy; the reasonings of philosophy, the badinage of stories, the satire of the comedy, the eloquence of the tribune, the torch of the incendiary, the sap of the destroyer, and the axe of the executioner.

At this moment, at Versailles, clericalism places education in the hands of the Jesuits, and prepares for the return of a royal family, wholly devoted to the church. Its influence increases rapidly, and will one day become irresistible, as in Belgium. This comes from the fact that in religion we can take away only as we replace. If men would yield to facts in politics as in natural sciences, this truth would be admitted as an axiom by all unprejudiced men. Free

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thought will not overthrow the power of the church; it will rather strengthen it, by the fear it inspires; for it does not answer the profound needs of the human heart. The attempt to destroy Catholicism without putting something in its place, does not succeed; but it gives birth to a spirit of revolution. Observe how peculiar this spirit everywhere is to Catholic peoples, in America, as well as in Europe; while the observer must be struck by its absence in the radical democracies of the United States. Protestants respect law and authority. Catholics being able neither to establish liberty, nor to dispense with it, render despotism necessary, and are not resigned to suffer it. Hence a ferment of rebellion in constant action. When the evil reaches its last stage, the country swings from anarchy to despotism, and from despotism to anarchy, exhausting its forces in a struggle between irreconcilable parties. This is the picture now presented by Spain, and other countries, which have reached this situation. Whence comes the evil? This, I believe, is the cause.

Regular liberty is impossible without morals. Now the ministers of religion are the only ones who speak to the people of morality and duty. Discredited in the esteem of the masses, who shall take their place in this indispensable office? Certainly not the free-thinkers. Guizot has admirably said:

> Christianity is a grand school of respect. If, in order to defend liberty, liberal Voltaireism weakens the authority of Catholicism, as it must necessarily do, even the respect for legitimate authority disappears, and gives place to a spirit of opposition, disparagement, hate, and insurrection. Thus is born the revolutionary spirit among Catholic peoples.[1]

They live tranquilly only when in complete subjection to Rome, as Spain formerly, and Tyrol at present. If they attempt to emancipate themselves they with difficulty escape anarchy.

VI. If social reforms have the sanction of the clergy, all is easy; if they do not, or if opposed by them, all is difficult, and sometimes impossible. Take, for instance, primary education. Decree compulsory education with the concurrence of the pastor, as in Protestant countries, and the end is reached. If, on the contrary, the priest be hostile or indifferent, as in Catholic countries, the law is not obeyed; it is only necessary to glance at the scholastic statistics of Italy. Let the priest enter the school by authority, as in Belgium, he leads the way for the triumph of the theocracy. Expel him, he overthrows the school, for he causes it to be deserted. Besides, in the normal schools,

[1] "For us Frenchmen," recently wrote M. Deschand, in the *National*, "liberty and revolution are synonyms, because authority and oppression have too often been."

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do you give the teachers a spirit of resistance and hostility to the clergy that they may communicate it to their pupils? In this case, you inevitably destroy the religious sentiment, and form a people of atheists. Logic forces you to it, and "free thought" invites you to it. Are you ready for this? In Protestant countries, in America, in Holland, you find the school, lay, unsectarian, but wholly imbued with Christian sentiment. In a Catholic country, the lay-school can live only by a violent struggle against the clergy, who wish to destroy it: it thus becomes inevitably anti-religious.

To those great social questions which set laborers and capitalists in antagonism, Christianity presents a solution; for by the brotherhood and self-denial which it preaches it leads to the reign of justice. Between truly Christian masters and workmen no difference need arise, for justice would preside at the distribution of profits. We feel only too keenly the frightful void produced by the enfeebling of religious sentiment resulting from the forced struggle against the only form of worship that we were acquainted with. In Protestant countries, on the other hand, the ministers are looked upon with favor by all classes of society, and through their intervention conflicts lose their bitterness, under the Christian influence of which they are the respected voice.

In his fine work on the French Revolution, Quinet clearly proves that the reason why that prodigious effort for emancipation did not succeed, was religious opposition; and he thence concludes that the civil and political constitution of a country cannot be thoroughly reformed without also reforming the worship. The reason is that the civil and political society borrows the forms of the religious society, and is established upon the same model.

The priest has such a hold upon souls that he imposes on them his ideal, unless the religious sentiment by which he governs them is uprooted. In such an attempt nations run the risk of destruction.

Regular progress is very difficult in Catholic countries, because the church aiming to establish its domination throughout, the active forces of the nation are almost wholly employed in repelling the pretensions of the clergy. Notice what is going on in Belgium. Every effort of parties is centred upon this single question; and other interests, even that of our national defense, and of our independent existence, are subordinated to this. The struggle is so severe, that twice already we have been upon the eve of a violent commotion, and it is only owing to the wisdom of the sovereign that we have twice escaped the danger. Force engaged in combatting the clerical party is force lost to progress, for even where it succeeds, the victory

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brings no other result than to prevent us from falling under the yoke of the bishops.

The celibacy of the priests, the absolute submission of the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy to a single will, and the multiplication of monastic orders, constitute for Catholic countries a danger which Protestant countries know nothing of. I admire the man who renounces the joys of family life in order that he may devote himself to his fellow-beings and to truth. Saint Paul was right: he who has a difficult mission to fulfil ought not to marry; but when as a matter of obligation all priests are celibates, there results, besides the danto morals, a great danger to the state. These priests form a caste which has a special interest, different from that of the nation. The real country of the Catholic clergy is Rome; he says so himself. He will sacrifice then, if it be necessary, his country to the safety or the sway of the Pope, the infallible head of his church, and the representative of God on the earth. Catholic first; then if the welfare of Catholicism allows it, Belgian, French, or German; such is the Catholic point of view, and logically there can be no other.

When the Liberal party was in power in Belgium, and when Napoleon III, before the Italian war, had set himself up as defender of the church, more than one Flemish priest told me: "Deliverance will come from the south." To-day, the German Ultramontanes do not conceal the fact that they would betray Germany in the interests of the church. Did not a Bavarian Deputy say in full Parliament, "It is in vain that you levy new regiments; if they are Catholics they will go over to the enemy!"

The monk acknowledges a country still less than the priest. Servitor of the papacy, detached from place, he lives only in the church, which is universal, and has no other aim than her supremacy, which will also be his. How will the state preserve her independence in presence of clergy and monks who wish to be masters, and who hold the masses by the most powerful and irresistible means of action. In Protestant countries the pastors are married and have children; thus they have the same interests and the same kind of life as other citizens; they are divided into many sects; they are not thus obedient to the same word of command. They are not hierarchically subject to the will of a foreign chief, pursuing the dream of a universal dominion. They are national because their church is a national church. They are independent of the state, as in America; or subject to the state, as in England; they do not pretend to be masters of the state, as in France or Belgium.

The separation of church and state is a principle, the prevalence of

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which has everywhere been sought. In Protestant countries it has succeeded, as may be seen in America, because the clergy submit to it. But it is decreed in vain in Catholic countries. The church which holds that the temporal should be subject to the spiritual, like the body to the soul, will accept the régime of separation only in so far as it can make use of it to reach its end. This separation will then then be a lure or a deceit. You cannot separate the zealot from the citizen in the individual, and usually the sentiments of the former will inspire the acts of the latter.

The ministers of religion exercise over those who believe them to be the interpreters of the deity, an authority much greater than that of the magistrates, representatives of the state; for the priest promises an eternal happiness, and threatens the endless pains of hell; while the layman disposes of only earthly and temporal rewards and punishments. Through the confessional the priest holds the sovereign, the magistrates, and the electors, and through the electors, the chambers. So long as he disposes the sacraments, the separation of church and state is only a dangerous illusion.

To govern with the clergy is to subject the nation to them, and to govern in spite of them is to put all authority in peril. To govern by the side of him, ignoring him, would be the wisest course; but this he will not suffer. "He who is not for me is against me," says he. We must then make up our minds to obey them, or to resist them, and I cannot say which is the safest decision.

Catholic nations of the Continent have borrowed from England and America principles and institutions which, born of Protestantism, give good results under its influence. But we begin to see on the Continent whither they lead when opposed or managed by an Ultramontane clergy. They end in disorder when the masses lose their faith, as in Spain or France, and in the sway of an episcopate, when they preserve it, as in Belgium.

The careful and disinterested study of contemporaneous facts seems then to lead to this discouraging conclusion, that Catholic nations will not succeed in preserving the liberties born of Protestantism. If they were isolated, while submitting to the absolute sway of the church, they might perhaps enjoy a peaceable happiness, and a mediocre and pleasant life. But a danger from without seems to threaten them in the near future, unless they refuse to obey the voice of the episcopate.

Buckle counts among the merits of our age that of indifference, which keeps us from religious wars. This advantage, if it be one, our age will not keep. Everything seems to be preparing for a grand

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shock, to which religion will be one of the chief causes. Already, in 1870, Ultramontanism has plunged France into a war with Germany. If Henry V, or Napoleon IV, should come to the throne, it will be by the aid of the clergy, and they will urge on a new crusade to deliver their persecuted brethren beyond the Rhine, to whom they have promised their aid. The states in which the clerical party rule will probably be drawn into the holy war. This is the policy which is preached in France by the *Univers*, and elsewhere by the other organs of the Romish Court. The restoration of legitimate sovereigns in the three Latin countries, Spain, Italy and France, Rome restored to the Pope, and the supreme control to the church, a return to the true principles of government, that is to say, to those proclaimed by the *Syllabus*, and Catholic traditions, this is the imposing plan the realization of which the Ultramontanes everywhere pursue. Will they succeed? Who can tell? But should they fail in this last assault upon Protestantism, what will be the fate of the conquered? We shudder to think of the evils which are being prepared for Europe by this dream of restoring universal dominion to the church, and which she demands at this present time with greater boldness and obstinacy than ever.

NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.—The foregoing article first appeared in *La Revue de Belgique*, under a different title, and attracted great attention. It was subsequently issued in France in the form of a pamphlet, from which this translation is made The patriots who issue it say in their preface: "The words of M. de Laveleye are serious, but they are not affected by party spirit, for they are the words of a *savant* whose works have made him an authority. If he has severely judged ultramontanism, declaring it a social danger, it is not under the influence of sectarian hate, for he is a Catholic; if he has sketched with a bold hand the foibles and faults of the men of the Republic, he cannot be accused of narrowness or fogyism, he is one of the most esteemed and honored chiefs of the liberal party in Belgium." The learned writer is professor of Political Economy at the University of Liége.

STEPHEN H. CARPENTER.

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EDUCATION AMONG THE BAPTISTS OF THIS COUNTRY DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.*

THE subject assigned me on this occasion is much too large to receive adequate treatment within the limited time that can be allowed. Yet in reviewing the history of our denomination, and estimating the causes and signs of its numerical and moral growth, the subject is much too important to be entirely passed by to-day. Even a cursory examination will discover many occasions of devout gratitude to God, and will yield instructive and encouraging lessons, as we lay our plans for the great work of another century.

This examination will not be conducted in the line of principles and methods, in which vast changes have taken place, making the education of to-day a different thing from the education of even a half century ago; broader, more comprehensive, and at the same time more analytical, more exact. Nor will it have to do with institutions, their origin, work, and present position, except in so far as these institutions have been identified with honored names, and have become the living memorials of consecrated learning and intelligent piety. It will be more interesting to speak of men, the distinguished educators of the past, who have planned and moulded our institutions, and have carried forward our education to its present high position and advanced character.

* This paper was read before the Backus Historical Society, at its anniversary, June 13, 1876

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More than a century passed away after Baptist principles assumed organized church-form in this country, before our fathers began to move in the matter of academic or ministerial education. The First Baptist Church in Providence was organized in 1639. This was one year after the founding of Harvard College. It was one hundred and twenty-five years before the charter of Rhode Island College was applied for and secured, in 1764. There had been, however, educated men, who had received their education in the colleges of Old England, or of New, who had during this period advocated Baptist views. But the number was not large. Hansard Knollys, regarded by some as the first Baptist minister in America, was graduated at the University of Cambridge, and became a presbyter in the Church of England. Being arrested and imprisoned for nonconformity, he escaped to America. Soon after his arrival he was invited to preach in Piscataway (now Dover, N. H.,) in the autumn of 1638. He remained there only two or three years. It is not certain whether he became a Baptist before leaving England, or during his brief ministry in this country. Driven from Piscataway by persecution and unjust aspersions against his moral character, he returned to England, where for a period of fifty years he is said to have been—

> One of the brightest lights of his age, one of the ablest preachers of the Gospel, one of the most accomplished teachers of youth, one of the boldest pioneers of religious liberty, one of the meekest, yet most heroic sufferers for the truth, one of the purest and best of men.

Roger Williams, whose name, notwithstanding the recent elaborate attempt of Rev. Dr. Dexter to reverse the decisions of history, will still be cherished by Baptists, and all lovers of religious liberty, was a graduate of Cambridge or Oxford, probably of Pembroke College, Cambridge. John Clarke, one of the founders of Newport, and the founder and first pastor of the Baptist Church in that place, whose fraternal visit to Lynn (in which Dr. Dexter, with wonderful sharpness of vision, discovers a shrewd political design) was followed by memorable consequences, was an educated physician; though at what university he was matriculated is not known. The following item in his will indicates the nature of his studies, and the extent of his attainments:

> Item. Unto my loving friend, Richard Bayley, I give and bequeathe my concordance and lexicon thereto belonging, written by myself, being the fruit of several years' study; my Hebrew Bible, Buxtorff's and Parsons' Lexicons, Cotton's Concordance, and all the rest of my books.

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It is a well known fact that President Dunster, the first President of Harvard College, became a Baptist, and forfeited his position and home because of his fidelity to his principles; and that the learned Chauncey, who succeeded him, held similar views with reference to the rite of baptism, but was elected to his office on condition that he should hold his views in abeyance. They never gave to the truths they accepted the weight of their active influence.

But the early Baptists of America were, for the most part, uneducated outside of the Scriptures; and when it is remembered that an educated clergy were, from the first, their fiercest persecutors, and that there were some marked instances of defection from the Calvinistic faith among the few educated ministers in their own ranks, is it any wonder that there should have been an early prejudice against education itself, which in some quarters did not quickly pass away? This prejudice, together with the humble circumstances in life in which our fathers were, prevented any general movement to establish institutions of learning. Here and there a young man took advantage of existing facilities to qualify himself for a larger usefulness. But generally, called by God's Spirit at the plough or the bench, the ministers of olden times waited not to change their homespun garments for classic gowns, hardly to shake off the dust of the field or the shop, and went forth to their great work with no parchment but the word of God.

Their prejudice, however, had reference to a higher education, and the necessity of a learned ministry. The Baptists were among the earliest, if not the earliest, advocates of public schools, as the Town Records of Newport for 1640 show. Indeed, it is claimed that Rhode Island, the state in which Baptist principles had freest opportunity to affect civil institutions, possessed the first free school in America, and that "a Baptist had the honor of being the first public school teacher."

Rev. Elisha Callender was the first native-born, educated Baptist minister in this country. His father, Ellis Callender, "officiated as the principal 'speaker' in the First Baptist Church, in Boston, while they were destitute of a pastor, for about thirty years," and then served the church as its regularly ordained pastor, for ten years in addition. The son was educated at Harvard College, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1710. He was subsequently converted, and became a member of the First Baptist Church, and on May 21, 1718, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, and became pastor of the church his father had served so long. In his council and ordination the two Mathers, and other prominent Con-

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gregational ministers took part. Dr. Cotton Mather preached the ordination sermon upon the subject, "Good Men United." Increase Mather alluded to his participation in the services in language somewhat apologetic and justificatory. This was an unusual expression of recognition and fellowship on the part of the standing order. Mr. Callender's graduation from Harvard College had not a little to do with it, and the liberality of sentiment thus shown resulted in great pecuniary advantage to the institution. For it was "the report of this expression of Catholicism in England," according to Dr. Benedict, that "induced Thomas Hollis, Esq., a wealthy merchant of the Baptist persuasion, to become one of the most liberal benefactors to Cambridge College that it ever enjoyed."[1]

In the year 1738, the year in which Rev. Elisha Callender, the first native educated Baptist minister in America, died, and the year in which Harvard College completed the first centenary of its existence, James Manning, the first President of Rhode Island College, was born at Elizabethtown, N. J. Already an interest in a higher education was springing up among the churches. The necessity for a ministry more liberally instructed was beginning to be felt. The generous donations of Mr. Hollis, unsurpassed in intrinsic value by the larger contributions of to-day, were made not only in the interests of ministerial education in general, but for the encouragement of education in the Baptist ministry in particular. While they offered aid to all who were intended for the "ministry of the gospel of Jesus Christ," they provided "that none," to use Mr. Hollis' words, "be refused on account of his belief and practice in adult baptism, if he be sober and religiously inclined." The great advantages thus offered were an inspiration to those for whom they were intended, to avail themselves of them. Immediately (in 1722) a proposition was introduced in the Philadelphia Baptist Association "for the churches to make inquiry among themselves, if they have any young persons hopeful for the ministry, and inclinable for learning; and if they have, to give notice of it to Mr. Abel Morgan, before the first of November, that he might recommend such to the Academy, on Mr. Hollis, his account." Moreover the Baptist leaders were waking up to the fact that one great hindrance to the progress of Baptist principles was the generally uneducated character of their advocates, and that truth will win its way to a speedier triumph, if it is commended by the intelligence and

[1] Mr. Hollis began his benefactions to the College in 1719, and within a period of seven years contributed nearly £5,000, founding two professorships, one of Mathematics and one of Divinity, and ten scholarships for "poor students."

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culture of its defenders. Forty-three years later Rev. Isaac Backus, in a letter to Rev. Dr. Gill, of London, said:

> One grand objection made use of against believers' baptism, has been that none but ignorant and illiterate men have embraced the Baptist sentiments. . . . And as the Baptists have met with a great deal of abuse from those who are called learned men in our land, they have been not a little prejudiced against learning itself; but latterly there has been considerable alteration in this respect.

In the same letter Dr. Backus wrote:

> Ten years ago [that is, in 1755] there were but two Baptist ministers (Jeremiah Condy, of Boston, and Edward Upham, of Newport,) in all New England, who had what is called a liberal education: and they were not clear in the doctrines of grace.

In 1756 there was opened in Hopewell, N. J., the first Baptist academy in America. It was established by Rev. Isaac Eaton "for the education of youth for the ministry." In a vote passed the same year by the Philadelphia Association to raise money for the support of the school, it was called "a Latin Grammar School for the promotion of learning amongst us." It was continued by Mr. Eaton for eleven years, and did a noble service, not only for the young men who went from it to the care of the churches, but for the churches themselves, which were "thus convinced from experience," says Morgan Edwards, "of the great usefulness of human literature to more thoroughly furnish the man of God for the most important work of the gospel ministry." At the opening of this school President Manning, then a young man of eighteen years, hastened to accept the advantages it offered, and prepared himself for Princeton College, from which he graduated with high honors in the class of 1762. Among his classmates was Hezekiah Smith, who for forty years was the honored pastor of the Baptist church in Haverhill, Mass., and was the life-long friend and coadjutor of President Manning and Brown University, and who in connection with Dr. Manning and Dr. Samuel Stillman (also a student from Hopewell Academy, and for many years pastor of the First Baptist church in Boston, all three of them coming from the Middle States into New England) revolutionized the Baptist thought of New England in the matter of ministerial education, lifted the denomination into favorable recognition, laid the foundations of its growth and prosperity, and gave to it an impulse, which multiplied it sixfold within a period of fourteen years.

Mr. Manning, after his graduation, narrowly escaped going to

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Charleston, S. C., as the colleague of his friend, Rev. Oliver Hart, pastor of the church in that city. But God was opening for him another and a wider sphere of activity. The auspicious hour was approaching for the establishment of a college, which should be under the patronage and control of Baptists, and all eyes were turning to Mr. Manning as the suitable leader in this great enterprise, and the one on whom the responsible burden should rest. After a brief settlement of less than a year as pastor in Morristown, N. J., he removed to Warren, R. I., in the spring of 1764, organized the scattered Baptists into a church for his support, and opened a Latin school, "which, if not the germ, was the barbinger of Rhode Island College." It is not necessary at this time to give the details of the founding of the college, and the curious history of misplaced confidence in the preparation of the charter, whereby the college, projected by Baptists, who had built the nest and laid the precious egg, came near, in the process of incubation, being hatched out a Congregationalist institution. It was the third College in New England in order, and the seventh in America, and immediately became the protégé and the hope of American Baptists, gathering to itself the warm sympathy and the earnest support of the Philadelphia, the Warren, and the Charleston Associations, which at the close of the last century were the three great representative bodies in our denomination. It was Mr. Manning, who drew the original plan of the college, and who formally proposed, it is said, in 1763, when but twenty-five years of age, to several influential gentlemen of the denomination assembled at Newport, the establishment of "a seminary of polite literature, subject to the government of the Baptists." After the charter had been granted, at the second meeting of the corporation in September, 1765, Mr. Manning was elected "President of the College, Professor of Languages, and other branches of learning, with full power to act in these capacities at Warren or elsewhere," a designation which, as it has been remarked, "though not obnoxious to the charge of legal precision, seems to imply, on the part of the corporation, no want of confidence in the variety of the President's attainments."

The career of President Manning amply justified the confidence that was reposed in him. For a period of twenty-six years he occupied the chair of President, being at the same time pastor of the church at Warren until 1770, when the college was transferred to Providence, and then for twenty years pastor of the church in Providence; and his name stands not only first among our great educators in point of time, but among the first in point of influence and honor. "His own times," said the Hon. William Hunter, "he inspired with

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a deep sense of his qualities as a scholar, an orator, a statesman, a theologian, and an educationist." And he is still spoken of as the "Christian scholar," the "eloquent preacher," the President "of eminently dignified manners and courteous spirit," who was "greatly loved by his associates, and honored with peculiar respect by his pupils." The period of his administration was the critical period in the history of the college. It was the initial period. Foundations were to be laid. Resources and students were to be gathered. Plans were to be matured and perfected. The necessity for the college and its character were to be determined. Was the college needed? Could it be supported? Would it be worth supporting? Could it compete with the colleges already existing, three of which had had an existence of from sixty years to a century and a quarter? These questions were settled affirmatively, largely through the personal character, the scholarly ability, the assiduous labors of President Manning. Moreover it was the period of the American revolution. Providence was a garrisoned town. The operations of the college were for a time suspended, and the students scattered. The college building was used as a barrack for the French soldiers under the command of Rochambeau. Society everywhere was disorganized and impoverished. Liberty must be secured, though the institutions of learning were left to perish in the endeavor. But notwithstanding this serious interruption and curtailment of resources, the college renewed its work with redoubled energy at the earliest moment possible, graduating its first class after the war in 1786. President Manning lived but five years after this to prosecute the work which he had so vigorously begun, and to which he had consecrated his life. He died suddenly July 24, 1791, at the early age of fifty-three years. But he lived long enough to render a service to his denomination, to the interests of good learning and to his age, of incalculable value, and to see the college advanced to a position of great respectability and of assured success. The weight of his personal character and influence was felt not only in the affairs of the college and of the church, but in all philanthropic and patriotic movements, in securing the adoption of the national Constitution and in the national Congress, to which he was sent by the remarkable, spontaneous action of the Rhode Island Assembly. President Manning was a person of commanding presence, which showed to good advantage in the class-room and on commencement day, of well trained powers, of strong, yet catholic convictions, and of eminent piety. In his day few names were more honored than his, and in the recollections of to-day, none is more worthy of the grateful remembrance of intelligent Baptists.

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Dr. Manning's immediate successor in the presidency of Rhode Island College, was Jonathan Maxcy. He was born at Attleborough, Mass., Sept. 2, 1768. He pursued his preparatory studies in the Academy of Rev. William Williams of Wrentham, Mass., and entered Rhode Island College in 1783. As a boy he is said to have exhibited "uncommon intellectual precocity," and his course as a college student was marked by "great diligence and singular versatility." He graduated *cum laude summa* at the age of nineteen, and was immediately elected Tutor. This office he filled with ability for four years. He was then for one year Professor of Divinity in the college, and at the same time pastor of the Baptist church. His fame as a preacher spread rapidly. When the office of president was vacated by the death of Dr. Manning, Mr. Maxcy was chosen to the honorable and responsible position. His election was exceedingly popular with the students and friends of the college. On the commencement succeeding his inauguration, the college was illuminated, and a transparency displayed, reading "Jonathan Maxcy, President, twenty-four years old." It is enough to say that for a term of ten years "he fulfilled the highest expectations of the most sanguine of his friends." "The splendor of his genius, aud his brilliant talents as an orator and divine," says Dr. Blake, "had become widely known; and under his administration the college acquired a reputation for belles-lettres and eloquence inferior to no seminary of learning in the United States." President Maxcy received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Havard College in 1801, at the age of thirty-three. Distinguished as he was for his scholarly attainments and the wide range of his mental acquisitions, he seems to have been especially distinguished for his rare eloquence and remarkable power in the pulpit. His publications are chiefly sermons and addresses. Possibly when we read of his "silver voice," his "enchanting discourse," his "highly gifted and finely regulated soul," and hear him likened to "a star of the first magnitude," we may think that the enthusiastic admiration of his pupils may have found expression in language somewhat extravagant. Yet that he possessed powers uncommonly brilliant and attractive there can be no question. In 1802 he was chosen President of Union College, as successor of the second Jonathan Edwards. He remained in this position, however, only two years, when he was called to Columbia, as the first President of South Carolina College. To this Institution he removed "in the hope that a Southern climate might prove more congenial to his delicate constitution." For sixteen years he occupied this post, "with almost unprecedented popularity," it is said, making his influ-

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ence felt through all the South. His death occurred June 4, 1820, when he was but two years past fifty.

The third President of Brown University was Rev. Asa Messer, D. D. He was born in Methuen, Mass., in 1769, being only one year younger than President Maxcy. He was the son of a farmer, and at an early age went to Haverhill as clerk in a store. Here he began his preparatory studies with Rev. Dr. Hezekiah Smith, and completed them under the tuition of a Rev. Mr. Williams of Windham, N. H., a Scotch clergyman of some note. He graduated at the college in the class of 1790, and such was the high character of his scholarship that the following year he was elected Tutor, in 1796 Professor of the Learned Languages, in 1799 Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and in 1802, after the resignation of President Maxcy, he was appointed to the presidency. He did not possess the rare pulpit power of the eloquent and accomplished Maxcy, but he was a thorough scholar, is spoken of as having a logical mind, and as being "a good teacher, faithful and honest, leading his pupils to think for themselves rather than impressing his own opinions or mental characteristics upon them."

His individuality [says Professor Park] was made unmistakable by his physical frame. This, while it was above the average height, was also in breadth an emblem of the expansiveness of his mental capacity. A "*long* head" was vulgarly ascribed to him; but it was breadth that marked his forehead; there was an expressive breadth in his maxillary bones; his broad shoulders were a sign of the weight which he was able to bear; his manner of walking was a noticeable symbol of the reach of his mind; he swung his cane far and wide as he walked, and no observer would doubt that he was an independent man; he gesticulated broadly as he preached; his enunciation was forcible, now and then overwhelming, sometimes shrill, but was characterized by a breadth of tone and a prolonged emphasis which added to its momentum, and made an indelible impress on the memory.

The same writer says:

For a man of thirty-three to administer an office so recently honored by Maxcy and Manning, demanded a wide expansion of mind and heart; yet when he entered on this high station, no class in the college had contained more than twenty-eight members, and when he left it, he had instructed classes of forty, forty-one, forty-seven, and forty-eight pupils, and among them many scholars eminent in church and state; he had raised the finances of the college to a prosperous condition, and had added depth and breadth to the groundwork of one of our noblest universities.

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President Messer was a man of quick insight into character, and endowed with great common sense. His conversation and addresses abounded in original shrewd maxims, which were not easily forgotten by those who heard them. In one of his baccalaureate addresses, he said: "You will find most men alive to their own interest, and in general it will be most safe to commit yourselves to them only so far as that interest may induce them to befriend you." In another, he said: "If money is your object, you may gain it better by ploughing than preaching." The theological position of President Messer has been a matter of some controversy. It is probable that in the later part of his administration he modified his views to some extent, as he became familiar with the Unitarian controversy; and it is undoubtedly a fact that the orthodox Congregationalists of Massachusetts, who had just lost possession of Harvard University, were sending their sons to a college, whose President "showed an inclination, to say the least, towards the doctrines of Unitarianism." Professor Park, however, insists that there was no "*decisive* indication" of departure from the evangelical faith of New England. He speaks of him as "a Rhode Islander in freedom of thought and freedom of speech," "an uncompromising Independent in Ecclesiastical Polity." He was more in accord, perhaps, with the General Baptists of England, whose sympathies he enlisted for the college, than with any other denomination. It may be remarked that one cannot read Professor Park's charming biographical sketch of President Messer, contained in Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, without exclaiming, happy is the man who has Professor Park for his biographer! President Messer having served the college as its head for a period of twenty-four years, resigned his position, and spent the remainder of his life in comparative retirement.

The time had now arrived for another and important step in advance toward a fuller and completer preparation of young men for the work of the ministry. All that had been done in the direction of higher education, had been begun with reference to the Christian ministry. The academies which had been planted, and the college itself were designed for the better qualification of preachers of the gospel. But the work was found to be still incomplete, and something more, a distinctively professional training, was needed to elevate the ministry to a higher point of efficiency. Connected with this new movement, and prominently identified with it, was Rev. William Staughton, D. D. He was an Englishman, having been born at Coventry, in Warwickshire, Jan. 4, 1770. His student-life was spent principally at Bristol, in connection with the Baptist Theological In-

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stitution. Being a young man of unusual promise, he was urged to visit America in response to a request from Rev. Dr. Furman for some one to be sent over to take charge of a church in Georgetown, S. C. He was twenty-three years of age at the time of his arrival in this country. He quickly acquired a very extensive popularity as a preacher. Various reasons, however, prevented a long residence in the South. Coming to the North, he taught an academy at Bordentown, N. J., where he was ordained, June 17, 1797, and subsequently he took charge of an academy at Burlington in the same state. He continued to preach, supplying constantly one or two churches; and by his eloquence as a preacher, his broad culture, and his success as a teacher, especially in Burlington, he attracted much attention. At the early age of twenty-eight he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the College of New Jersey. In 1805 he was invited to Philadelphia by the First Baptist church, and in his ministry in that city he spent eighteen years, winning a remarkable fame both as a preacher and an educator. His removal to Philadelphia gave an impulse to the denomination in that city, to which may be traced its rapid increase and its present strength. Says Rev. Dr. Sharp, who lived in his family for a time, and often listened to his sermons:

> He was at times surpassingly eloquent. . . . Many a time I have seen a crowded assembly, now held in breathless silence, now all in tears, and now scarcely able to remain on their seats, while listening to "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," delivered with such sublime and thrilling pathos, that if angels had been spectators, they must have been enraptured with the scene.

As early as 1807 he began to receive young men into his family to guide and instruct them in their preparation for the ministry. Rev. Daniel Sharp, D. D., was his first theological student. Not a few resorted to him, enjoying the hospitality of his home, the benefit of his personal instruction, and the inspiration of his eloquent example. After considerable discussion in the Baptist General Convention, and the Baptist Education Society of the Middle States, a theological institution was open in Philadelphia in 1818, and Dr. Staughton was appointed principal, with Rev. Irah Chase as assistant. This school was afterwards transferred to Washington, and became the Theological Department in Columbian College. To accept the presidency of this college Dr. Staughton resigned his pastorate in Philadelphia in 1823. This new position he held for four years, until the institution was completely crippled by the lack of funds. He

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died in Washington in December, 1829, while on his way to Kentucky to enter upon the duties of the presidency of the Georgetown Literary and Theological Institute, to which he had been elected. It is is said of Dr. Staughton that he "possessed an uncommonly active and vigorous mind," and that "his learning was various and of the first order." Some of the most distinguished and useful ministers of our faith were students under him, and felt the impress of his moulding hand. His activity was prodigious. In addition to the duties of a successful ministry and a theological professorship, he engaged in editorial work, delivered regular courses of lectures in natural sciences and history in two of the most respectable female seminaries in Philadelphia, was zealous in his support of all benevolent and missionary movements, and was himself corresponding secretary of the General Convention, attending personally to its large correspondence and the preparation of its reports. Truly has it been said that "his name is associated with the progress of our denomination and with the enlargement and cultivation of learning" among American Baptists.

At about the same time with this movement in Philadelphia a similar movement was inaugurated at Hamilton, N. Y., largely through the agency of Rev. Daniel Hascall. An education society was organized in the autumn of 1817, which was soon followed by the establishment of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution. This school was opened in 1820, under the charge of Mr. Hascall. He was a man of respectable ability, possessing a strong, clear intellect, moved by deep convictions and an indomitable purpose. To this Institution he devoted himself with untiring energy and unselfish zeal. Professor Hascall, says Dr. George W. Eaton, "may be regarded as the great pioneer in the cause of ministerial education among the Baptists of the State of New York." His life was one of great activity and of large, beneficent results, and his name will be held in peculiar honor by all the friends of the Institution he labored to found and to perpetuate. "*Illa non movebitur*" was indicative of the character and purpose of the man.

Associated with Mr. Hascall in the department of instruction was Rev. Nathaniel Kendrick, D. D., who, in 1822, was elected Professor of Theology and Moral Philosophy. He was a man of commanding presence, being six feet and three inches in height, of great excellence of character, of profound practical wisdom, possessing a powerful intellect, though naturally slow in its movements. His theology was thoroughly Calvinistic. "The richness of his moral development" is said to have compensated, in a great degree, for the imperfection of his mental discipline. His lack of early opportunities intensified

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his sense of the value of the Institution, and for twenty-five years he labored faithfully to advance its interests, and make it a power for good to the denomination and to the world.

This same period, the second decade of the present century, was especially fruitful in efforts to secure an intelligent and well-trained ministry for our churches. Still a third movement was entered upon in this more eastern section of our country. Andover Theological Seminary had been founded by the Congregationalists in 1807, and some Baptist students were availing themselves of the great advantages which it offered. Several pastors were devoting what time they could spare, amid the demands of an active ministry, to the assistance of young men who were endeavoring to qualify themselves for their sacred calling. Prominent among these was Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, pastor of the Baptist church in Danvers, Mass. Of course the best work that pastors could do was utterly inadequate to meet the wants of the time. In 1814 Dr. Chaplin delivered an appeal before the Boston Baptist Association, for the formation of an education society, which was immediately responded to, and the Northern Baptist Education Society, which for sixty-two years has done a work of unsurpassed benevolence, had its beginning. It was this published appeal that stirred the mind of Mr. Hascall also to action in western New York. Three years later, after carful deliberation, a literary and theological institution was opened at Waterville, Me., and Dr. Chaplin was called to be its principal. In 1820 a college charter was secured, and Dr. Chaplin was made President. Owing to the difficulty of providing funds for carrying on all the departments of instruction, the idea of the theological seminary, which was the prevailing one at the commencement of the enterprise, was abandoned, and it became a college in the usual acceptation of the term. Dr. Chaplin presided over the affairs of the college for thirteen years, and "under his wise and efficient administration" it was "provided with the necessary buildings, library, philosophical and chemical apparatus, and the foundation laid of permanent prosperity," a prosperity which has been assured by the generous benefactions of later years. Dr. Chaplin graduated at Brown University in 1799, and studied theology under Rev. Dr. Baldwin. He was greatly "esteemed for his piety, learning, and sound judgment," and is described by Dr. Conant as "one of the most learned theologians of his time."

Associated with Dr. Chaplin, for a period of five years, from 1823 to 1828, was Professor Stephen Chapin. Mr. Chapin had graduated at Harvard College, and pursued his studies in theology with Dr. Emmons. He had been settled over Congregationalist churches in

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Hillsborough and Mount Vernon, N. H., for thirteen years. But during this time a gradual change had taken place in his denominational views. He began his return towards New Testament principles by opposing the Half-way Covenant, and requiring "a profession of experimental piety" as a condition of church-membership. Subsequently he was led to abandon his former sentiments on both the subjects and the mode of baptism. The change was the result in his case, as a like change has been in many other cases, of an attempt to strengthen himself in the practice of infant baptism, a peculiar feat, of which it may be said that the more it is undertaken the less it is accomplished. He was baptized by Rev. Dr. Baldwin in 1818, and was for a short time pastor of the Baptist church in North Yarmouth, Me., from which place he was called to Waterville. He is especially remembered, however, as the President of Columbian College, having succeeded Rev. Dr. Staughton in that office. For twelve years he bravely identified himself with the uncertain fortunes of that Institution, and did valiant service in rescuing it from the jagged rocks of financial embarrassment, against which it was driven.

The abandonment of the idea of a theological seminary at Waterville made room for the establishment of this loved and honored Institution, whose fifty-first anniversary we celebrate at this time. It was felt that New England, with its growing resources and rapidly multiplying Baptist population, needed and must have a theological school, a school in which our ministers might be thoroughly instructed in the truths of a Biblical theology, and thoroughly qualified to be preachers of those truths; a school well furnished with all the facilities for a broad, liberal, complete ministerial education, a school which should be second to none of any denomination in the country. In the providence of God our fathers were waiting for the place, the hour, and the man. Their eyes were at length turned to yonder hill, as being the suitable place for the execution of their lofty purpose; and the consecrated host of those who have come to this sacred summit during the passing years, and have received inspiration from its unrivaled loveliness as well as from the faithful tuition and holy associations of the place, have gratefully endorsed the wisdom of their decision. The providential hour arrived on the 28th of November, 1825. And the man whom God had appointed appeared in the person of Professor Irah Chase.

Professor Chase came to this place richly endowed in mind and heart for the great service which was opening before him. Born in Stratton, Vt., Oct. 5, 1793, he pursued his studies with intense ardor and application at Middlebury College and at Andover Seminary.

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After his graduation he entered upon missionary work in western Virginia, and in a few months became associated with Rev. Dr. Staughton in theological instruction. For seven years he continued in this relation. But God made him restless, dissatisfied. He longed for another arena, different surroundings, amid which he could build the grand structure of a school of sacred learning which was rising in his mind. He resigned his professorship at Washington. As another has said, "the whole land was before him, and Providence his guide." He looked westward, but saw no moving pillar of fire. He looked northward along the Hudson, but the ground was already occupied at Hamilton. Coming to New York, by one of those divinely ordered "accidents" of human experience, he was introduced to Nathaniel R. Cobb, an honored name among the founders of this Seminary, who informed Mr. Chase of the movement that had been initiated in this vicinity, and invited him to Boston. At last the man had found his place, and the place had found the man.

The self-denying devotion, the earnest, continuous labors, the wise building of Professor Chase are too well known to need recital. The general plan of the Institution, its thoroughness, its completeness, its conformity with the highest Christian conception, its adaptation to the wants of the ministry and of the churches, can be traced to the mind of Professor Chase. The breadth of his views, the soundness of his judgments, the admirable completeness of his ideal, the concentration of his life to its noble purpose and destiny, have been made manifest to all eyes. The foundations so well laid left little to be changed by his successors. Theirs is the solemn responsibility of carrying forward to maturity and perfection what was so grandly begun. The name of Professor Chase shall be held in grateful and honored remembrance so long as students shall come to these halls of sacred learning, so long as one stone shall remain upon another. As a student he was diligent, laborious, conscientious, and heroic; exploring, verifying, settling all things. Another has said: "He was not ashamed to plod. He was unwilling to accept anything as truth which was not the result of his personal investigation." As a teacher in this Seminary his service continued during an uninterrupted period of twenty years. The pen that joined in a single descriptive sentence, "his patient research, his accurate knowledge, his love of Biblical study, his fatherly interest in the students, and his admirable spirit in controversy," sketched for us a faithful outline of the first professor of Newton Theological Institution.[1]

[1] It was a sad comment on the early struggles of this Institution, and the tardy gratitude

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There is another name which is closely connected with that of Professor Chase, the name of one who shared with him the struggles and labors of the early history of this school, and who should share with him the glory of its present prosperity and influence, a name which will always be spoken among us with reverent affection. I mean the name of Henry J. Ripley. Professor Ripley was born in Boston, January 28, 1798, was a medal scholar of its famous Latin School, and a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1816. He pursued the regular course in theology at Andover, being a classmate of Rev. Dr. Wayland, and others, who afterwards became eminent as ministers and educators. For several years he labored as missionary and pastor. In 1826, the year after this Seminary was established, he was invited to assist Professor Chase in the work of instruction. As Professor, occupying various chairs of instruction as the necessisities of the Institution demanded, he labored for thirty-four years, giving to the Institution all the energies and affections of a cultivated mind and a consecrated heart. After a brief interruption, his connection with this loved Seminary was resumed, and he became its Librarian. This position he occupied until his decease, May 21, 1875, filling out almost a half century of unfaltering devotion to the interests of Newton. When it is remembered that Professor Ripley filled successively, though it may not be with equal success, the chairs of Biblical Criticism, Church History, Sacred Rhetoric, and Theology, it will be conceded that this required "not only adaptability, but a familiarity with the broad range of sacred studies, indicative of rare mental discipline, and of comprehensive acquisitions." He was a pains-taking student, an eminently careful and judicious teacher, a candid and perspicuous writer, a wise counsellor and friend, a man of God, "an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile." Such was the gentleness of his spirit, such was the purity of his character and life, such was the goodness, the saintliness of the man, that there is danger that the value of his work, the greatness of his service, may be overlooked in the admiring contemplation of *him*. If Newton Theological Seminary has achieved any true greatness and prosperity, if it has accomplished anything in fitting both mind and heart for that sacred calling in which piety must always take precedence of learning — and learning without piety must be as "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal" — it must be ascribed in no small degree to the labors and spirit of him whose presence was in

which men sometimes receive, when Dr. Hackett remarked, as he looked upon the marble bust of Professor Chase which now adorns the Library, "He asked for bread, and they gave him a stone."

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itself a benediction, and whose daily orison, offered through so many years, was: "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good." I am happy in this opportunity to pay a simple tribute to the sainted memory of that good man whom I was permitted to call teacher and friend.

I have mentioned the name of a classmate of Professor Ripley in the Theological Seminary, than which probably there is none held by our denomination in higher esteem and veneration to-day, the name of Francis Wayland. It will be impossible to give in a few lines, or pages even, any just estimate of the character of our great President, or of the service which he rendered to Christian education in this country. For his influence was not local, or confined within denominational lines—it was national. His pupils, of every name, delight to give him honor, and his name is everywhere accepted as an authority. Dr. Wayland was born in New York City, March 11, 1796. He was the son of a Baptist clergyman. His preparatory studies were pursued chiefly under the superintendence of Mr. Daniel H. Barnes, of whom Dr. Wayland speaks as "excellent man and a remarkable teacher." He entered Union College at the age of fifteen, in the third term of the Sophomore year. Dr. Nott was then in the seventh year of his Presidency. Looking back upon his college life, he says: "I think my mind did not develop as soon as that of boys generally." He was graduated July 28, 1813, and immediately entered upon a course of medical study. Renewed by the Spirit of God, his views of life, his course of life, were completely changed. He was turned towards the ministry. He spent one year at Andover under the quickening influence of Professor Moses Stuart. Called back to Union College as tutor, he enjoyed the intimate friendship of the President for four years, and faithfully continued his student-life. The First Baptist Church in Boston was looking for a pastor, one who should possess the eloquent manner of Dr. Stillman, the judicial mind of Judge Clay, and the sweet piety of the beloved Winchell, for each new pastor must possess all the good characteristics of former pastors, and none of the bad ones. The church called Mr. Wayland. Immediately his power began to be felt and recognized. A single sermon lifted his name into prominence, and "gave him a place among the first orators of the land." After a five years' service in the active ministry, he again accepted an appointment in Union College, from which he was removed in a few months to the Presidency of Brown University. He was now thirty years of age, in the very

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vigor of his manhood, and in a field calculated to call into fullest exercise his maturest powers. It was, in some respects, a critical period in the history of the college From various causes the discipline had become somewhat relaxed. Reform was needed, not only in the government of the college, but in the departments of instruction as well. The new President saw the condition of things at a glance, and instituted the reformatory measures demanded. It was soon found that the Institution had a head. "He restored confidence at once, and made himself master of the situation." For twenty-eight years he guided the affairs of the college, extending his work by his publications far beyond the limits of his own class-room; and by the moral grandeur of his character, the massive strength of his personal influence, the ceaseless and far-reaching activities of his industrious life, he made his impress upon a whole generation of American students, and became one of the first educators of his time, and of all time. I take the liberty to quote a part of a paragraph from the appreciative and eloquent eulogy of Prof. George I. Chace:

> The nobleness of his nature was manifested no less strikingly in the ordinary walks of daily life than in the more prominent and public situations to which he was called. In heroic and self-denying labors, in unceasing care and thought for the public good, in largeness of views and in breadth of interests and sympathy, in weight of character and influence, in intellectual resources and power, and in all the elements of moral greatness, he was by universal consent the foremost citizen of Rhode Island. *Nec viget quicquam, simile aut secundum.*"

But you are waiting impatiently to hear me speak of one, whose life-work was done in connection with this Institution, who here acquired a reputation as a Biblical scholar second to none in America, who though he gave the last few years of his life to a sister institution, was still claimed and loved by us as our own, and who since last we met on anniversary occasion, has been translated into clearer light and nearer access to the Divine truth which he loved.[1] Newton and her sons will always revere the memory of Horatio B. Hackett. Professor Hackett was born at Salisbury, Mass., Dec. 27, 1808. He was a student at Phillips Academy, "the Rugby of America," where already the characteristics of later years began to appear. He graduated at Amherst College, and studied theology at Andover, reaping to the full the advantages of that honored Institution, being always the favorite student, on whom were centered the hopes of his

[1] Professor Hackett died at his residence in Rochester, N. Y., on Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875 between the hours of twelve and one o'clock.

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admiring teachers. He was tutor at his Alma Mater for a single year. But his close and critical examination of the word of God compelled a change in his denominational convictions. Loyalty to revealed truth constrained him to abandon the associations in which he had been educated, and to separate himself, however painful the process, from the doctrinal fellowship of honored teachers, esteemed classmates and valued friends, and offer himself, a stranger, to a denomination not then distinguished for its culture or widely respected. He found a ready welcome and an extended field of usefulness. He was placed in the chair of Ancient Languages in Brown University, and and at the expiration of four years, in 1839, he was elected to the more congenial professorship of Biblical Interpretation in this Institution. You know how well, by study and travel, he prepared himself for his great work, and with what distinguished ability he performed the duties of his position, being the central attraction at this seat of learning for nearly thirty years, and sending his fame abroad to all denominations and to other lands. He was ever the humble student, desiring to know simply what was the mind of the Spirit, and the enthusiastic, magnetic, peerless teacher. He magnetized the dullest intellect into life, and furnished in himself, with his love for revealed truth, his childlike confidence in the sacred Scriptures, his breadth and accuracy of knowledge, his graceful and eloquent diction, the model professor to hundreds of Christian students who enjoyed the peculiar privilege of receiving instruction from his lips. The honored President of this Institution, with a generous modesty, said one year ago in this place:

> For a considerable period, at least, his was the name that attracted young men to this school, and his the ability which retained them here. Not only by the accuracy of his knowledge, but also by the singular beauty of his language, did he charm and inspire the classes under his charge, and wield a potent influence in favor of Christian culture.

And the President of the Seminary at Rochester, in an address delivered at the funeral of Dr. Hackett, made use of the following language:

> With an exacter scholarship than that of Stuart, he made himself for a whole half century the Nestor and leader of Greek exegesis in our denomination. . . . He taught the teachers of hundreds of thousands of Christians throughout the land. And though many threads of human influence are woven together in the fabric of our denominational progress, we are safe in saying that our position in intelligence and influence to-day is in large part the result of the life and work of Horatio B. Hackett.

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These are some of the devoted and successful educators of our denomination, whose labors, scattered through a hundred years, have been greatly blessed by God to the increase of intelligent piety among us. There are other names which, in such a record as this, ought not to be wholly omitted. I have already alluded to Rev. Isaac Eaton, the Principal of Hopewell Academy, and to Rev. William Williams of Wrentham, Mass. The latter is said to have had more than two hundred youth under his instruction, and to have sent eighty students to Brown University, many of whom became ministers of Christ. It was to Mr. Williams' care that the college library was sent for preservation, when the building was occupied as a hospital by the French soldiers during the Revolution. Rev. Samuel Jones, D. D., was principal of a school at Lower Dublin, Penn., from 1766 for nearly thirty years, in which it is recorded that "many were educated who were useful in the learned professions." In 1788 Burgess Allison, D. D., opened a classical boarding school at Bordentown, N. J., "which rose rapidly in both reputation and numbers." Similar work was done by John Stanford, D. D., in New York City, by Rev. John M. Roberts in Statesburg, S. C., and by Rev. Stephen Smith Nelson at Mount Pleasant, N. Y., all of whom were teachers at the beginning of the present century. William Theophilus Brantley, D. D., was well known as an educator in the South, having been Principal of Beaufort College for several years, Rector of the Academy at Augusta, Ga., at two different periods, and President for eight years of the College of Charleston. Jonathan Going, D. D., who was ordained in 1811, at Cavendish, Vt., and was the only one of forty-five Baptist pastors in that State at that time, who had had the benefit of a collegiate education, was subsequently called to the presidency of Granville College, Ohio, in 1836, and was an earnest laborer in both the literary and theological departments. Daniel Henry Barnes who, though never a pastor, often preached, had a remarkable reputation as a teacher in his day. He was connected with several schools in New York State, and was invited at different times to the presidency of Waterville College and to the presidency of Columbian College, but declined both invitations. He reckoned among his pupils many eminent men, President Wayland, Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, Rev. Dr. Erskine Morse, William R. Williams, D. D., John Macauley, D. D., and others. He devoted much attention to scientific studies, and was a frequent contributor to Silliman's Journal. Professor James D. Knowles will be remembered not only as the successor of Rev. Dr. Baldwin and the accomplished writer and editor, but as the one whose election to a professorship in this Institution

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was so full of promise, whose brief service of six years showed him to be a man of "rare powers" and "refinement of manners," fitted to adorn any position, and whose sudden and distressing death was so full of disappointment. John Sharp Maginnis, D. D., was pastor for a few years in Portland, Me., and Providence, R. I., and then went to Hamilton as Professor of Biblical Theology. In 1850 he transferred his relation to the new seminary at Rochester; but he survived the change only two years. He was a man of acknowledged ability and great success as an instructor. Dr. William R. Williams says of him:

> Many a youth who sat in his classes will remember long the calm, patient dignity with which his teacher listened to some confident and plausible objection; and then with all promptitude and directness, and with his quiet smile, seemed to lay his broad hand on the very throat of the darling error, and there the bantling lay, lifeless and sepulchred, as in a moment.

Rev. Eli B. Smith, D. D., was the efficient President of the New Hampton Institution from 1833 until the time of his death in 1861. Rev. Robert E. Pattison, D. D., spent the most of his long life in the work of teaching. He was twice President of Waterville College, was for more than five years Professor of Theology in this Seminary, was President of the Theological Institution in Covington, Ky., was afterward at the head of the Oread Female Institute at Worcester, and finally professor in the Chicago Seminary until he was called away from his earthly labors in 1874. Rev. George W. Eaton, D. D., was the large-hearted and zealous President of Hamilton Institution for a period of twelve years, from 1856 to 1868. But it will be impossible to speak of all who, for a longer or a shorter time, have done good and honorable service for the promotion of a Christian education. For the most part they have been ordained ministers, and have wisely regarded their service as essential to the healthful progress of Christianity itself. They have believed that culture should be made to minister to faith, indeed that the true aim of culture is, in words which Mr. Arnold borrowed from Bishop Wilson, "to make reason and the kingdom of God prevail."

Another voice at a future anniversary must speak of the efficient and honored corps of educators now living, some of whom have retired from active service to the enjoyment of the rest they have so richly earned, and many of whom have attained position and renown hardly surpassed by their most illustrious predecessors. There are names which spring spontaneously to our grateful lips, and whose expression

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we can with difficulty repress. On these earnest laborers and on us, on all friends of good learning within our ranks, rests the responsibility to-day of raising the standard of education, academic, collegiate, theological, to a still higher degree of excellence, and of extending the influences of a broad Christian culture as widely as possible in the denomination and in the land. A thoroughly educated ministry sustained and seconded by a thoroughly educated laity, this is the goal now before us in the line of education. Not more schools, but better schools, is the pressing demand of the hour, schools endowed with larger resources, and furnished with every facility for doing work and accomplishing results unsurpassed by those of any schools, whatever their age or denominational support. If this result be achieved by the Baptist Centennial movement, a movement which was so splendid in its conception and has been so ably advocated, it will be both a worthy memorial of our gratitude to God for the century now closing, and a certain prophecy of a larger increase and power in the century to come.

HENRY M. KING.

BOSTON HIGHLANDS, MASS.

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PROGRESS OF A CENTURY.

The Baptists in 1776 and in 1876.

WITH a feeling of considerable self-distrust, I come before you to speak of American Baptists during the first century of our national life. For while it may be safe to presume that every just thought now expressed will be invested with special interest by the circumstances of time and place which have led to this meeting, it is but honest to confess that the vastness and variety of topics embraced in my theme tend to appall the mind and render an adequate treatment of the subject hopeless. Think for a moment of the questions which you would like to have answered in a discourse upon American Baptists during the first century of this Republic! They would be such as these: What were the Baptists, at the beginning of that period, in number, in creed, in character, in culture, in wealth, in social position, in civil standing, in methods of work? What were the centres of their influence, the sources of their power, the ties which bound them together, the faults which weakened them in the way, the obstacles which retarded their progress? How faithful were they in matters of discipline? How liberal, in supporting their pastors? How sagacious, in locating their houses of worship? How prompt in entering new fields? Who were their leading ministers? What was the character of their preaching? Where did they pass their vacations? How often did they visit feeble churches? What

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freedom of exhortation or of prayer was encouraged in public worship? How well did the deacons co-operate with the "elders?" How active were members who held no office? And how were the youth trained for service? What did the ministers and people say about intemperance and slavery? About revivals and declensions? About parental faithfulness and early piety? About human government and religious freedom? About the course of England towards the colonies, and the wisdom of seeking independence from the mother country? About the scenes of conflict in Massachusetts, and the day of trial that was now dawning? These are a few of the questions which might be asked concerning Baptists living just one hundred years ago, and which you are at liberty to believe that nothing but lack of time prevents me from answering to your full satisfaction.

But if these questions were all answered for the beginning of the century, most of them would need be answered again for the middle of it, and once more for its close, if not rather for every ten years of its progress. And other questions would be presented at every successive point of observation. For as this "sect" has grown with the nation's growth, louder calls for devotion to Christ have been heard by it, and new forms of enterprise have issued from it. A reference to the great benevolent societies, North and South, which serve to unite in some degree the scattered forces of our denomination, to the institutions of higher learning which cover the land and bear witness to the liberality of our princely merchants, to the issues of the religious press which find their way to our myriad homes, imparting light and joy, and to the social unions which are springing into life in all our thriving cities, and developing strength and beauty latent before, will suggest to your minds a few additional themes, and furnish the only apology which I am entitled to make for the method and imperfection of my discourse.

For I propose to speak of certain particulars wherein American Baptists are now what they were a hundred years ago; of certain particulars wherein they are not now what they were then, and of certain causes of the sameness and the difference, the stability and the change. By this method I hope to join together in your minds the past and the present; to exhibit the wonderful equipoise of conservative and progressive forces in our denomination, and to honor the grace of God which has made our history bright as it is.

In what respects have American Baptists remained the same through the century? Let me begin at the foundation and say: In their views of the Bible. For they have reverenced this book as the one inspired source and final test of Christian doctrine. They have

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declared with one voice their purpose to rely upon the Holy Scriptures for their knowledge of the way of life. They have looked to the New Testament for all needed instruction concerning the ordinances of the gospel and the constitution of churches. From first to last, through all the controversies and changes of an eventful century, they have clung to the word of God as their sheet-anchor and have been safe. The whirlwind of destructive criticism which swept over Germany and threatened for a time to obliterate the last vestiges of reverence for the Bible, made no perceptible impression on the faith of our converted ministry, and we stand to-day where our predecessors stood in 1776, assured that, if heaven and earth should pass away, the words of Christ and of his inspired apostles would not pass away, till all were fulfilled. It may may be admitted that here and there a man has been tossed for a time on the billows of doubt, or has even lost his faith in the blessed volume as a fountain of perfect truth. But instances of the latter kind have been extremely rare, and with almost no exception our churches have been served by ministers believing in the full inspiration and supreme authority of the Bible.

And the churches have been in accord with their pastors. They have shown no restlessness when the Scriptures were called the word of God and were appealed to as the standard of Christian truth. They have welcomed preaching that was instinct with Biblical sentiment and uttered in Biblical language. They have taken pleasure in discourses illustrated by parables, emblems, or incidents borrowed from the sacred record, and have found more "sweetness and light" in the words of David or Isaiah, of Paul or John, than in the best works of the greatest masters of science or of history. Indeed, so great has been the confidence of both pastors and people in the sufficiency of God's word, attended by the Holy Spirit, to meet all the wants of the human soul, that they have never manifested any deep and general interest in the attempt sometimes made to trace the existence of Baptist churches in an unbroken line back to the apostles. They have been content to rest on the plain sense of the written word, which, whether obeyed or not, has come down from the first age, losing by human neglect or misinterpretation no particle of its original authority to bind the conscience.

Passing from the Bible itself to what the Bible teaches, I aver that American Baptists have continued essentially the same through the century in their views of Christian doctrine. This is a more comprehensive statement than the foregoing, and therefore more likely to need qualification. Yet when made concerning the regular Baptists of America I suppose it to be substantially correct. For they be-

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lieved one hundred years ago in a triune God, the Creator, Upholder, and Sovereign of the Universe; and they believe in the same now. They believed then in the complete moral alienation of mankind from God through the fall; in the divine-human personality and vicarious death of Jesus Christ; in the sufficiency of the atonement made by Christ for the salvation of all mankind, if they will accept it; in regeneration by the Holy Spirit, through the preaching of the word, and according to the election of grace; in the preservation of all regenerate souls, by the grace of God through faith unto eternal life, and in the final rejection and eternal punishment of all who will not submit to Christ; and they believe in the same now. They believed then in Christian baptism as being the immersion in water of those who have faith in Christ, into the name of the triune God; in the Lord's Supper as an ordinance to be observed by the churches of Christ, in commemoration of his vicarious death, through which alone they have life; in a Christian church as being a society of persons baptized on profession of their faith and associated together for the worship of God, the observance of Christian ordinances, and the spread of the gospel; in the independence, yet fraternal fellowship of the churches and in pastors and deacons as the proper officers of a Christian church; and they believe in the same now.

These are cardinal doctrines. Upon them many others depend. They were clearly expressed in the articles of faith adopted by many of our churches in Colonial times, notably by those comprised in the Philadelphia Association, and they are clearly expressed in the articles approved by most of our churches at the present time. They were boldly preached by the Baptist ministry of 1776, and they are as boldly taught by the Baptist ministry of 1876.

Some of these doctrines separate Baptists in a measure from other disciples of Christ, and therefore deserve particular notice at the present time. They are believed to be Scriptural and important, resting upon a few obvious principles. Namely: *First.* That the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, and the subjects of it persons who have been renewed by the Holy Spirit and made obedient to the truth. This is *the* distinctive principle of Baptists, having more to do with their existence as a denomination than any other. *Second.* That believers in Christ are the only persons entitled to any Christian ordinance or to membership in any Christian church. This they hold because faith in Christ is the direct and proper evidence of regeneration, and because it was made prerequisite to baptism by the apostles. *Third.* That baptism and the Lord's Supper are symbolical rites, expressing truth by forms of action, and on this account dependent for

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their value upon a careful observance of the prescribed forms and their order of sequence. Hence they believe that no other act can be substituted for immersion in water, without changing in some degree the meaning of the sacred ordinance by which one puts on Christ before the world and testifies that he has died to sin and risen to a new life. Hence, too, they believe that no order of observance but that of baptism first, and the Lord's Supper afterwards, gives to these sacred rites their intended significance—the former symbolizing one's entrance into fellowship with Christ, and the latter one's enjoyment of that fellowship. With these convictions, they deem it their duty, both to the Lord and to the Christian world, to keep the ordinances as they were delivered to the first churches by the holy apostles. For the Christian world cannot afford to lose any part of the truth meant to be taught by these rites. That truth is very pure and vital. It may be called the heart of the gospel. Properly administered, these two ordinances represent the Christian's belief in the atonement of Christ as the source of regeneration, sanctification, and eternal life. They are the best creeds ever uttered by a follower of Jesus, and only by changing their form or law of administration is it possible to pervert their meaning. It is not, therefore, a small thing to preserve them unchanged, and Baptists have always believed that fidelity to their Lord and love to his people require them to do this.

Yet it is well known that certain differences of belief had existed among Baptists from their first appearance in the land. A majority of their ministers and churches had been Calvinistic, and their belief in the sovereign grace of God had been in some instances pretty sharply defined and forcibly uttered. To the honor of Baptists in this central region it must be said that they were early conspicuous for the soundness of their views of Christian doctrine, for attention to order and discipline in the churches, and for harmony in public action. But in New England, and especially in the South, there had been some from the first who were Arminian, if not Socinian in their creed. Their influence, however, had been steadily declining since the revival under Whitefield, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Many separate Baptist churches were formed holding no fellowship with the older churches. But after a time, through the influence of principles which were common to all Baptists, and the prevalence of evangelical truth, the Regular and Separate Baptists of the South were brought very nearly together, and a formal union was effected a little less than one hundred years ago. A similar result was attained in the North, and it may therefore be truly affirmed

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that soon after the year 1776 the leading men of our denomination, in the Southern, the Middle, and the Northern States, were united in their views of Christian doctrine and church order.

To be sure John Waller, of Virginia, became a convert to the Arminian system in 1776, and, being unable to convince his brethren of the correctness of his new creed, he proclaimed himself an Independent Baptist; but though he was very zealous, and "his party gained considerable strength," he relinquished, after a trial of eleven years, the Arminian scheme, and resumed his place among the regular Baptists.

It must also be remarked that the doctrine of election and the practice of restricted communion have always been called in question by some in our churches; yet neither of these by itself has led to any important division in our ranks, though taken together they may be said to have occasioned the rise of the Free Will Baptists in 1780.

Making, however, all due allowance for diversity of belief in the members of our churches, and for the weakness and loss that have sprung from that source, it may still be affirmed, without any fear of contradiction, that no body of Christians in the land has continued through the century more steadfast in its adherence to the doctrines of grace and less affected by internal strife, than the one to which we have the honor of belonging.

Again, American Baptists remain what they were a hundred years ago in their views of the Christian ministry. For they have uniformly insisted upon a divine call to the sacred office. They have taught that the Holy Spirit moves "whom he will" to engage in this work. Differences of opinion as to the way in which this call is addressed to the human soul, have not disturbed the harmony of their belief as to the reality of such a call and as to its bearing upon the question of personal duty. Indeed, they have held that this inward call, together with deep piety, must be considered more important to a minister of the gospel than the best possible education in the schools. Yet they have paid to human learning its meed of respect, by declaring it to be extremely useful when sanctified by grace and employed in the service of truth. Uneducated ministers have sometimes been the warmest friends of education, denying themselves the comforts of life that their sons might have the best instruction. Nor have the churches of our denomination ever been without a number of educated ministers. A considerable fraction of the Baptist pastors in 1776 had enjoyed the advantages of liberal culture; and from that time to the present the same has been true. Efforts have been made to provide for those whom the Lord calls to the sacred office good

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opportunities to prepare for their work. If these efforts have been thus far insufficient, the failure, or partial failure, must be ascribed to a want of foresight and enterprise, rather than to a feeling of contempt for sound learning. True piety, a call from God by his Spirit, and the best education practicable—these, in the order of precedence given, have always been esteemed qualifications for the ministry, and are likely to be so regarded hereafter.

Once more, American Baptists remain what they were a hundred years ago in their views of religious liberty. I would fain speak of their advanced position in regard to the rights of conscience then, and of their stability in maintaining it since then, without boasting; for I am persuaded that their early and able advocacy of the truth on this point, should be ascribed in part to the disfavor and injustice with which they were treated everywhere by the state, and not altogether, though chiefly, to the clearness of their conviction that religion is distinctively a personal matter between the soul and its God. In other words, the earth has helped the woman, and the wrath of man has been made to serve the purpose of God. The very tenacity with which denominations favored by the state clung to their prerogatives, and the readiness with which the state yielded to their claims, could not fail to render more settled and intense the convictions of our Baptist fathers, that religion ought to be free. While, therefore, their views of the kingdom of Christ as moral and spiritual led them to emphasize the personal nature of religion, their practical relation to the state moved them in the same direction, and these two potent influences, acting upon reason and conscience from generation to generation, made them bold and stalwart champions of religious freedom wherever they were found. Hence they have constantly denied that the state is charged with the duty of superintending or performing the work of the church, and have earnestly protested against any attempt to give religion to the people by civil or municipal action.

Happily the difference of belief on this point between them and other Christians is far less than it was in 1776. A great change has been witnessed during the century. And the change has not been in them, but in others; they have not fallen back, but others have come forward. The views which, through evil report and good report, they have unflinchingly asserted, are now permeating, like leaven, the highest life of Christendom, and the process will doubtless go on, till the followers of Christ all see that his religion has suffered by every relapse towards Judaism; that his people have always been weakened, if not corrupted, by looking to the state for support; and that

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duty and interest alike require them to insist upon a friendly but independent relation between churches and the state.

In these respects, to go no further, that is, in their views of the Bible and the doctrines taught by it, of the Christian ministry and a call to the sacred office, together with the advantages of sound learning to those who use it in the fear of God, and of religious liberty with its high and holy relations to the human soul and a well-ordered state—in these respects American Baptists have passed without any appreciable change through the century. If you were to hear the voices of Ebenezer Kinnersly, Abel Morgan, John Davis, Morgan Edwards, David Jones, and Samuel Jones, who were active one hundred years ago in this part of the land, with the voices of Oliver Hart, Daniel Marshall, Samuel Harriss, Richard Furman, John Waller, Lewis Lunsford, and John Williams, who were laboring at that time in the South, and the voices of John Gano, Timothy Wightman, Gardner Thurston, Isaac Backus, James Manning, Samuel Stillman, Hezekiah Smith, and Samuel Shepard, who were then leaders of our Baptist Israel in the North; and if at the same instant you were to hear the voices of Thomas Baldwin, Isaac Sawyer, Stephen Gano, Bartholomew T. Welch, Nathaniel Kendrick, William Staughton, Jeremiah Chaplin, Lucius Bolles, Andrew Broaddus, Jesse Mercer, William T. Brantly, Basil Manly, Robert B. Semple, Jeremiah Vardeman, Adoniram Judson, Francis Wayland, and a hundred more of kindred spirit, who were conspicuous in the middle of the century; nay, more, if you were to hear at the self-same moment the voices of our foremost men in this centennial year, a thousand voices from pulpit and Sunday-school, from professor's desk and editor's chair, in the East and the West, the North and the South—all these voices from the past and the present would unite in perfect harmony to echo and re-echo the truths which have been named as our possession and our glory through the century. These truths are not "shifting sand," but solid rock. Resting upon them the Baptists of America will never be shaken.

But in certain respects American Baptists are not now what they were in 1776. Nor is this at all surprising; for stability does not preclude change, identity does not forbid growth. The principles which are not to be shaken, are the principles which will prevail; the power which holds its own, is the power that will conquer; the life that endures, is the life that will increase. With a foresight imparted by the Spirit of God, as well as by the observation of years, Jacob said to his first-born: "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel," and all history confirms the sentiment expressed by the dying

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patriarch. No person or society is capable of much growth that has not in itself enduring forces—forces that, however greatly they may be augmented, will remain the same in kind forever. Stability and change are co-efficients in the best life, whether of a denomination or of an individual. Let us look then at certain changes in the denomination to which we belong!

American Baptists are not now what they were a hundred years ago, as compared with the whole people, in number. For they were then less than one per cent. of the population, and they are now about four and a half per cent. The hundred years of our national life have been years of rapid increase, multitudes from Europe and Asia hastening the growth of the nation, so that for three millions we have forty millions, an increase of more than thirteen fold. But meanwhile the increase of Baptists, with comparatively few accessions from abroad, has been more than seventy-two fold, the twenty-five thousand of 1776 having become more than eighteen hundred thousand in 1876.

It is easy to over-rate the significance of numbers, yet in estimating the work and the power of a denomination, they cannot be disregarded wholly. That nearly two million persons, every one of whom has been baptized on profession of his own faith in Christ, are now connected with our churches, is a sign of no inconsiderable activity in the past, and a prophecy of something better than weakness and ruin in the future. For every candid observer will admit that this consecrated host has not been gathered by special favor of the state, by superiority of learning, or by the influence of wealth, but rather by the blessing of God on the preaching of Christ. The weapons of our warfare have not been carnal, but spiritual. Our greatest leaders have gloried in nought save the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the recruits which have swelled our ranks year by year, have been volunteers, won by divine grace, reconciled to God, and led by gratitude and a spirit of obedience, to put on Christ and make no provision for the flesh.

American Baptists are not now what they were a hundred years ago in their standing before the law. Even then they had seen the early dawn of a better day, the foregleams of a light and glory that were to spread over the world. Even then the hand of oppression had become unsteady in its action, for many who did not accept their belief were beginning to respect their consistency. But the day of complete enfranchisement was still remote in some parts of the land. Years of "hope deferred" were to test their patience and perseverance before the end sought could be reached. Yet they advanced step by step towards the mark, first securing liberty of public wor-

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ship, then release from assessments in support of Pedobaptist ministers, than permission to solemnize marriage, then equality with other denominations before the law, and last of all, separation of church and state. The final step was not taken in Virginia until 1802, nor in Connecticut until 1818, nor in Massachusetts until 1834.

Since then, according to popular belief, there has been no improper connection between religion and the state, in any part of the land, except Utah. Whether this is so or not, whether the state is still ready to use its power in certain directions for the support of religion on principles unwarranted by the New Testament, and dangerous to religion itself, I will not now say; but I will assert that it is difficult for us in our present circumstances to appreciate at its true value, the change secured by the exertions of our brethren in "days that tried men's souls," and I will also venture to express the hope that no worldly interest or advantage will ever lead us to abandon the position held by them in their struggle for religious liberty. That position rested on a single principle, but one so broad and deep that it could not be shaken.

Listen to it as expressed by the Baptist General Committee of Virginia in 1785. The Assembly of that state had engrossed a bill which provided for a general assessment for the support of the teachers of the Christian religion. Other denominations, including Presbyterians and Methodists, though led by the Church of England, were in favor of the proposed law, and pecuniarily the Baptists would have gained as much by it as any other denomination. But they flooded the Assembly with remonstrances against it, reading thus:

> *Resolved*, That it is believed to be repugnant to the spirit of the gospel for the Legislature thus to proceed in matters of religion; that the holy Author of our religion needs no such compulsive measures for the promotion of his cause; that the gospel wants not the feeble arm of man for its support; that it has made, and will again through divine power make its way against all opposition. And that should the Legislature assume the right of taxing the people for the support of the gospel, it will be destructive to religious liberty.

Nothing can be clearer than this resolution. It is transparent as crystal. But it is also sharp as steel. It severs at a single stroke the very tap-root out of which springs all dependence of religion on the state. And I believe that American Baptists would now, with similar earnestness, protest against any manifest taxation of the people for the support of religion. They have been standing joyfully for many years on the same level before the law with members of other

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denominations, and they are willing that in this respect Jews, Turks, and Chinese, should stand on the same level with themselves. When they repudiate the traditions of their denomination on this point, they will cast away a precious legacy, and prove themselves degenerate sons of a clear-sighted and heroic ancestry. But I am persuaded better things of them, though I thus speak.

American Baptists are in better repute for intelligence, sobriety, and the civic virtues now than they were a hundred years ago. It would be easy to prove by extracts from contemporary documents that, from their first appearance in this country down to the time of the Revolution, Baptists were everywhere spoken against as a dangerous sect. They were described by influential writers as fanatical and perverse, opposed to war and indifferent to civil order; yea, as ready to turn the Puritan world upside down. They were denounced as pestilent Anabaptists, no better in principle and little better in practice than the wild German peasantry against whom Martin Luther of blessed memory had lifted up his voice in holy indignation.

According to an Act of the Massachusetts Colony, passed in 1644—

> Experience hath plentifully and often proved that, since the first rising of Anabaptists, . . . they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths, the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, the troublers of churches in all places where they have been . . . They have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have denied the ordinance of magistracy, . . . the lawfulness of making war, . . . and the lawfulness of magistrates making "inspection into any breach of the first table."

Such was the guarded language of legislation; but language far more denunciatory was employed by various writers.

When, therefore, the first president of Harvard College repudiated infant baptism publicly, as a rite unauthorized by Scripture, wonder and horror filled the hearts of many. For it was now seen that even piety and learning conjoined were no safeguard against the intrusion of supposed error. Good men ascribed their doubts about infant baptism to the suggestions of the Evil One; and a leading preacher declared that no argument that would not remove mountains should lead him to reject this rite. There was reason for just such a vow, for it was presently discovered that the fittest Christian scholar to be put in the place of the deposed president was also himself infected to some extent with the Anabaptist leprosy. I select this terrible word in order to represent the spirit of that generation towards the faith we cherish.

Gradually, however, as Baptists became more numerous and their

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principles more widely diffused, the language used concerning them became less bitter and unjust. It was still possible to hate and oppress them, but it was impossible to destroy their influence. Men could reiterate absurd and groundless charges against Anabaptist zealots who had once lived in obscurity and seduced simple souls by crafty speech; for these charges, resting on the testimony of religious persecutors, could not at once be refuted. But none were bold enough to bring any such railing accusation against Samuel Stillman, James Manning, John Gano, or Samuel Jones. It would not do to charge these men, their peers in knowledge, virtue, and patriotism, with insincerity, or even fanaticism. Slowly, then, but surely, did the civic virtues which flow from our principles raise the denomination in public esteem and win for it the respect of all just men. And now for many years it has been customary for writers to admit that much good has come out of this persistent sect. No one who has any claim to fairness of mind calls in question the honesty, the intelligence, or the patriotism of Baptists.

But so late as fifty years ago, they were supposed to be a trifle bigoted in matters of conscience. When Dr. Edward Beecher was about to enter the ministry, near the middle of the century, his mind was "troubled as to the mode of baptism," and his father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, wrote to him on that subject in the following terms:

> There is only one thing which you will have occasion to watch and pray against; and that is the morbid sensibility of what may be termed a *nervous conscience*, by which I mean a conscience made preternaturally sensitive and fearful. This, I have reason to believe, has worried many a man till he became a Baptist through excess of conscience.

Commend me to the head of the Beecher family for relief to a troubled conscience! A certain amount of conscience is all right; as much, for example, as is compatible with the practice of sprinkling as baptism. But too much of it is an evil; it worries a man when he is called to say that *baptizo* and *rantizo* mean the same; it is then "the morbid sensibility of a *nervous conscience*," and against this a young minister should "watch and pray." For has not "excess of conscience" made some men Baptists? Has not "excess of conscience" made Baptists unwilling to be taxed for the support of religion? Has not "excess of conscience" made them extremely "*set*" in their opposition to any change in Christian ordinances? Even so, as the records prove. Yet after all, if this is the worst, and "excess of conscience" is the source of their action, their work will never come to nought, and those who attempt to overthrow it may

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well be admonished to "let them alone; lest haply they themselves may be found even to fight against God."

American Baptists are far in advance of what they were a hundred years ago in the work of higher education. This, however, is no more than might have been expected. Any other result would have been out of keeping with the age. But I cannot say that their progress in this direction has corresponeded fully with the growth of the denomination. Looking at the change with the best light I have, I can speak of it as an occasion for gratitude, but not for glorying. For the progress has been quite irregular, and efforts in the right direction have been limited to a small number of men. Not until recently have laymen of intelligence and influence taken hold of this work with a will, resolved to make our schools equal to the best.

In 1776 Rhode Island College was the only school above the rank of an academy, supported by Baptists, and Rhode Island College was scarcely twelve years old. As for those which might be called academies, there had been one in Lower Dublin, Pa., under the care of Rev. Samuel Jones, since 1766. Another was commenced in 1776, by Rev. William Williams, at Wrentham, Mass. Two years later, amid the din of war, a third was started in Bordentown, N. J., by Rev. Burgess Allison. These three classical schools, dependent for life upon the three accomplished men who founded them, and one college, still in its infancy, struggling for existence, made the sum total of the facilities for liberal culture which our denomination offered to its sons at the beginning of the nation's life. And so terrible was the strife with England, so crippled were the resources of the people when they emerged from the storm of war, that many years passed before they deemed themselves able to push forward the work of higher education. Little indeed was accomplished for this great cause before the middle of the century. A theological school was started in Philadelphia, under the care of William Staughton and Irah Chase, but was soon merged in Columbian College, at Washington; a literary and theological school was founded in Waterville, Maine, with Jeremiah Chaplin at its head, which soon became a college; a literary and theological school was planted in Hamilton, N. Y., by Daniel Haskall and Nathaniel Kendrick; and a theological institution was opened in Newton, Mass., with Irah Chase for its first professor, and Henry J. Ripley for the second. But in 1826 they were all without funds, without libraries, and without suitable buildings. They were great to no eye but that of faith. They were beautiful for situation; nature smiled upon them, and sanguine hearts prophesied success; but whether they were to find friends and support, God only knew.

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Their existence is, however, no longer a problem; for they have borne the storms of more than fifty years, and are stronger to-day than ever before. Meanwhile other institutions have been planted; some to pass away as "the morning cloud and the early dew;" others to struggle awhile with poverty and neglect, yet bearing good fruit for a season and then withering away; and still others to send their roots into the earth and their branches into the sky, growing fairer and more prolific with every passing year. According to the last *Baptist Year-Book*, we have nine theological seminaries, thirty-three colleges, and thirty-eight academies, that report themselves. These are scattered over the land, East, West, North, and South. Instead of four schools of higher learning about the year 1776, we have more than eighty schools of improved character in in 1876. And nearly all this progress has been made within fifty years. Many of these schools are still unendowed, and must contend with serious obstacles for a long time to come; but most of them have a constituency and are destined to live and flourish.

American Baptists are more liberal in giving than they were one hundred years ago. An assertion like this should not be made without good reason, for it must be regarded as a criticism upon men who were faithful to Christ at a great sacrifice. This I say, because it is not true that Baptists go beyond their duty at the present time in giving. It is not true that their churches are in this respect like those of Macedonia, whose "deep poverty abounded to the riches of their liberality," or, that "according to their power, and beyond their power," they are willing to give for the cause of God. This may be said perchance of certain persons, and possibly of a few churches, but the instances are by no means frequent. Many contribute their mite, but very few, the widow's mite. Yet there has been progress in this matter. The duty and privilege of giving are already an "open secret." Many laymen have applied their minds to this subject, and are using their gains for the honor of Christ. Indeed, I am inclined to think that a considerable number of persons in a considerable fraction of our churches, may be said, without boasting, to rival the best part of any other denomination in the divine art of giving. And these persons are to be found in the ranks of the rich, as well as in those of the poor. But the practice of this sacred art is not yet universal. It is still a secret to a majority of our brethen. And whether they will begin to explore it by giving their names to the dollar roll, during this centennial year, remains to be seen. Whether they will now test the truth of Christ's profound saying: "It is more blessed to give, than to receive," is known only to the omniscient One.

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But I am constrained by unimpeachable testimony to believe that the duty of giving was less faithfully performed by members of the denomination in 1776, than it is in 1876. Not, however, because Baptists were less sincere and self-denying then than they are now; for it might be rash to affirm this; but because the reaction of judgment and conscience against compulsory measures for the support of religion carried them to the other extreme, and weakened their sense of obligation to give liberally, even as the Lord had prospered them. Too many of them desired their elders to preach the gospel without pay, and to labor with their hands for bread. A few preachers were able to do this with no serious detriment to their ministry, but many having neither the learning nor the inspiration of Paul, were injured by the process, and the churches suffered in consequence.

This view, I rejoice to say, has been superseded by a conviction, founded on common sense and the word of God, that in the ministry, as everywhere else, the laborer is worthy of his hire. And this conviction has led to corresponding action. Our pastors are not now expected to occupy themselves with manual, but rather with mental and spiritual labor, while the churches provide for their subsistence. And, though giving towards the salary of one's pastor may be justly regarded as the payment of a debt, it is done without constraint, and a habit of liberality is thereby formed, which issues in giving, according to a stricter use of the word, and on a larger scale, and for persons remote in time or place from the donor. This habit is becoming every day more familiar to our observation, and by means of it American Baptists are entering upon a new career of usefulness.

Lastly, American Baptists are more homogeneous now than they were a hundred years ago. This statement may seem to many of you incorrect, but it is founded on a careful consideration of the evidence within my reach. I am well assured that our brethren had then a very warm affection for one another. The circumstances of their condition, as a small and despised sect, tended to bind them together; and Christian intercourse with those of the same faith was felt to be a much greater privilege than it is considered now. But, on the other hand, such intercourse was far less frequent than it is with us. Ministers and churches were more widely separated, not only because they were less numerous in a given territory, but also because a distance of one hundred miles then was equivalent to a distance of a thousand miles now. Besides this, books representing our views as a denomination were few in number, and circulated with difficulty, while religious periodicals were unknown. Many a church grew up under the influence of a single pastor, who was self-taught,

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earnest, independent, conscientious, but at the same time intense rather than broad in his views of truth.

Hence the churches differed stoutly in minor points, and throughout New England as well as in the South, were independent to a fault. Some believed in the laying on of hands after baptism, others did not. Some were anxious to have the churches consult together by their messengers in associations, others opposed the project as fraught with peril. Some were Calvinistic, after the type of Dr. Gill, others were sure that Jonathan Edwards had found the golden mean which reconciles sovereign grace with free agency. Some were in favor of mixed communion, but others, and by far the greater part, were satisfied that baptism and an orderly walk should precede the enjoyment of this rite. A rigid examination of contemporary documents will convince every fair man that the differences between church and church were more prominent then than they are now.

A disposition to "walk by the same rule and to mind the same things," has been on the increase through the century, and we are to-day a far more united and harmonious denomination than we were in 1776. This is true in the domain of doctrine as well as in that of action. No one of our theological seminaries has originated a distinct school of theology. Thus far, by the grace of God, they have all stood shoulder to shoulder in contending earnestly for the faith delivered once for all to the saints; and it is not too much to hope that their adhesion to Biblical truth in the past is a prophecy of their course in time to come.

In these respects, then, in their numerical strength, their standing before the law, their reputation for intelligence, sobriety, and civic virtues, their efficiency in the work of higher education, their liberality in giving, and their homogeneousness in doctrine and practice, American Baptists have made gratifying progress during the century. Their record is not indeed perfect; their improvement is less than it might have been; but we cannot trace their growth and activity through the first hundred years of our national life, without gratitude to God for what he has done for them and by them.

And now I must crave your indulgence while naming certain causes of Baptist stability and progress in this land during the period reviewed.

One of these causes is their hearty sympathy with the war for independence, and with a republican form of government. There were no steadier friends of American Independence than the Baptists of one hundred years ago. The ill treatment which they had received from many of the colonies, did not make them blind to the ill treatment

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which the colonies were receiving from England. The burden of taxes which their fellow-citizens had unjustly laid upon them for the support of ministers whom they disapproved, did not prevent them from joining heartily with their American oppressors in resenting and resisting unjust taxation by the British government. They cast in their lot with those who risked all, in the war for independence. Some of their ablest ministers became chaplains in the patriot army. Of this number, were Hezekiah Smith and Charles Thompson, of Massachusetts; William Rogers and David Jones, of Pennsylvania; John Gano, of New York; and John Williams, of Virginia. A Baptist Tory was a singular phenomenon in those days of trial, and a full proportion of men in the rank and file of the American army came from Baptist households. Men of our persuasion were identified with the nation at its birth. They loved it, served it, honored it, prayed for it, and believed in it.

Nor were there any warmer friends of republican government than the Baptists of one hundred years ago. They were few in number, humble in position, and stigmatized as dissenters of the most radical type. But they were known to be zealous advocates of personal freedom, and their influence, whether great or small, was a unit in favor of the utmost liberty of speech and action compatible with good order in society. This might have been expected from the constitution of their churches, from their assertion of the rights of conscience, and from their training as a minority of independent thinkers, who made the Bible their only standard of doctrine and duty. But they were not anarchists. None have been more willing than Baptists to recognize "the powers that be," as "ordained of God" for the protection of men in the exercise of their natural rights, though none have been jealous with a holier jealousy of any attempt to rob men of their inalienable rights. The views which Baptists entertain of a Christian church, and the discipline to which they have been subject in maintaining their right of worship, have made them earnest advocates of popular freedom. And it is not to be questioned that, from the origin of this nation to the present hour, they have found the atmosphere of religious liberty in it purer, sweeter, and more refreshing than it has been in any other nation under heaven. This atmosphere has been favorable to their growth. Men whose eyes have been opened to the ennobling influence of personal responsibility in civil affairs, have been able to see with less difficulty the personal nature of religion, and the propriety of allowing every one to worship God freely, as his conscience dictates.

Another cause of our stability and progress as a denomination is

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the agreement of our distinctive views with the most obvious sense of Scripture. It requires much learning and skill to extract infant sprinkling from the language of the New Testament. A man of average capacity might read that volume for years without finding any trace of it. If it is there at all, it must be written in cipher, and in a character so small that one needs the aid of a critical microscope to discover it. Not so with the immersion of believers. An ordinary reader of the New Testament finds that without effort. The only difficulty is to escape it.

According to the best interpreters, Paul writing to the Galatians, called their attention, for some reason, to his chirography by these words: "See with what large letters I have written to you with my own hand." No Judaist needed an eye-glass to make out the characters of that epistle. Words and letters were as bold and unmistakable as the argument. And so it is with the duty of believers' baptism, as practiced by our churches. It has been our custom to say: "Look into the New Testament and see with what large letters it is described. Read and obey!" I recollect now an incident which occurred when I was about twelve years old. A neighbor came to my grandfather, who was a devout Christian, and a sturdy Baptist, for light in respect to her duty. Trained as a Congregationalist, and now, when past middle life, converted, she was dissatisfied with her baptism in infancy. My grandfather was content to refer her, without a word of discussion to the New Testament; and by a careful reading of that volume she learned the truth. Yet I recollect distinctly that the blind old man was accused of making a proselyte to the Baptist faith, and of doing it by a Baptist trick! The point which I make is simply this, that, whether our distinctive views are true or false, they possess an advantage before the people in the circumstance that they seem to be written in great letters on the pages of the New Testament.

Another cause of stability and progress in our denomination is the practice of believers' baptism. For action is often more convincing than argument, and this practice has been signally useful in two respects: first, in preventing men from looking on baptism as a means or condition of the new birth; and second, in keeping unconverted men out of the churches.

For if every one who believes in Christ has been born of God, and if credible evidence of such belief is required of every one before baptism, the ordinance itself is made to bear witness against baptismal regeneration. And there are few errors more acceptable to the nat-

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ural man than the doctrine that salvation may be gained by submitting to a solemn rite. Against this error there is no protest so effectual as believers' baptism. Indeed, I apprehend that no protests will prove to be effectual, save believers' baptism.

Moreover, the practice in question tends to keep unconverted men out of the churches. For only persons supposed to be baptized are received into Christian churches; and the converse of this is apt to be true, namely, that baptized persons are deemed, in some sense, members of the church. A church that practices infant baptism gravitates naturally towards a belief in baptismal regeneration; but, if it stops short of this great error, it is in danger of considering all persons baptized in infancy as members in part of the church to which their parents belong. Thus tares are sown with the wheat, and, as Jonathan Edwards said, not at night by the wicked one, but at noon-day by the servants of Christ. By restricting baptism to those who give evidence of piety, this danger is also shunned as effectually as it can be in our imperfect state: and by offering the communion to none but those who have been baptized on profession of their faith, the importance of Christian baptism as an act of personal obedience is still further emphasized, and the piety of the church is still further guarded. Thus the spirituality, the soundness, and the moral power of the church are preserved.

Another cause of stability and progress in our denomination is the influence of the religious press. The Baptist literature of America was limited in 1776 to a very small number of books. Nor has it increased rapidly in this direction during the century. The scholars of the denomination have not given their strength to authorship. Yet something has been done, and it would not be difficult to mention a few writers who have given to the public works of great merit, and many others whose contributions to religious literature deserve respectful notice.

But far stronger language can be used of the periodical press. For half a century the influence of religious papers, issued weekly and gaining in circulation every year, has been steadily growing, and this influence is now extremely potent. It reaches almost every village in the land. It vies with the pulpit in moulding the faith and directing the enterprise of the denomination. It employs writers of talent and culture, of judgment and piety, together with some of inferior merit. It cultivates boldness and fidelity in the statement of our distinctive views, and withal a trenchant style of discussion. Thus it educates the people to rapid thinking on religious topics, and fosters a fondness for results instead of processes. For purposes of calm and deep investigation, it may indeed be less useful than books; but

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for defending established truth, uniting the people in belief, and stirring them up to worthy action, it is superior to any other species of literature. Its power over the religious life of four-fifths of those who belong to our churches in the North, is vast and beneficent, lifting them upward toward heaven, instead of dragging them downward to earth. It would be wrong to say that the influence of the Baptist press is as good and great as it might be; but it is so good and so great as to be reckoned one of the chief causes of our progress; it is so good and so great that we must think of it with gratitude to the Father of lights as a signal blessing.

Another cause of stability and progress in our denomination is the influence of the great benevolent societies under its care. In three respects, if not more, these societies have been of inestimable advantage to Baptists.

First, by directing their minds to enterprises vast, holy, and urgent. To plant the cross in every village and hamlet on heathen shores, to preach the gospel to all who would not otherwise hear it in our own broad land, to provide for all who will read it a pure and Christian literature, faithful in every point to apostolic instruction, and to offer the Book of God to men of every persuasion, as the source of heavenly truth, are objects so high and vast that the thought of them uplifts the soul like an inspiration. By such thoughts character is formed. Brought face to face with enterprises of such grand proportions and divine quality, the renewed spirit rises into purer air and plumes itself for a higher flight.

Second, by educating the members of our churches to liberal giving. Human speech is too feeble to convey any idea of the blessedness and power which spring from the habit of imparting good to others. Giving is the normal expression of love, and "he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." Charity is the mother of mercy, and if it can be truly said: "The quality of mercy is not strained; it droppeth as the gentle dew from heaven; it is twice blessed; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes," the same may be said of charity also. And giving in some form is the very life of charity.

Third, by bringing together, once a year, representative Baptists from different parts of the land for consultation. The anniversaries of these great societies have been useful in many ways, and especially in rendering the denomination homogeneous. It is a good thing for Christians of the same name, but of different training, to become personally acquainted. For this acquaintance engenders respect and love; and with these in the heart, the influence of brethren upon one

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another tends to unity of faith and practice. I do not forget that there have been sharp debates in meetings of these societies, argument flashing against argument, and conviction wrestling with conviction; nor do I forget that, owing to questions connected with slavery, Baptists from the North and South were unable to agree, and therefore preferred to carry on their work separately. But with these facts in mind, I confidently assert that the tendency of the societies in question has been favorable to unity and harmony in all our ranks. God gave them to us for our own benefit as well as for the good of the world, and their indirect as well as their direct influence has been in the highest degree salutary.

And in this connection, if in no other, the influence of the Baptist Educational Commission deserves honorable mention. For by this society have cultivated and influential Baptists from all parts of our common country been drawn together in delightful fellowship; and the various Educational Conventions held under its auspices have illustrated the power of Christian culture in a remarkable manner. Never has it been my privilege to listen to discussions more comprehensive, more reverential, or more improving than those to which I listened in these conventions. In the hands of such men as they called together, education must prove a powerful ally of religion, natural science the younger sister of theology, and truth gathered from all sources harmonious and divine.

Another cause of stability and progress in our denomination is the activity of intelligent laymen. I cannot, for lack of knowledge, speak with entire confidence as to the work of laymen during the first half of the century; but from the circumstance that great numbers entered the ministry in middle life without special study, I infer that they were active in religious work before; and among the recollections of my childhood I find this, that Baptist ministers of Vermont were quite in the habit of saying at the close of their sermons, "There is liberty for any brother to add a word of improvement;" and the liberty was sometimes taken. Groping about, with this clue, in the dusky chambers of memory, I also discover traces of notable feeedom — the pew venturing now and then to correct the pulpit. Many of our laymen were remarkably clear in their views of divine grace, and if a new minister came before them whose preaching seemed to lack the form of sound words, especially as to that "covenant which is ordered in all things and sure," Aquilla and Priscilla took him straightway to their humble dwelling, and taught him there, in the chimney corner, the way of the Lord more perfectly. For in those days the leading brethren cared more for truth of doctrine, than for elegance of

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speech, for an "elder" who had experience of divine grace, than for one who was smart. In this respect I do not suppose that our laymen are either better or wiser than their predecessors fifty years ago.

But a glance at the history of our churches during the last half century will reveal the fact that the influence of Baptist laymen has become far more extensive and important than it once was. For not only have they furnished the money to build our houses of worship, to support our ministers, missionaries, colporteurs, and students; to establish homes for aged women, for sailors, for orphans; and to sustain our institutions of learning in every part of the land; but they have also been leaders and burden-bearers in the Sunday-school work—a work which is only second in rank to preaching the gospel; and many of them have been officers in our benevolent societies, writers for the religious press, unordained preachers of the word, and wise co-workers in almost every form of Christian enterprise. All hail to the Baptist laymen of this Centennial year! I rejoice in their capacity for business, in their wise hopefulness, in their growing benevolence, in their decision and vigor, in their disposition to come together and give thanks for the dew which descends on the mountains of Israel. All hail to the Baptist Social Unions of to-day! I greet you, brothers, in the name of the Lord. I see in your organization a source of enjoyment, of improvement, of increasing love, of better hope, of wiser co-operation; and you will pardon me, I trust, if I glory a little in the fact that it is a "Boston notion," that in old Massachusetts—the last of the states to concede to all men religious liberty—and not far from the spot where Obadiah Holmes was publicly whipped for worshipping God after a way which they called heresy, was formed the first Baptist Social Union. Already is she mother of numerous daughters exceedingly comely and attractive, but of the mother we may still say, in the words of Milton: "Fairest of all her daughters, she." On the father's side this social union is presumed to be a lineal descendant of Roger Williams, who, to the great regret of Massachusetts, emigrated one winter from Salem to Providence; for according to the oldest tradition, the conception of the Boston Baptist Social Union may be traced to the fertile brain of Hon. J. M. S. Williams, who is, or ought to be, a descendant of the immortal Roger.

I will mention but one other cause for the stability and progress in our denomination, namely: the blessing of God. And I have reserved it for this place on account of its surpassing interest. I speak of it last in the hope that it will linger in your minds, if all the rest are forgotten. A conviction that God was with them gave heart to our brethren when every man's hand was against them. And often did

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they say with David: "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. . . . Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." If there be any Christians in the world to whom the favor of God is life, the Baptists are such Christians. With no doctrines that flatter the pride of man; with no rites that take the place of spiritual service; with no hierarchy or organization that unites their scattered forces into a single host; with no pre-eminence of wealth or culture or social position to win them favor, their only hope is in the blessing of God and the power of his truth. Deserted by him they would come to nought; supported by him they are sure of victory. "The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands." "They are Jehovah's army," "they run like mighty men, they climb the wall like men of war; they march each one on his way, and they do not break their ranks." An instinct from God directs their course, and gives unity to their action. Even so have our churches, as co-ordinate bands, been controlled by a yet holier impulse, so that they have kept the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and have striven together to attain the same great object. And such a union, springing from the heart of God, has vast power. It does not make a placid stream, gliding along in a straight line, between artificial banks, but a river flowing in its natural bed, ever changing in form and motion; now sweeping forward in quiet majesty across the plain, and anon rushing with apparent fury down the rapid; now split asunder by the bold headland of some rocky isle, and then uniting once more its friendly waters below; a natural river, moving on through many a narrow pass, over many a sturdy obstacle, with many a heavy bend, yet ever on in the same general direction, giving joy and increase, until at last its floods enter that ultimate ocean where all living waters unite.[1]

An impulse from the living God has guided our churches through the century. A breath from the Holy One has touched the hearts of our brethren in days of gloom. A turn in providence has averted the evils of disintegration, and led men of various tastes to see eye to eye, and walk by the same rule. I mark the presence of an Infinite Mind in our history. I trace the signs of Almighty grace in our progress. And I venture to say with Paul: "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Let us then bid farewell to the departing century with gratitude, and welcome the approaching century with hope!

ALVAH HOVEY.

NEWTON CENTRE, MASSACHUSETTS.

[1] See the writer's "Christian Pastor," pp. 37-38.

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THE above heading indicates three facts: First, That the doctrines of evolution are not modern, but ancient suggestions; second, that even amid the claims to scientific progress made in the nineteenth century the advocates of evolution accept the designation of theory as distinct from science; and, third, that evolution theorists are now separating into distinct philosophic schools.

The list of works cited above is neither an exhaustive catalogue of the constantly accumulating contributions to evolution theories, nor a selection for special review. These works are named because, as the writer has found in repeated public and private discussions, they are generally accepted as authoritative by believers in evolution.

The tendency to use new terms or old terms in a new sense calls for a restatement of definitions generally accepted. A theory is a suggestion of an inventive mind as to the law governing phenomena; a suggestion whose truth may or may not be established as science when a sufficient number of facts have been observed and classified.

Evolution in the modern acceptation of the term, as in the ancient conception expressed by it, is the idea of *growth from a germ.* As plants are evolved from minute spores and seeds into towering organized trunks with branches, twigs, buds, leaves, flowers, and fruits, and as every variety of animal form, however simple or complex, is evolved from an egg so minute as to defy microscopic analysis, just so the entire universe, says the evolutionist of whatever school, is evolved from minute primitive germs. As to the origin of these supposed primitive germs, whether created by an infinite mind or themselves evolved, it is beyond the sphere of science to inquire; it is a question of philosophy to whose conclusions science is subordinate.

The nature and sphere of philosophy has never been more clearly and fully defined than by the Greek Aristotle; an investigator, recognized by scientists like Agassiz as "the father of Natural Science," by metaphysicians like Hamilton as the founder of complete Logic, and by the ablest modern writers on constitutional and international law as the ablest analyzer of political systems. Aristotle defines philosophy as the "science of sciences and the art of arts." There

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are sciences of *mind*, embracing mental analysis, logic, or the laws of thought; language, or the modes of expressing thought; ethics, or the rules of moral duty. And there are sciences of *matter*, embracing the range of mechanical, physical, chemical, organic, and physiological forces. In each of these departments inquiring minds observe phenomena until they discover certain common principles of action, which constitute the *science* of that department. In each, again, inventive mind, applying the principles before discovered, attains some useful or desired end; and this is an *art* in that department. The philosopher is the man of comprehensive mind who combines the results of all scientific inquiry in different fields and of all artistic applications of established principles, and thus reaches ultimate principles of truth. These ultimate germs of harmonized knowledge, thus attained, constitute *philosophy*

It is apparent now that back of all science, art, and philosophy, is the question, "What are the reliable sources of knowledge?" The *observable* sources are, *first*, the bodily senses by which material phenomena are observed; *second*, the mental intuitions, including the impressions made by sensible objects on the mind and also accepted first truths as the axioms of the mathematics and the ideas of space, power, and cause. The tendency of any mind to rely on observations made by the senses alone leads to special absorption in material or physical philosophy; the tendency to exalt intuitions above the senses allures to ideal or speculative philosophy; while the due recognition of both has in all ages constituted the balanced philosophy of "common-sense" which has ruled practical minds in all ages.

The complete development of ancient science, art and philosophy, for ages advancing to perfection, reached its culmination in the days of Alexander the Great, and was formulated most fully by Aristotle. The sciences were classified as theoretical and practical. The theoretical, strange as it appears to modern students, included, *first*, the absolute sciences, embracing pure metaphysics and pure mathematics; *second*, the experimental sciences, comprehending mechanics or applied mathematics, natural history with comparative anatomy, physiology, and psychology; and, *third*, the probable sciences covering the speculations of the time on phenomena now discussed in physics and chemistry. The practical sciences were first Ethics, second Politics, third Economics.

The department of ancient sciences most discussed by ancient evolutionists was that included in the third division of Aristotle's first class. Modern evolution theories begin with the mathematics as an absolute science; and they bring into the range of practical sciences,

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or those whose phenomena can be so observed as to be applied to art and rendered useful, astronomy or celestial mechanics, physics, chemistry, and natural history whose field has been widened in geology. Here modern investigators secure more extended and accurate observations than the ancients could attain, through the telescope, the microscope, and electro-magnetic analysis.

It is to the field of natural history that the discussion as to evolution theories is mainly restricted. In this field Aristotle was, as Agassiz repeatedly declared, the founder of science; anticipating many of his own special discoveries, and stating others as to which his language cannot be understood till a re-discovery interprets his statement. As the ground of classification in natural science, Aristotle laid down the distinctions of "genus and species"; teaching that by regarding "differences," whether "property" or "accident," each individual could be brought into its proper relation to other individuals and classes. By the Greek word "*gĕnŏs*," Latin "*genus*," derived in both languages from the verb "to be born," he meant to designate *in-born* lines of separation, where interpropagation is impossible, as in the horse and cow. In the Greek term "*eidos*," Latin "*species*," from the verb "to see," there is a reference to *observed* lines of ordinary demarcation; where interpropagation is unnatural, and never occurs unless forced by man, and then results in sterility, as in mules, the offspring of the jack and the mare. The "differences" which separate species are "properties;" as the long ears and the upward-curved back of the donkey as compared with the horse. The "differences" which mark individuals within a species, called in modern science "varieties," are "accidents;" as the varying color, size, strength, and fleetness found among horses. The modern additions to these terms will be noticed farther on. The evolution theory now contends that the mechanical structure and movements of the earth, of the planetary and solar system of which it is a part, and, in fine, of the universe of stellar systems supposed to be analogous to the solar system—the structure and movement of the whole material universe is the result of forces inherent and ever existing in particles of matter. Going farther, it contends that organized beings, plants, and animals, are but the result of inherent forces, called physical, chemical, life, and mental, but all resolvable into the forces styled mechanical. The tracing of the development of this theory, briefly in its ancient phases, and more minutely in its modern enunciation, may prove an impressive illustration of the maxim that "history is philosophy teaching by example."

The idea of a gradual and progressive development in the organism

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of the universe seems to have been as old as human thought. In the early Vedas of India there was an effort to explain the origin of the organized universe; and it is interesting to note that the very points now in controversy came before the minds of the earliest theorizers. There are two classes of forces seen in nature. There is, first, a *mechanical* force, which determines the course of rivers, the globular form of the earth as a revolving body, and the orbits of planets circulating around a central sun; and all must admit the natural, self-controlled law by which this structure is now kept up, while at the same time it *cannot conceive* that it began without a *cause* different from the law now perpetuated. There is, *second*, an *organizing* force, constituting the *life* of plants and animals; by which a germ, a seed, or an egg, is seen to grow into a gradually developed structure. These *facts* all see and admit.

The early Brahmins of India believed that the universe, now existing in revolving globes, including this globe of ours, with its varied plants and animals, once existed in the form of thin vapor; that this vapor gradually condensed and rounded into orbs; that germs of organized bodies gradually appeared and became developed; and that at last *mind*, or intelligence, was evolved, from which the Deity and human souls were developed. In the earliest of the Vedas, now, two classes of thinkers—materialists and idealists—wrought out their theories. Both classes took the development of man, the highest of earthly beings, as the type of the evolution of all being. One class, however, began with the unconscious infant, remarking that intelligence is developed in the material organism; whence the philosophy of Kapila, who made *material* force the origin of universal evolution. The other class, on the contrary, called attention to the fact that mature parents, with intelligent intent, are the authors of the infant being; and hence the philosophy of Pantandjali, which makes an infinite mind the creator of all.

It is instructive to note that amid the discriminating discussion over these conflicting theories, Gotama the founder of Brahminic logic, from whom the Greek Aristotle borrowed, indicates that in each of these theories it is a *partial* view of the nature of *causes* which misguides the theorist. There are, as is seen in the making of a vase, *five causes* to be noted: First, the *material* cause, which is the clay; second, the *formal* cause, or the vase-shape, into which it is rounded; third, the *instrumental* cause, or potter's wheel, on which the clay is whirled in the process of rounding; fourth, the *efficient* cause, or designing mind of the artist whose hands give it shape; and fifth, the *final* cause, or the end for which it is made, since no mind works without a purpose.

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It is unscientific now to omit either of these five essentials in the consideration of any phenomenon, and with this argument men of their own cast met the Brahminic evolutionists. Thus Menu, the law-giver, who wrote the last of the Vedas, in his prefatory book, shows at length that scientific truth compels the belief in an intelligent Creator who gives origin and support to all development. This pre-supposed order of succession in creation is drawn out with all the consecutive links that the evolutionists had conceived; yet all are declared to have originated in repeated divine interpositions by creative acts. We are taught that "He whose essence eludes the external organs, who exists from eternity willed to produce various beings from his own substance." The succession of plant and animal forms, appearing first in the water, is traced. The separation then of the solid earth and the clear ether, the drawing out of human mind from the supreme soul, the development of consciousness and the five perceptive faculties, the implanting of the discrimination "between right and wrong," are declared to be his immediate work. Then the development of lightnings, of meteors, of clouds and rainbows, of the varieties of animals born alive, of fish, reptiles, birds, and insects hatched from eggs by heat, of plants propagated by seeds or slips, and distinguished as fruit trees, shrubs, grasses, etc., pass in review. The innumerable ages of years in which these developments have appeared are then dwelt upon;[1] successive stages of creation being intimated, as clearly as in modern geology, by the alternating sleeping and waking of Brahmah.

Here the eternal existence of matter, and that as a part of the Divine substance, is recognized as an idea which reason necessarily accepts; until, as Paul intimates "by faith" in Divine testimony, the Christian receives assurance that matter itself is the creation of the Divine Being. (Hebrews xii. 2.) The emanation of mind from the Supreme Soul, too, is accepted, rather than the immediate creation of individual spirits. The origin of life in seeds and eggs, plants and animals, through the agency of heat, is recognized; but generation always begins with a germ either directly created, or the product from a parent plant or animal already developed. It is important here to note, what farther on will be considered, that in this age, as Sir William Jones supposed—certainly in the age of these evolution theories—Moses wrote, guided by all the human wisdom of the Brahmins, and instructed, too, as Christian science proves, by the Author of the universe himself, his record of creation.

[1] Institu. of Menu, I, 7–73.

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Passing to the superior philosophy of Greece we note, what historians agree in stating, that their leading philosophers from Pythagoras to Plato visited Egypt, Chaldea, and India, when studying to prepare themselves as teachers. The leading historians from Herodotus intimate that in these visits the close fraternity of the learned men of these three countries was recognized; a fraternity proved by the words of science common to all employed by Moses, Solomon, and Daniel, and also declared by the historians of Alexander's day. It is a noteworthy fact that the leading modern advocates of evolution, as Tyndall and Haeckell, are turning back now to the Grecian and Roman theorists, though overlooking as yet their Asiatic predecessors. Pythagoras brought home to Greece advanced knowledge of geometry and astronomy which permitted the accurate calculation of eclipses, and which suggested that the sun was the centre of the planetary system. He taught, however, a theory of the origin of the universe which led his successors to a Grecian re-casting of two Asiatic theories of evolution; and it is those two Grecian theories that are just now coming into conflict in the discussions of modern evolutionists. They were the theories; first, of the great leader in the Eleatic Physical School, Democritus, now cited by Tyndall; and, second, of the head of the Eleatic Metaphysical School, Xenophanes, whom Haeckell has quoted.

Xenophanes maintaining the pantheistic view, already observed to be accepted by Menu, that all the universe is God—matter and spirit being one in their original *etherial* condition—contended that all organisms from the lowest shell-fish and insects up, were developed by a force inherent in all nature; his theory now seeming to have weight because he anticipated modern geologists in asserting that the shells found on mountains indicate that they had once been depressed under the bed of the ocean. The simple fact that Xenophanes is ranked as one of the gnomic, or sententious poets, and that all which survives of his personal writings consists of fragments of a poem, this in itself is suggestive. Nothing but the imagination of a poet is adequate to set forth theories of evolution. This we shall not only see confirmed in Goethe's revival *of idealistic* evolution, but even in Lucretius' elaboration of the *materialistic* evolution of Democritus.

On the other hand Democritus maintained that the original of all existences was not one common substance, but many distinct and differing atoms or molecules, which by their varied affinities, called into association by constant motion in each, have arranged themselves into different organisms; his theory again attracting modern naturalists because it anticipated their discoveries in molecular chemistry.

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It is important here to mention that these men were contemporary with Anaxagoras, who accepted the atomic theory of Democritus, but showed that it was one part of the great science of the universe; and that a personal Creator alone could originate distinct germs of organized bodies, and so direct the forces in matter as to give origin to plant and animal organisms. Anaxagoras was succeeded by Socrates, who was inspired, as he himself declared, by the writings of Anaxagoras; and Socrates, followed by his pupils Plato and Aristotle, met every suggestion of his own and subsequent times which has been devised in order to construct a theory of the organized universe that should exclude a designing mind as the original Author of all existences. Plato, in several of his dialogues, represents Socrates' arguments in disproof of that evolution which denies a divine Author of organic existences. In the "Theatetus or Science," meeting the Sophist's idea, which Xenophanes accepted, that we can "*know* nothing" since both the sources of knowledge commonly relied on are disputed and often deceive, Socrates says that a man practically finds that he is right when relying on his united *senses* with his reason, "logos," which gives him "*ideas*" of what he sees; for a cow, an idiot, an unthinking man, *sees* what the man using reason sees; but the *latter* only gains *knowledge* of what he sees. When the evolutionist speaks of all things moving spontaneously, Socrates suggests: "It seems to me that the first thing to be done in an inquiry about motion, is to find out what they mean by saying all things are in motion." In the continued discussion of the four dialogues, the Timæus, the Critias, the Laws, and the Republic, Socrates sits silent while Timæus developes at length the evolution theory of the physical and metaphysical schools; for Timæus admits that the complicated and inimitable structure of the universe of plants and animals and of men as seen in the perfect organism of the eye, necessarily supposes a divine Author; but he only insists that "to discover the Creator and Father of this universe is specially difficult; and when discovered, it is impossible to reveal him to mankind;" and hence he insists that all science can do is to trace the mysteries of seen and observable causes. When then Timæus turns over the discussion to Critias, who applies the evolution theory to Athenian history, first of gods, then of demigods, then of heroes, Socrates is still a silent listener; since Critias admits that it is only from *analogy* evolutionists can argue, avowing: "What has been said by the whole of us was necessarily only imitation and resemblance;" Socrates' silence intimating that he is too wise to argue either for or against theories of the imagination whose postulates are admitted to be phenomena

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beyond the reach of the senses. In the discussions of the Laws and Republic, where the effort of Grecian evolutionists was to apply, as does the English Spencer, evolution-theories to an ideal state, Socrates insists that it is unscientific to consider "secondary causes," unless the "first cause" be acknowledged, studied and revered. Finally in the Phaedo, in which in his old age and with his death in immediate prospect, Socrates argues the soul's immortality, he says:

> When I was a young man, Cebes, I was wonderfully desirous of that wisdom which they call a history of nature; for it appeared to me to be a very sublime thing to know the causes of everything, why each thing is generated, why it perishes, and why it exists.

Proceeding, he opens the experience of men of all ages down to Spencer:

> I at length appeared to myself so unskillful in these speculations that nothing could be more so. I then became, by these very speculations, so very blind with respect to things which I knew clearly before, as it appeared to myself and others, that I unlearned even the things which I thought I knew before, both on many other subjects, and also this—"why a man grows." For before I thought this was evident to everyone, that it proceeds from eating and drinking; for that, when, from the food, flesh is added to flesh, bone to bone, and so on in the same proportion, what is proper to them is added to the several other parts, then the bulk which was small becomes afterwards large, and thus that a little man becomes a big one. But now I cannot persuade myself that I know why anything else is produced or perishes, or exists, according to this method of proceeding; but I mix up another method of my own at random.

He then adds:

> But having once heard a person reading in a book, written, as he said, by Anaxagoras, and which said that it is *intelligence* that sets in order, and is the cause of all things, I was delighted with this *cause;* and it appeared to me in a manner to be well that intelligence should be the cause of all things. And, I considered with myself, if this is so, then this *regulating intelligence* orders all things, and disposed each in such way as will be best for it.

While Plato's speculative mind thus met, through the utterance of his revered teacher Socrates, the imaginative theories of evolution, Aristotle, with his practical logic, called attention to the nature and necessary association of *causes;* whose connection observation shows to be essential in considering phenomena, which are but effects. Grouping the five causes in the classification of the Brahmins, whose

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works Alexander sent to his old teacher from India, Aristotle, as Kant but repeated, urged that in all scientific investigation we must consider, for example in a growing beet or onion, the following phenomena: *First*, with the *eye* and other senses, the *material* cause, or the elements of which it is composed; *second*, with the *æsthetic* judgment the *formal* cause, or the evolving development from the germ to the matured organism; *third*, by the *rational* judgment, the *efficient* cause, or the ultimate power, in its origin creative, by which from the germ development proceeds; and, *fourth*, by the *teleological* judgment, the *final* cause, or the end to be attained, which led to the design that called forth the action of the Divine originator. Hence in applying the principle of physical philosophy to ethics, politics, and economics, classed as "practical sciences" by Aristotle for a reason which Americans ought to understand, he reasons on this line: That "God" the efficient cause, by means of social "government" as the material cause, secures for mankind "happiness" as a final cause. (Nicom. Eth. I, 9) In the subsequent history of scientific and philosophic discussion, as we shall see in the reasoning of Cicero, the material and efficient causes are the two to be scanned.

Without attempting to trace the line of succession, it is sufficient to state that almost every age has developed its own two classes of theorists, who would account for the origin, not only of mechanical forces but of living organisms, without a Creator. Thus, in the age just before Jesus taught and Paul wrote, Lucretius had written his poem; weaving into a picture of the imagination the theory of material evolution suggested by Democritus. This imaginative poet, a school-fellow with Cicero and other eminent men, was led by the flattery of sceptical friends to work up the splendid fancies which Tyndall and others are without due discrimination quoting as if they were science. The poem consists of six books. The first begins with a grand and graphic picture of Venus and of Mars, the goddess of love and peace, and the god of hate and war, emblems of conflicting attractions and repulsions in universal nature; whose sublimity won the admiration of his critic and school-mate Cicero, as it has of many-sided minds ever since. The general theory of evolution, arising from mutual attractions and repulsions, with their action in the development of plants and animals, is elaborated in the first and second books; in the third, the evolution of the human soul from the action of material elements and by physical forces is exhaustively described; in the fourth, is shown how the body with its senses, and all their impressions and conceptions, often illusive as well as delusive, are evolved by the meeting of the soul with the external world; in

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the fifth, is the grand climax picturing the majestic evolution of the material universe with the planets, sun and stars; and in the sixth, the natural origin of earthquakes, meteors, lightning and thunder, as of eclipses, whose causes Grecian science had traced, is made to give a practical and really scientific close to the book, which makes one forget that mere imagination has led the poet in one part of his book, while rational induction was after all inspiring him to seek a practical issue.

To this, however, and to other like theories, Cicero replied, from those of Xenophanes and Democritus down, declaring them all "poets' fancies," not designed to be regarded as scientific truth either in fact or theory. In his books on the Nature of Gods, his Divination, his Tusculan Questions, his Academic discussions and his letters, Cicero often alludes to Xenophanes and Democritus, as leaders in two schools between which he sought a stable and certain foundation of truth. He mentions many other evolutionists and their theories; naming Empedocles, a Greek poet, who had elaborated the philosophy of Epicurus, which was modeled after the theory of Democritus, and had embodied it in a poem entitled "*Peri physeōs*," from which Lucretius' poem "*De natura*" largely copied. Of Xenophanes he states that he adopted the conclusion of the sceptical school that we really know nothing certainly, since all our impressions and convictions may be illusions; that he made God the creation of man instead of making man the creation of God; and that he taught that all things were eternal and nothing created, and that they have been evolved "conglobata figura." The principles of Democritus as to evolution without a creator, he elaborately refutes His treatises, demonstrating the existence of a personal Deity, who not only has created but presides over by constant providence all his works, are the completest ever elaborated perhaps; even surpassing the logical analysis of most of the ablest treatises by Christian writers. As to Lucretius, he admired his genius, while he discriminated between the parts of his work which were mere pictures of imagination (ingenii), and those which were of practical worth (artis); his language addressed in a letter to his brother Quintus[1] being: "Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis." The general ground on which Cicero rejects all theories of evolution is stated[2]:

In the nature of things there are two points which must be inquired into; one, what the material out of which everything is made is; the

[1] Epis. II, 11.

[2] De Finibus, I, 6.

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other, what the power is which makes everything. They discussed only the material, and omitted all consideration of the efficient power and cause.

It should be borne in mind that, amid these reasonings, inspired John in the opening of his Gospel, and Paul the great apostle to the nations, in his letters to Asiatic Christians, taught that no view but the gospel facts revealed in Christ the Son of God could meet the demand and stand the test of human reason. Since, however, their statement, like those of Moses in the Old Testament, especially their accordance with modern science as well as with ancient philosophy, cannot be appreciated—as Hæckell, and even Herbert Spencer have intimated—without that first survey, the Mosaic record and the New Testament hints are reserved for consideration farther on.

The aspiration of the human mind to construct for itself a theory of spontaneous evolution in the universe, thus traced till the Christian era dawned, is manifested in each succeeding century down to our day. The doctrines of the New as well as of the Old Testament have always, it is true, compelled the admission of a Supreme Creator as it does now among English evolutionists; but so also Roman law demanded outward religious reverence. The leading oriental Gnostics of the second century, born and educated in Syria and Egypt, taught virtually the doctrine of ideal evolution when they spoke of emanation of *æons* in *syzygy* from the *pleroma;* for they had studied in the school of Kapila and followed either consciously or unconsciously his line of partial thought. Manecheism, in the third century, the offspring of Persian Christian speculation, taking a material tendency and regarding matter as uncreated, was a re-echo of the theory of physical evolution. Again, the doctrine of the Greco-Oriental school of Alexandria, beginning with Pontius in the third and ending with Proclus in the fifth century, teaching first that intelligence, second souls as the principle of force and motion, and third matter as the substance on which soul acts are emanations from God, is a reconstruction of ideal evolution. During all these early and decisive discussions, however, of the comparative truth of rational philosophy and of its consistency with Christian revelation, minds like Justin, Tertullian, Origen, and Augustine, were found who while showing the tinge of their own education, yet maintained, as did Socrates and Cicero, the harmonious conclusions reached by uniting inductions from observation with deductions from rational judgment. They met both the ideal and material speculations of their day by showing—as did the practical Greeks and Romans who

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taught before Christ—that observation indicates this fourfold distinction in elementary being: first, "matter," *corpus, soma;* second, "physical force," *anima, physis;* third, "animal soul," *animus, psyche;* and fourth, "human spirit or mind," *spiritus* or *mens pneuma* or *nous;* and they insisted that the Infinite Spiritual God was the originator of all material substance, the Creator of all organic being and the Father of all Spirits.

Again, from the ninth to the twelfth century, both Mohammedan and Christian philosophy, alike maintaining the doctrine of an Infinite Spiritual Creator, showed a tendency in some minds to evolution theories. The Arabian mind, fully imbued with the practical philosophy of Aristotle, by seeking a consistent explanation of the existence of evil with the government of a perfect God, was sometimes led to an evolution in the material universe independent of the spiritual Creator. The correlation of physical and spiritual forces taught by Avicenna, in the tenth century, indicates the spirit of material evolution; the mystic theory of Avenpas, in the twelfth century, that God in creation is but evolving himself, implies the eclectic tendency to ideal evolution; while the conception of Averroes, a disciple in the same century of Aristotle, that the *spirit, pneuma,* of man fitted for spiritual truth or theology, and the *soul, psyche,* of man fitted for material truth or philosophy, are in harmony because they are emanations, the one from the spiritual Creator, and the other from his material universe, show how in all conditions of human thought practical truth seeks and gains ascendancy.

Meanwhile among Christian scholars, when in the ninth and tenth centuries, Charlemagne and Alfred, in the West, were vieing with the Arabians of the East, in an effort for a new civilization, the progress of thought brought out the same recurring phases. The Celt, Scotus Erigena, developed an ingenious reviving of the evolution theory so like to that of Kapila that it implies, as Colebrook intimates, a familiarity with his writings; reconstructing the conception that all the universe, material and spiritual, is an evolution from the Divine Being. At the same time, the Saxon Alcuinus, of the generation just preceding, wonderful as a reviver of the practical Grecian and Roman scientific spirit, ruled the age by his writings and through his pupils. Again, at the close of the twelfth century, Amaury of Chartres in France, gave new life to the ideal theory of evolution, affirming that "God is everything, and ideas are at once creative and created"; but in the thirteenth century, the balanced mind of Thomas Aquinas, the Kant of his time, strengthened the always self-restoring balance of practical common judgment between philosophic extremes.

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Yet later, Giordano Bruno, a victim of the tyrannical resistance to free thought prevailing at the close of the sixteenth century, who is now quoted by evolutionists, borrowing from Averroes, but mistaking his nice balance, as did at a later day the disciples of Kant, elaborated a philosophy which made all existences, material and spiritual, but modifications of the one being God. His theory was immediately followed by the philosophy of Bacon, the opening era of the Scotch philosophy of "common sense," which has prevailed among ruling minds in England and France.

We have thus been led on to the opening era of modern evolution theories; the material prevailing in England, the ideal in Germany. The survey of this field naturally turns attention, first, to the progress of Natural Science in England, Germany, Italy, and France; and, second, to the theories of evolution now under discussion.

In three departments of science fundamental principles, relating to the structure of the Universe, have been greatly advanced within the last two centuries. In astronomy, by the aid of the telescope, the law of the force ruling the movements of the heavenly bodies, first suggested in modern days by Copernicus, at the opening of the sixteenth century, farther elaborated by Galileo, at the opening of the seventeenth century, and demonstrated by Newton at the close of the same century, has become the foundation of the science of mechanical development, produced by constantly acting forces; and this has been supposed by evolutionists to suggest, if not to establish, the fact of the mechanical evolution of the solar and stellar systems by the gradual condensation and collection of matter, once gaseous and then fluid, about fixed centres of revolution; the spectroscope now attesting that kindred elements pervade the universe. It should be observed that in the elaboration of the higher applications of algebraic calculations to geometric quantities, called by Newton, "Fluxions," and by his successful rival, Leibnitz, "Differential and Integral Calculus," arose the use of terms now applied by evolutionists to supposed developments of species and genera in natural history. Again, in physics and chemistry, traceable certainly to Toricelli in the early part of the seventeenth century, Franklin, Galvani, Volta, and others in the close of the eighteenth century, discovered the nature and power of applying electro-magnetic force to the analysis and synthesis of those elements which enter into plant and animal organism; while Priestley and others, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, have practically shown the value of that analysis in organic chemistry as applied to the arts, to agriculture and to plant, animal and human physiology: and thence evolutionists have

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sought to trace laws of evolution in organic forms analagous to that supposed to operate in the mechanical formation of the universe. Yet again, Linnæus and Cuvier, in the early part of the eighteenth century, began the application of these discovered principles to the classification of plants and of animals, including man as the highest developed being known; the power of the microscope greatly extending observation of embryonic developments. To this enumeration must be added the science of geology, the history and classification of the mechanical, physical, chemical, and organizing forces which appear in the structure past and present of our earth and of its succession of plant and animal occupants. Into this field as specially their own evolutionists have entered and have proved as explorers valuable auxiliaries.

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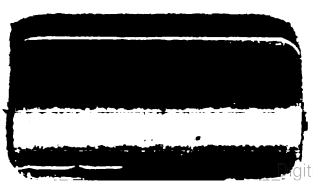
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